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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## CURIOUS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On my return journey from Palni someone gave me at one of the halts a letter reviling Shri Rajaji and Shri Gopalswami and informing me that they would not allow any one against them to come near me. Now I know to the contrary. No one who wanted to say anything worthwhile could be prevented from seeing me, or writing to me. The delivery of the very letter disproves the allegation. Shri Kamaraj Nadar was with me on the same special. He was with me in the temple on the Palni Hill. But there is no doubt that both Rajaji and Gopalswami were closest to me during the journey. They had arranged it. Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed of all I stand for. That in 1942 he differed from me I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. I was therefore pained to find a clique against him. It is a clique that evidently counts in the official Congress in Madras. But the masses are devoted to Rajaji. I am neither vain nor foolish enough to feel that I could have had the huge public demonstrations all along the route of the pilgrimage if he had no influence with the masses in Tamil Nad. Congressmen in the South will act as they think best. But I would be less than loyal to the organization if I did not warn them against losing the valuable services which no one can shoulder as Rajaji can at the present moment.

En route to Wardha, 5-2-'46

The foregoing was written before Bezwada was reached at 5-30 in the morning. At Bezwada a note in Hindustani from Shri A. Subrahmanyam was delivered, the gist of which is given below:

"There is a belief spread in Andhradesh that you have come to Madras with a view to make Rajaji premier. Several Congressmen have been carrying on such propaganda. Taking up the theme, some Telugu newspapers have been writing even against Hindustani. Please give your opinion on this."

I felt bound, therefore, to give my reply. I said that my journey was purely for the purpose of celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha — now Hindustani Prachar Sabha — and incidentally for Madura and Palni temples. The visit was conceived soon after my premature discharge and before the Congress resumption of Parliamentary

work was even conceived. My visit has nothing to do with Rajaji being the Premier. My life had no secrecy about it. If I wanted to give an opinion, I was in the habit of giving it openly. But I had rejected the advances of friends to guide them for I was not interested in elections and offices. But since I was challenged I had no hesitation in saying that Rajaji was by far the best man for the purpose in the Southern Presidency and if I had the disposal in my hands I would call Rajaji to office, if I did not give it to myself. But the disposal was with the Provincial Congress Committee and finally with the Working Committee. My opinion was only that of an individual, to be taken for what it was worth.

After Bezwada, En route to Wardha,  
5-2-'46

## A POINTER FOR THE FUTURE

"How is the cutting of telegraphic wires contrary to the principle of Ahimsa," a friend asked Gandhiji some time back.

The question is typical of many that have been put to Gandhiji since his release. Another friend who saw him some time after he left the Aga Khan Palace posed to him the problem thus: "There are two schools of thought amongst our youth today. One school holds and openly says that as a programme of action Ahimsa is played out. It has done its work which was to awaken the masses and has set the stage for the final struggle for independence. In this struggle force of arms cannot be excluded. The other school while professing belief in Ahimsa says that there is room for modification and further elaboration in its technique. They aver that the next phase of our struggle would be characterized by organized sabotage on an extensive scale." Gandhiji questioned the statement that sabotage could be part of the non-violent programme or that it was derivable from the principle of Ahimsa as he understood it. The friend however persisted that sabotage had come to stay whether one liked it or not. "Irresponsible prophesying leads to nowhere," cut short Gandhiji. "The real question is where we stand, what our attitude towards it is going to be."

The friend put before Gandhiji some of his doubts. Was destruction of Government property violence? "You say that nobody has a right to destroy any property not his own. If so, is not Government property mine? I hold it is mine and I may destroy it."

"There is a double fallacy involved in your argument," replied Gandhiji. In the first place,

conceding that Government property is national property—which today it is not—I may not destroy it because I am dissatisfied with the Government. But even a national Government will be unable to carry on for a day if everybody claimed the right to destroy bridges, communications, roads, etc., because he disapproved of some of its activities. Moreover, the evil resides not in bridges, roads, etc., which are inanimate objects but in men. It is the latter who need to be tackled. The destruction of bridges, etc., by means of explosives does not touch this evil but only provokes a worse evil in the place of the one it seeks to end. "I agree," rejoined the friend, "that the evil is within ourselves, not in the bridge which can be used for a good purpose as well as an evil one. I also agree that its blowing up provokes counter violence of a worse type. But it may be necessary from a strategic point of view for the success of the movement and in order to prevent demoralization."

"It is an old argument," replied Gandhiji. "One used to hear it in old days in defence of terrorism. Sabotage is a form of violence. People have realized the futility of physical violence but some people apparently think that it may be successfully practised in its modified form as sabotage. It is my conviction that the whole mass of people would not have risen to the height of courage and fearlessness that they have but for the working of full non-violence. How it works we do not yet fully know. But the fact remains that under non-violence we have progressed from strength to strength even through our apparent failures and setbacks. On the other hand terrorism resulted in demoralization. Haste leads to waste."

"We have found," rejoined the friend, "that a person who has had a schooling in violent activity comes nearer to true non-violence than one who has had no such experience."

"That can be true only in the sense that having tried violence again and again he has realized its futility. That is all. Would you maintain also that a person who has had a taste of vice is nearer to virtue than the one who had none? For, that is what your argument amounts to."

The discussion then turned upon secrecy. The friend in question argued that whilst individual secrecy created a fear complex and was therefore an evil, organized secrecy might be useful. "It is no secrecy if the person concerned is boldly prepared to face the consequences of his action. He resorts to secrecy in order to achieve his object. He can refuse to take any part in subsequent interrogations during his trial. He need not make a false statement."

But Gandhiji was adamant. "No secret organization, however big, could do any good. "Secrecy aims at building a wall of protection round you. Ahimsa disdains all such protection. It functions in the open and in the face of odds, the heaviest conceivable. We have to organize for action a vast people that have been crushed under the heel of unspeakable tyranny for centuries. They cannot be organized by any other than open truthful means. I have grown up from youth to 76 years in abhorrence

of secrecy. There must be no watering down of the ideal. Unless we cling to the formula in its fulness, we shall not make any headway.

"I know we have not always lived up to our ideal. There have been grave lapses. Had our instruments been less imperfect, we would have been nearer our goal. But in spite of our temporizing with our ideal, non-violence has worked like a silent leaven among the dumb millions. That does not mean that we can afford to go on like this for ever. We cannot remain static. We must move forward or we shall slide back."

"Are you of opinion then," asked the friend, "that the August revolution caused a setback in the struggle for independence; that all the heroism and courage which our people showed in the course of it was useless?"

"No," replied Gandhiji. "I do not say that. In the historical process, the country will be found to have advanced towards freedom through every form of struggle, even through the August upheaval. All that I have said is that the progress would have been much greater if we had shown the non-violent bravery of my conception. In this sense the sabotage activity has retarded the country's freedom. I have the highest admiration for the courage, patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice of people, say, like Jaiprakash Narain. But Jaiprakash cannot be my ideal. If I had to give a medal for heroism, it would go not to him but to his wife who, though simple and unlearned in politics, typifies in her person the power of Satyagraha in its purest form before which even Jaiprakash has to bow. What I have said about the August upheaval is not by way of judgment upon the past—I have consistently refused to condemn it—but as a guidance for the future."

"Our people," said the friend finally, "have faith in non-violence but they do not know how to make it dynamic. What is the reason for this failure?"

"By hammering away at it through painful years," replied Gandhiji, "people have begun to see that there is a potency in non-violence, but they have not seen it in all its fulness and beauty. If they had responded to all the steps that had to be taken for the effective organization of non-violence and carried out in their fulness the various items of the eighteen-fold constructive programme, our movement would have taken us to our goal. But today our minds are confused because our faith in constructive work is so weak. I know, one must push forth undaunted by difficulties."

On the train to Madura,  
Saturday, 2-2-46

PYARELAL

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## HARIJAN TITBITS

(By A. V. Thakkar)

1. True to tradition and policy the Harijan Sevak Sangh has, in spite of requests from friends, steadily refused to have any hand in recommending candidates to the Congress Parliamentary Board for seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes. The Sangh feels that by dabbling in politics it would only add to the existing caste rivalry. Constructive work including educational progress and the removal of all social disabilities is the Sangh's sole concern.

2. The wholly unjustifiable prejudice against allowing Harijans of Garhwal to carry their brides and bridegrooms on public roads in "Dola-Palki" still exists. It is gratifying, however, to note that recently magistrates have punished Caste Hindus for looting a Harijan marriage party by sentencing them in one case to six to eight months' R. I. and fine and in another to a fine of Rs. 61/- each.

When cholera breaks out in Kathiawad villages, sweepers are often accused of causing it by using evil 'mantras' and roughly handled. Sometimes they have even to migrate to other villages until the epidemic subsides.

In contrast to the above cruelty came the heartening news from there of interdining between Harijans and non-Harijans on the last Gandhi Jayanti.

4. It is a pity that sweepers even in large towns are unorganized as a class and, therefore, exploited by the corporations. Going on strike is the only way by which they can get improvement in wages. It was only recently after a good deal of trouble in Calcutta that the pay of the sweepers was raised to Rs. 15/- p. m. In small towns and municipalities the wages are miserable: only Rs. 7/- in some places with a dearness allowance of from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 5/- p. m. As for housing conditions, even in towns like Calcutta and Madras, 'disgraceful' is not a strong enough word. Inasmuch as a city deserves a contented army of sanitary workers, the proper and rent-free housing of its servants should be the first charge on municipal finances, just as drainage.

5. The Baghelkhand States are a part of India that is very little known. They are far from any railway line and inhabited by very backward sections of the people. It was not until a year ago that any work of Harijan uplift was begun there by Professor R. K. Yarday of Indore with the help of Sjt. Avadh Bihari of Rewa. The Rulers of Nagand Mihari and Ajai Ghad have thrown open State temples to the Harijans and earmarked funds for uplift work among them. This is a welcome move in these backward areas.

6. The education of Harijan girls being of primary importance, the starting of girls' hostels everywhere is very necessary. Such exist in Dhulia (Maharashtra), Sabarmati (Gujarat), Madura and two other places in Tamil Nad, Devakottai and Trichy, Allahabad, Delhi, Bezwada, Ellore and Guntur (Andhra), Calicut (Malabar) and in a few other places. All these get grants-in-aid from the centre. One such is being run by a Harijan girl herself in Guntur

against every one.

meet this brave girl even sold a part of her own land. She needs the help of friends in Guntur in her endeavour.

On the train to Madura, 2-2-'46

### ARE WE GOING DOWN?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Personal likes and dislikes, ambitions and jealousies should have no place in our organization. What therefore distresses me greatly is that dislike, hatred and vindictiveness in private life and even public speeches are becoming common among Congressmen and consequently indiscipline and hooliganism are increasing." This extract is taken from a long letter from a friend. She even quotes instances and elaborates her thesis. But I have reproduced sufficient for my purpose. I wholeheartedly endorse every word of what she says. Though I do not read newspapers diligently, I feel that there is truth in her experience. Now that it seems that we are coming into our own, the evils complained of ought to go and calmness, rigid discipline, co-operation and goodwill must take the place of passion, indiscipline and jealousies, public and private. Or else Swaraj machinery will crack and go to pieces and our future state may very well become worse than the present, bad and insufferable as it is. As I said in Mahishadal, the glow of Swaraj in action must be felt by the illiterate millions of India. They must feel the vital difference between the present autocratic and ordinance regime and the orderly democratic non-violent regime under Swaraj. I hug the hope that when real responsibility comes to the people and the dead weight of a foreign army of occupation is removed, we shall be natural, dignified and restrained. We are living just now in a state that is highly artificial and unnatural. The sooner we get out of it the better for us, the ruling power and the world. I can therefore only suggest to my friends and those who think like her, that they should rigidly carry out in practice what they think even though they be a handful.

On the train to Madras,

4-2-'46

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A specimen copy will be supplied on receipt of postal stamps worth three annas. MANAGER

# HARIJAN

Feb. 10

1946

## ITS IMPLICATIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The vast meeting at Palni under the shadow of the Temple was perfectly silent; there were no noises. I seized the occasion to give the audience the implications of removal of untouchability. It began with touch but it would be a wooden thing, if it merely ended there. A Brahmin may be a depraved man in spite of his learning. It would be preposterous to call him one. A Brahmin is he who knows *Brahma*. It is character, not occupation, that determines the man. The Bhangi is or should be on a par with the Brahmin in all social relations. There is no reason why he should not, other things being equal, occupy the chair which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad occupies with distinction. I would be happy to see the day when a Bhangi, working as such, is in the Presidential chair.

The ulcer of untouchability has gone so deep down that it seems to pervade our life. Hence the unreal differences: Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, provinces and provinces, religion and religion. Why should there be all this poison smelling of untouchability? Why should we not all be children of one Indian family and, further, of one human family? Are we not like branches of the same tree?

When untouchability is rooted out, these distinctions will vanish and no one will consider himself superior to any other. Naturally, exploitation too will cease and co-operation will be the order of the day.

Having dealt with untouchability, I turned to the pilgrimage. There was fear of my being unable to negotiate the flight of over six hundred steps on a chair, if crowds of people insisted on accompanying me up the hill which was too small to accommodate them. I would be satisfied with doing *darshan* at the foot of the hill. Let not the people, however, think that I was guided by any belief in the potency of images of clay or precious metal. Idols became what the devotees made of or imputed to them. For me they had no potency whilst Harijans were prohibited from entering temples. I had passed by the famous Minakshi Temple in Madura more than once before and never cared to go inside it whilst the prohibition against the Harijans lasted. How could I, who claim to be a Bhangi, care to enter such temples? Then, I was sure that the God of India was God living in the plains where the millions lived. How many could reach the Himalayas? Many have gone and more could certainly go to Palni, but the crores could not. I would be, as I am, one of them.

I was sure too that my prayer at the foot of the hill would be heard more than that of some devotees in the temple itself. God knew and cared for the hearts of men. Outward appearance

was nothing to Him if it was not an expression of the inner. It was enough for me that the Harijans were as free as any other Hindu to enter the Palni temple for the purpose of worship.

Nevertheless the millions who were assured that I would have *darshan* of the image itself would not understand this message and might feel that some calamity would descend upon the country, if I could not go up the hill. Their silence at the meeting encouraged the hope that I might be able to go through the advertised programme.

The speech was delivered at nearly 6 p. m. But at 8 p. m. I found that I was able to negotiate the hill, and though there was a large crowd at the entrance none insisted on joining while Rajaji and I were being taken up the hill in chairs. Thus happily did the pilgrimage come to a successful end.

One swallow does not make summer. No legitimate inference can be drawn from this incident. However, I cannot help cherishing the fond hope that it augurs well for India under Swaraj, Home Rule or Independence, by whatever name one may choose to call the thing.

Perhaps this article is the proper place for recording my thanks to the South Indian Railway and the staff for their considering no trouble too great for making the journey as little tiresome as it was possible for it to be under the circumstances.

On the train to Madras from Palni,  
4-2-'46

## HOMAGE

"Oh! for the touch of a vanished hand,  
And the sound of a voice that is still."

I can well understand how hard it will be for readers of "Harijan" to reconcile themselves to the absence of columns penned weekly by its late beloved Editor. But to those of us who had seen at close quarters with what single-eyed devotion he served his master's cause, the absence of M. D., always keenly felt, is today a most poignant grief.

My close contact with him began when circumstances at long last permitted me to throw in my lot with Bapu. The memory of work with him, of lessons learnt from him and the firm friendship formed will ever be a priceless treasure. Noble of mien, noble in bearing and nobler still in character is the bare truth about Mahadev. A man of irresistible charm, with a highly sensitive nature he was quick to respond to affection, full of sympathy and understanding and of superb generosity. But what drew one to him and elicited one's admiration even more than his lovable nature and outstanding ability was his utter humility. No wonder that early in life a man of his calibre was drawn to lay his all at the feet of one whom he served with unflinching loyalty to the end.

May we, who try to help Bapu, be granted, in however small measure, the deep understanding and unerring interpretation of his way of life that was Mahadev's priceless possession and which added so much to the world-wide appreciation of and love for 'Harijan'.

On the train to Madura,  
2nd February, '46

A. K.



## HINDUSTANI (By M. K. Gandhi)

How can any Indian really be averse to Hindustani? Lovers of Sanskritised Hindi are, however, afraid that Hindustani will hurt Hindi and likewise lovers of Persianised Urdu fear hurt to Urdu. These fears are futile. No language can spread through mere propaganda. If it had been so "Esperanto" would have found a place amongst the populace in the West. They failed because in such a matter the enthusiasm of only a few cannot succeed. The language of a people who produce hard workers, literary experts, businessmen and enterprising persons spreads and is enriched. It is ours to make the effort in that direction.

Only that language which the people of a country will themselves adopt can become national. However virile the English language may be, it can never become the language of the masses of India. If the British regime were to be permanent it would continue to be the official language of their Indian officials and because education would be in their hands provincial languages would suffer. The late Lokamanya once said that the British had done a service to the provincial languages. This is true to some extent. But it was not their business to encourage them nor could they in reality do so. That work belongs to the people and their leaders. If the English-educated neglect as they have done and even now continue, as some do, to be ignorant of their mother tongue, linguistic starvation will abide.

We are today certain that the British Raj cannot remain for ever. They say and we believe that it will go even this year. Then there can be no national language for us other than Hindustani. Today there are two forms of this language, Hindi and Urdu, the former written in Nagari and the latter in Urdu script. One is fed by Sanskrit, the other by Persian and Arabic. Today, therefore, both must remain. But Hindustani will be a mixture of these. What shape it will take in the future none can say nor need we know. Twenty three crores out of thirty speak Hindustani. This number must have increased *pari passu* with the population. Obviously in this lies the national language.

There ought to be no quarrel between the two sisters Hindi and Urdu. The rivalry is with English. This struggle itself means much labour. The rise of Hindustani will also give an impetus to the provincial languages because it is the language of the masses, not of a handful of officials.

It was for the propaganda of the national language that I went recently to the South. The name Hindi used there up-till-now has been changed to Hindustani. During the last few months several persons have been learning both the scripts and have obtained certificates. In the South too the difficulty is not about the two scripts but in regard to English. We may not blame the official world for this. The fault lies in us. It is we who are infatuated with English. I found this disease even in Hindustani Nagar. But I hope that the illusion will now disappear. A good deal has been done in

the South but much still remains if we have to reach the desired goal.  
5-2-'46

## THE LESSON OF MADURA (By M. K. Gandhi)

The crowd in Madura could not have been less than five lacs and may have been even six. Human faces were to be seen as far as the horizon. It was a veritable sea of human faces. The long route to the race course was lined by people who were all to swell the crowd in the prayer ground. They must push on as much as they could. I doubt if the people on the fringe could even see me, much less hear me or any one else, even though loud speaker arrangements were good and the rostrum high enough. The volunteers were not used to manage such vast crowds. People had come from distant villages where the Congressmen had not worked habitually, if at all. Such being the case the din and noise and jostle were unavoidable. And then the crowd had to deal with a Satyagrahi in me. But my Satyagraha for the first time failed. The people's was bound to fail. They showed the greatest forbearance whilst I was passive. The vast multitude in front of me and on either side sat noiseless and motionless, in spite of the pressure from behind. But the jostling and noise from behind the rostrum continued unabated. I therefore cleared the dais and asked the women members of my party to go. Only Rajaji, Kanu Gandhi and Ramkrishna Bajaj remained. The latter said the way was clear, but as I appeared the people became restive. I addressed the people in front and at the sides and pleaded with them to go away as I did not propose to speak. They remained silent but would not leave. So I thought I would rest where I was for the night till the crowd had either dispersed or made a way for me. Kanu Gandhi the tempter came again and said the people would make a passage and let me go. The car would wait for me at a distance from the crowd. In a weak moment I yielded. I went down the few steps of the improvised strong ladder only to meet the same pressing and noisy crowd as before, though considerably thinned. It was not a safe passage through a noiseless, disciplined crowd for which I was pleading and waiting. It was neither a mischievous crowd. Making noise and pressing forward towards the idol was the only way of expressing their love towards it. Here was a living idol made of the same clay as they. And this idol could not and would not appreciate their loud demonstration. But I proved an impatient and inefficient teacher. Had I waited, I believe this particular crowd would have learnt the value of silent and knowing love, probably of discipline requisite for Swaraj. I shall know much better next time if such ever comes. Any way it is legitimate to ask whether the exemplary behaviour at Palni was a result of the imperfect lesson of the previous night at Madura. In any case, no blame attaches to anybody in the drama and nobody has any cause for shame.

En route to Wardha, 5-2-'46

## GANDHIJI'S IDEAL OF A PRIVATE SECRETARY

### I

The term 'Private Secretary' in connection with Gandhiji is somewhat of a misnomer as he has nothing private nor secret from which indeed the word 'Secretary' is derived. Private Secretaryship under him is, in a sense, *sui generis*. In the popular imagination 'Private Secretary', especially in its political association, carries with it a glamour, a suggestion of prestige and influence. Permanent under-secretaries of departments, for instance, are known to wield power which makes them a force to be reckoned with, while secretaryship to powerful political chiefs is often coveted as a stepping stone to a public career and office, maybe in succession to the Chief himself. In the case of Gandhiji, however, all this is reversed. His ideal secretary must have no interest save how best to serve his master's ideals. He must turn his back on name and fame and all those glittering prizes of life which the average man covets. He must efface himself completely, merge himself in the master without, however, losing his personality. He must become, in short, his *alter ego*—autonomous but in perfect unison with him. This is the central requirement; all others flow from it as corollaries.

During the Second Round Table Conference in London a young secretary in India Office, who had come very close to us, once assured us in a confiding mood of his good offices with the then Under Secretary of State Lord Peel whenever necessary. "You know the influence private secretaries wield," he added with a wink. We told him that we were an exception, we were only *hammals* (coolies). "I am another", he quickly parried, and we all had a hearty laugh.

Gandhiji has variously described himself as a scavenger, spinner, weaver and agriculturist. His secretary has therefore to be an understudy in all these. Gandhiji claims to be only the first servant of the nation. He expects his secretary to consider himself to be the servant of the least. Mere intellectual brilliance counts for very little in his eyes, but passion for truth, rectitude and a sincere striving for the ideals for which he stands means everything to him. Work of any kind under him is a discipline and apprenticeship in life and secretaryship is no exception. His secretary must be ready to perform the meanest task that may come his way with as much willingness, diligence, concentration and care as the biggest. The tasks may range from cooking, washing of clothes, cleaning of latrines or tending the sick to running a big daily newspaper, answering awkward questions from none too friendly and persistent correspondents, reproducing from memory notes of an important conversation or interview or negotiating an interview with the Viceroy or his officials. The late Shri Desai acquitted himself equally creditably in each and all of them. But it was in the former that his apprenticeship with Gandhiji really began and Gandhiji used often to remark in later years that his brilliant success in the latter was due to his schooling in the former.

The first thing that a secretary of Gandhiji has to learn is the importance of being punctilious and exact in little things. Nothing must be done in a slipshod or slovenly manner, be it ever so insignificant. Even in a hastily scribbled note all the t's must be crossed and i's dotted. To post even an ordinary postcard without revision he regards as inexcusable. To try to excuse yourself on the score of pressure of work or lack of time is only to accuse yourself, and heaven help the unfortunate who lands himself in that unenviable position! He insists upon thoroughness and precision in everything. Even a short reply to a casual correspondent must show a close study and grasp of the matter dealt with.

His secretary must not await instructions, he must be able to anticipate them. In other words, he must be able to think and act independently of him, and in a measure to replace him. In 1921, the late Pt. Motilal Nehru asked Gandhiji to send some one, preferably Shri Desai, to take charge of the 'Independent' after the late Shri George Joseph whose arrest was expected. It was a great wrench for Shri Desai to be away from Gandhiji. "Why can't you send P.?", he pleaded. "Don't you see, I can't deprive Lalaji (Lala Lajpatrai) of P.'s services? He is his right hand man", replied Gandhiji. "And I?", protested Shri Desai. "You, I want to cultivate as my brain", rejoined Gandhiji and worthily did Shri Desai answer that expectation.

Assisting in correspondence or other desk work, as I have already remarked, occupies a very small space in Gandhiji's conception of secretarial work. His secretary must be able to interpret him and propagate his ideals and this demands that he should have realized those ideals in his own person. Take, for instance, the multitude of activities which Gandhiji is conducting e. g. Khadi, Village Industries, Harijan service, basic education, cow service and, last but not the least, the Ashram. In order to be of real help to him, his secretary must not only have theoretical knowledge of all these but must in a measure identify himself with these in practice. Thus, the late Shri Mahadev Desai had a passion for spinning, particularly spinning on takli and the stamp of his interest could be seen in the columns of 'Young India' and 'Harijan'. Those who saw him issue forth at the head of the bucket-and-broom brigade from Maganwadi, day after day and week after week, in the midst of heavy pressure of work, could understand his passionate advocacy of the cause of Harijans and Village uplift in Gandhiji's weeklies. Not only did it enable him to present Gandhiji's ideas on these subjects with force and conviction through his writings, but his personal example fired workers with a passion for these branches of Gandhiji's activities.

Gandhiji is a very exacting task-master. "Therein fail not" is his motto. Whenever he has assigned a task to you, difficulties in the way are never accepted as an excuse for failing to perform it. You have to foresee and be prepared for all emergencies.

Thus, the late Shri Desai often carried candles with him during railway journeys to enable him to work at night in case there were no lights in the compartment (as at times it happened in those early days in Bihar), or the lights failed. Once he actually had to do the writing for 'Young India' by getting into the lavatory of Gandhiji's second class compartment. Lights in Gandhiji's compartment had to be put out at bed time to enable Gandhiji to go to sleep and the balance of the matter had to be made up and posted by a particular time. When Gandhiji visited the lavatory in the middle of the night, he was surprised to find the two of us already in possession — our papers spread out on the floor. We got a scolding but the writing was finished and posted at the right station so as to reach Ahmedabad in time for the next weekly issue of 'Young India'. During the twentythree years that he was associated with Gandhiji, in conducting his various weeklies ( and this included visits to Burma, Ceylon, and England ), I do not remember a single occasion when the publication of any of them was held up or delayed owing to late arrival of matter.

( To be Continued )

P.

### A Model

[ Shri Thakkar Bapa sends the following account of Dr. Gurubatham's work in Shantipuram, Chittur District. P. ]

"Dr. Gurubatham is a medical man who has specialized in eye diseases. Up till a few months ago he was practising in Coimbatore and Vellore and has a reputation for cataract operations. He has, however, given up his lucrative practice and decided to settle down in a rural area. His estate of 60 acres is on the banks of the Palar river and he is now popularly known as the "Palar Doctor". He and his family are Christians in the best sense of the term. The eldest son is a graduate in agriculture. In spite of being a landlord, he tills the soil and works in the fields with the labourers. The doctor too has taken to farming. In addition he is a carpenter and blacksmith. He has sheep and poultry as well as a good dairy. In fact there is no aspect of village life in which he does not take interest.

He has built a simple home for himself and his wife. There is a guest-house too which is, at the moment, being used for in-patients. In addition to dispensing medicines he performs urgent operations. But his main object is to serve the villagers in every way. Both his second son and daughter are studying medicine and Dr. Gurubatham hopes they will step into his shoes. He has a school where 30 children are receiving instruction. He is anxious to turn this into a basic school. He is fighting against untouchability. He will not allow his date palms to be tapped in the sure hope that when the new government comes there will be prohibition and the trees will yield 'gur' instead of toddy. Labourers and artisans are being paid a higher wage by him than the 3 or 4 annas which they usually earn.

Dr. Gurubatham has been working in villages off and on for six years. He has found it an uphill task but is certain of success. He hopes to make Shantipuram the

Sevagram of the South where workers may be trained to build up village life in his province."

### NON-VIOLENCE AND MOLESTATION OF WOMEN

On the night of 29th December 1945, Gandhiji met about 200 men and women of Mahishadal and the nearabout villages. They included local workers and victims of police and military atrocities during the 1942 upheaval. Gandhiji invited questions. The first question was whether they were expected to remain non-violent even in the face of their women being dishonoured. They believed in suffering for Swaraj. They believed that any departure from non-violence would delay the coming of Swaraj. Then, what could they do in cases of molestation of their womenfolk?

Gandhiji replied that he had been asked the same question in 1920 and 1921 and he could only repeat the reply which he gave then. The question betrayed ignorance of non-violence and also of Swaraj of his conception. He did not want Swaraj at the cost of women's honour. If what passed as non-violence did not enable them to protect the honour of women or if it did not enable the women to protect their own honour, it was not non-violence. "Believe me, it is something quite different," and he described what he had written in "Hind Swaraj" in 1909. The reader should read the argument on pages 44 to 51 of the Navajivan Press edition. Gandhiji observed that experience had added force to the argument. "After all who protected Sita from Ravan? The Poet tells us that her purity was such that Ravan dared not compass his end without her consent."

He warned them in the end that if anybody came to him with the plea that they could not protect the honour of their womenfolk because they had taken the vow of non-violence, he would give them no quarter. Non-violence should never be used as a shield for cowardice. It was a weapon of the brave. He would rather they died fighting violently than became helpless witnesses to such atrocities. A truly non-violent man would never live to tell the tale of such atrocities. He would have laid down his life on the spot in non-violent resistance.

In this connection I am reminded of Gandhiji's Frontier tour where the Khudai Khidmatgars had asked him the same question. "What if the miscreant does not kill you but ties you up instead and gags you so that you are forced to be a silent witness of his misdeed," they had asked after hearing his reply which was practically the same as he gave to the people at Mahishadal. "I will struggle," he had replied, "so that I will either break the bonds or break myself in the effort. In no case will I remain a helpless witness. When that intensity of feeling is there God will come to your aid and somehow or other spare you the agony of being a living witness to such a deed."

Mahishadal,

Saturday, 29-12-'45

S. N.



## Notes

### 'Harijan' Revived

Why is "Harijan" revived? This question may have occurred to many as it has to me. I may tell the reader that no special effort was made for its revival. An application for the removal of the ban was made on 3-12-'45 and the ban was removed on 10-1-'46. Many readers, including English and American, had all along felt a void and they began to feel it more after the defeat of the Fascist Powers. The reason for the feeling was obvious. They wanted my reaction, in terms of Truth and Non-violence, to the various events happening in India, if not in the world. I wished to satisfy this desire.

There have been cataclysmic changes in the world. Do I still adhere to my faith in truth and non-violence? Has not the atom bomb exploded that faith? Not only has it not done so but it has clearly demonstrated to me that the twins constitute the mightiest force in the world. Before it the atom bomb is of no effect. The two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one is infinitely superior to the other which by its very nature has an end. The force of the spirit is ever progressive and endless. Its full expression makes it unconquerable in the world. In saying this I know that I have said nothing new. I merely bear witness to the fact. What is more, that force resides in everybody, man, woman and child, irrespective of the colour of the skin. Only in many it lies dormant, but it is capable of being awakened by judicious training.

It is further to be observed that without the recognition of this truth and due effort to realize it, there is no escape from self-destruction. The remedy lies in every individual training himself for self-expression in every walk of life, irrespective of response by the neighbours. "Harijan" will attempt from week to week to stand up for this truth and illustrate it.

On way to Madura,

2-2-'46

M. K. G.

### Nature Cure Clinic

Readers are aware that I have become co-trustees with Shree Jehangir Patel and with Dr. Dinshah Mehta in his clinic at Poona. A condition of the trust is that from January 1st. this year the clinic should become a clinic for the poor instead of for the rich. The conception was mine but owing to my absence on tour the condition has not been wholly fulfilled. I am hoping to go to Poona this month, however, and trust I shall be able to do some work in this connection. My fervent hope is that rich patients will, if they come, pay to their fullest capacity and yet live in the same wards as the poor. I believe that by doing so they will derive more benefit from henceforth. Those unwilling to abide by this condition need not trouble to go to the clinic. This rule is necessary.

In addition to treatment for their ailments, poor patients will also be taught how to live healthy lives. It is a common belief today that nature cure is expensive, more so than Ayurvedic or allopathic. If this is proved to be true I shall have to admit failure. But I believe that the opposite is true and my experience also bears out the belief. It is the duty of a nature cure doctor not only to look after the body but also pay attention to and prescribe for the soul of a patient. The best prescription for the soul is of course *Ramanama* (God's name). I cannot today go into the meaning of and method of applying *Ramanama*. I will only say that the poor do not stand in need of much medicine. They die uncared for as it is. Their ignorance makes them blind to what nature teaches us. If the Poona experiment succeeds, Dr. Dinshah Mehta's dream of a nature cure university will come true.

Help of India's true nature cure doctors is needed in this great work for the country. There can be no question of making money in it. The need is for those who are filled with the spirit of service to the poor and only with a sufficient number of such doctors can the work progress. The mere title of a doctor is no criterion; a real doctor is he who is a true servant. Those who have experience and knowledge and are anxious to serve may write with a list of their qualifications. No replies will be given to those whose qualifications are not upto standard.

Readers will please note that work has increased with the revival of 'Harijan'. There will, therefore, be very little scope for replying to individual letters.

On train to Wardha,

5-2-'46

M. K. G.

(Translated from Hindustani)

### For Past Subscribers

Those subscribers who did not ask for a refund of the balance of their subscriptions on the suspension of 'Harijan' have a right to the delivery of 'Harijan' for the balance due to them, provided their present addresses are traceable. Those, therefore, who have changed their addresses should notify the change to the Manager.

J. DESAI

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# HARIJAN

Editor : PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 2]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## SOME LABOUR QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During the pilgrimage to Madras and Palni the following document signed by 259 persons was handed to me at a tremendously large meeting of labourers at Golden Rock:

"We the workers of the S. I. Ry. beg to place before you some of our major problems with a view to get your support.

"Nearly 264,000 workers are going to be retrenched all over the Railways. In S. I. Ry. alone 10,000 will be retrenched and till now more than 2,000 have been discharged. The Government contemplate absorption of ex-service men in place of Railwaymen, thus putting us against the ex-soldiers.

"We have been demanding a minimum living wage of Rs. 30/- per mensem. At present the lowest wage is Rs. 8/- to Rs. 15/- and a majority of us receive less than Rs. 18/- per mensem.

"Out of 42,000 Railway employees only 8,000 are provided with quarters, of which the majority are infested with insanitary conditions, and are without proper ventilation.

"You may be aware of the decision of the All India Railwaymen's Federation demanding adjudication or a court of enquiry if they refuse to redress our grievances and accept the suggestions. The suggestions were intended for improvements in the Railway system and the condition of the employees. For your reference we are giving below the sixteen suggestions forwarded to the Railway Board and the Government by the Federation.

1. Reduction of work to 40 hours per week as a first step and further to 40 hours per week for all the staff including running staff without fall in wages.

2. Introduction of weekly calendar days off for all the Railwaymen.

3. Leave reserves to be increased to 25%.

4. Reduction of rail length for Engineering gangmen.

5. Extension of leave facilities to daily rated and inferior service staff on a par with subordinates.

6. All the work now done through contract labour should be taken over departmentally.

7. Reduction of mileage for overhaul of locomotives, wagons and carriages.

8. Expansion of workshop production namely construction of boilers, engine parts etc.

9. Manufacture of locomotives, carriages and wagons in the Indian Railway workshops.

10. Rebuilding of third class carriages so as to provide better facilities for passengers such as bath rooms, fans, and sleeping accommodation for long distance travel etc.

11. Reopening all the lines that were closed and the restoration of all the trains stopped during the period of war and further expansion of services to meet the needs of the public.

12. A programme of house building with a view to provide decent houses for all Railwaymen.

13. Construction of new lines to suit the needs of the country.

14. Laying down of double tracks wherever necessary.

15. Introduction of Rail Motor transport to the distant towns and villages where railways cannot reach.

16. R. A. F. workshops now controlled by Railways to be maintained and extended to serve the needs of aviation.

"In the demand of ours for full work, living wages, proper housing facilities etc., we request you to support us and give a lead in the matter to the country and force the Railway Board to accept the same and save thousands of Railwaymen and others from unemployment, misery and poverty."

If the workers are to be retrenched in order to make room, as alleged in the letter, for ex-soldiers, it is, in my opinion, doubly wrong. Wrong for the ex-soldiers in that they will be favoured and a soldier who accepts favoured treatment is no soldier. The second wrong will be to the men to be retrenched who, for no fault of their own, will be thrown out of employment. It will not do to say they were temporary hands. The State has to find work for all unemployed persons.

Coming to the Railwaymen's demands, items Nos. 1-9 and No. 12 fall, in my opinion, within the sphere of labour, but whether they are reasonable or not cannot be said without hearing the Railway Authorities' side. They should be referred to arbitration. They cannot be made a subject of strike before the process of arbitration has been gone through. Any lightning strike is a form of dictation which is dangerous.

Items Nos. 10, 11 and 13-16 cannot legitimately be demanded by labourers. They are passengers' grievances and passengers, i. e. the public, can take them up.

Item No. 10, I would consider quite extravagant. By far the largest number of passengers belong to the 3rd class and I have no doubt they deserve progressively better treatment, not the 1st and 2nd

class. Railway cars of the not distant future will have no classes. Classless society is the ideal, not merely to be aimed at but to be worked for and, in such society, there is no room for classes or communities. Until that time is arrived at, 1st and 2nd class comforts should be standardized and lowered where necessary and all attention bestowed upon 3rd class passengers. But I cannot visualize a time when 3rd class carriages, no matter how distant the journey may be, can carry bathing accommodation for tens of thousands of travellers. What is required is proper bathing arrangements for 3rd class passengers at railway stations. 3rd class passengers are the most neglected in India. Railway cars and railway stations should be utilized for proper education of the public in sanitation and cleanliness. This is not the case today. And the quicker Hindu and Mohammedan tea or water distinctions disappear the better. Why should the State recognize these unnatural and irreligious distinctions? Those who consider themselves defiled by service rendered by persons not belonging to their own persuasion may well be left to their own resources.

The Association for Railway Passengers' relief should certainly ventilate grievances before the authorities. Their main work should be to conduct sustained education among the passengers as to their own duty towards one another and about observing laws of cleanliness and hygiene.

Sevagram, 8-2-46

### AND SO IT CAME OUT

Despatching of matter for the 'Harijan' weeklies always used to be a bit of an exciting adventure when Gandhiji used to be constantly on the move. It involved pouring over railway maps and endless columns of Bradshaw and the Indian Post and Telegraph Guide, checking up of train timings and train connections, not to mention the exigencies of late arrivals and erratic habits of certain trains. It made some of Gandhiji's staff fair experts in the arcana of Indian postal lore. For instance, Gandhiji could tell with exact precision the time the post would take to be delivered at a particular place by the various alternative routes. Once in the course of Gandhi-Irwin negotiations a question arose as to whether a particular letter which Lord Irwin had addressed to Gandhiji had been despatched in time. Lord Irwin maintained that it must have been. "Then it ought to have reached me before I left Bardoli," replied Gandhiji. "You better make an inquiry in your office. There is bound to have been some despatching delay." And so in the end it proved to be.

But all his precision availed nothing this time before the vagaries of the 'special' which brought us to Wardha from Madras. It was the European member from Madras, I think, who once, in the course of a debate in the Central Assembly, compared the "speed and steadiness" of the Grand Trunk Express to that of a "drunken caterpillar in the final stages of inebriety". Well, Gandhiji's special train outdid the record of Mr. F. E. James' Grand Express. It was scheduled to reach Wardha at 5 p. m.

The Bombay Mail left Wardha at 6.10 p. m.. From Madras to Madura and Palni and back was a giddy whirl of distractions for Gandhiji and he did the bulk of his writing during the train journey to Wardha. We had counted upon posting part of the copy from Wardha. All of a sudden on the morning of the 5th Gandhiji called me. "Are we running to time?", he asked. "There was an unnecessary forty minutes' delay at Bezwada and another at Kazipet."

"It is true," I said. "We are already two hours behind time. The delay I am told was owing to the difficulty in clearing the crowds at the stations named."

"Let me have a list of train stoppages at once," he remarked. "Let us see whether we cannot eliminate some of them to make up for the lost time." I ran to the guard and explained to him the situation.

"Sorry," he replied. "Only two more stoppages. One is the reversing station, the other the watering station."

"Then speed up till the boiler bursts," I said laughing rather ruefully.

"Track restrictions within the Nizam's Dominions don't permit it," he replied.

All the same when he came to report to Gandhiji a few minutes later he solemnly promised to 'try' to take the train to Wardha in time. It was however clear that his offer was to be taken only in the Pickwickian sense. There were 238 miles yet to be covered and even at the rate of 40 m. p. h. and without any stoppage it would need six hours. By that time it would be 8 p. m.. So we gave up all further striving. Apparently the train staff took the cue from us and, what with the "watering requirements" of the everthirsty engine and with other causes too abstruse for a layman to follow, the train arrived at Wardha at 11.45 at night.

What was to be done? Get the matter sent by air from Bombay? But the plane takes off from Bombay before the arrival of the Bombay Mail these days. "Let us send copies of all the articles to Bombay and get the first issue of the 'Harijan' weeklies, printed there," Gandhiji suggested. "I once did like that in Phoenix in the case of 'Indian Opinion'."

"But what about despatch? We have not got the subscribers' registers." So that was that.

"Let us try to send all articles including Hindustani and Gujarati by wire," I suggested.

"Then put the Hindustani and Gujarati articles in Roman script."

I spent the whole of the morning at this thankless task. (When will our news agencies begin to transmit press messages in Rashtrabhasha over the wires?) But, in the meantime Kanu Gandhi had a brainwave. "Send English articles by wire and the rest by a special messenger. He will reach there one day late but if the Harijan work begins earlier, the press will be able to catch up with the rest. And so a special messenger was sent and the first issue of the three weeklies was once more brought out in time after all the misadventures.

Sevagram, 9-2-46

PYARELAL

## GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the press :

The food situation brought the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy to me. I had many meetings and appointments up to a fairly long time. These I could not disregard and I do not know how to fly and hope I may never have to do so. Therefore, in reply to an imperative invitation from His Excellency, I asked that he should send me someone who could speak for him and so the P. S. V. came yesterday. Food situation alone brought him to me. Could I say something in order to lift the question out of the political arena and out of the general distrust of Government intentions and policy? As the matter brooks no delay I give here the purport of what I said. So far as the Congress policy is concerned His Excellency should invite Maulana Sahib and if he cannot come ask him to name his deputy. I personally feel that the present irresponsible executive should be immediately replaced by a responsible one chosen from the elected members of the Central Legislature. I also personally feel that this responsibility should be shouldered by the elected members of the Central Legislature irrespective of parties, for famine of cloth and food is common to the millions of India. Whether the Government can accept the suggestion and whether the different political parties that compose the Central Legislature consider it practicable or not is more than I can say. But this much I can say without fear of contradiction. I have little doubt that if the mercantile community and the official world become honest, if only in face of the impending calamity, we are such a vast country that we can just tide over the difficulty even if no help comes from the outside world, which is itself groaning. Grain and cloth dealers must not hoard, must not speculate. Food should be grown on all cultivable areas wherever water is or is made available. Flower gardens should be used for growing food crops. This has been done during the period of war. The present is, in some respects, worse than the war period. Before we have eaten up the grain we have in stock we must economize like misers. All ceremonial functions should be stopped. Women can play the highest part in the alleviation of the present distress by economizing in their households. In nine tenths of our activity we can manage our daily affairs without the aid of the Government, whatever its colour may be, if only it will refrain from interfering with the people. Panic must be avoided at all costs. We must refuse to die before death actually takes toll and think of the skeletons of India and the least little thing we may do to help, and all will be well with India. Let us not hypnotize ourselves into the belief that because we can indulge ourselves, our next-door neighbour can do likewise. Cloth famine, I know, is a mockery for, if only the Government and millowners will act honestly and intelligently, no one need go naked for want of cloth. We have cotton enough and idle hands enough

and skill enough to make in our villages all the cloth we need.

Note: Readers will realize that as it was Gandhiji's silence day his replies could only be given in writing.

EDITOR

## PRESERVATION OF CATTLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Goseva Sangh which has its headquarters in Wardha was the late Shri Jammalalji's last creation. He served the public cause in a variety of ways. For years money-making had ceased to be his main occupation. If he cared for money it was only with the object of financing public activities. Eleventh day of February was the fifth anniversary of his death, and his followers and comrades decided to celebrate this anniversary by holding a meeting of friends and workers of the Goseva Sangh.

An hour before he died he was working for this cause. Gopuri where the meeting took place is his creation. His ashes rest there and the first meeting of the Sangh was also held there. The name *Goseva* was chosen after careful thought. The sense of patronage contained in *Goraksha* was eliminated by the substitution of the word *Seva*. The Hindu believes in the cow as mother and indeed she is so. An American has described her as the "Mother of Prosperity" and the description is correct. It is another matter that they eat beef in the West. They believe, at the same time, that the cow occupies the highest place amongst those animals which contribute to man's comfort and happiness. It is difficult, if not impossible, for an Indian to think of man as being able to live without cow's milk.

Preservation of cattle is a vital part of *Goseva*. It is a vital question for India. And it is a tragedy that the country which worships the cow pays scant attention to her and her progeny. While we may not kill the cow we definitely torture her. Matters have reached such a sorry pass that today cattle seem to have become a burden and people talk of killing them off in order to lighten this load. What could one Jammalalji do to battle against such odds? And now, even he is not among us.

Speeches are not going to solve the problem. There is urgent need for deep study and the spirit of sacrifice. To amass money and dole out charity does not connote real business capacity. To know how to preserve cattle, to impart this knowledge to the millions, to live up to the ideal oneself and to spend money on this endeavour is real business. Today the opposite obtains. The rich amass wealth somehow and salve their consciences by giving a paltry sum out of it towards the upkeep of *Goshalas* by untrained persons and fancy that they have acquired merit. Jammalalji was well aware of these shortcomings and was working out a scheme to overcome them. In the meanwhile, death claimed him. Perhaps even greater capacity is needed to solve this immensely difficult problem than to obtain Swaraj.

(From the Hindustani)

Sevagram, 9-2-'46



# HARIJAN

Feb. 17

1946

## FAMINE OF GRAIN AND CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During my wanderings in Bengal, Assam and Madras I heard tales of distress due to shortage of food and cloth. Reports come to me from other parts of India. They support the same tale. Dr. Rajendraprasad tells me that the Government report expressing fear of shortage of food immediately doubled the market price. This is a bad sign. Such speculation should be a thing of the past. The merchantile community should be competent to curb such greed. Let them not add to the distress caused by the Government mistakes or incompetence. There are merchantile associations and chambers. If they act patriotically, they can help most to prevent panic and speculation.

It is the fashion to blame nature for famine. Scarcity of rain is by no means a monopoly of India. In other countries, though people welcome rains they have made themselves fairly independent of rainfall during a season or two. Here, Government have used themselves and the public to the idea that famines come when there is shortage of water-fall. Had the mind been framed otherwise, they would have made adequate provision for shortfalls. They only tinkered with the problem and naturally so. For, the official world was taught to think no better. Originality there could be none in a close monopoly organization like the Government of India. It is the largest autocracy the world has known. Democracy has been reserved only for Great Britain. And when it rules and exploits millions belonging to other races, it becomes an unmitigated evil. It corrupts the whole island with the idea that such exploitation is the best thing for an enlightened democracy to do. It would be well to remember this fundamental fact, if I have correctly estimated it. If we recognize this, while dealing with the immediate problem we shall be patient with the precept actors. There is no call here for patience with the evil. The distinction will enable us, the better to deal with the evil.

We must then first put our own house in order as far as may be, and at the same time demand from the foreign Government that since they mean what they say, let them at once replace the irresponsible executive with elected and responsible members from the Central Legislature, however archaic and based only on a limited franchise it may be. There is nothing to prevent the Viceroy from doing this today. I do not propose to answer the difficulties in anticipation. "Where there's a will, there's a way." This one act will restore confidence and allay panic.

"Grow more food" was not a bad cry during the war. It is a greater necessity now. This can be best done only by a national executive. Even its mistakes will not loom so large as those of a nomi-

nated executive, however able the latter may be. As it is, even their ability and integrity are in question—rightly so or wrongly is beside the point in this connection. Everything possible should be done to draw water from the bowels of the earth. There is talent enough in this country for the purpose. Provincial selfishness should give place to the national want.

In addition to, not in the place of these measures, grain should be imported from wherever it can be had.

Cloth famine can and ought to be averted by telling the millions to spin and weave in their own villages, the State supplying them with cotton where it is not grown or available and with the simple instruments of production on hire or long-term purchase. The A. I. S. A. with its seasoned workers should be summoned to render assistance and guidance. This will take a few months, if the work is taken up in earnest. Indigenous mills will be called upon to assist this national process by a wise distribution of their cloth in cities and villages while the transition process is going on. Argumentation on the capacity of mills to supply all the cloth required should cease in face of the calamity which is existent and daily growing in intensity. Mills cannot find employment for the millions of unemployed villagers. The educative value of the charkha is not to be surpassed. But for the spell of hypnotism which rules our minds today, we shall all realize this obvious truth, set ourselves working out the concrete proposition and thereby restore confidence to the millions and may be even to the world which has neither enough food nor cloth.

Sevagram, 10-2-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. While in conversation or doing brain work or when one is suddenly worried, can one recite *Ramnam* (the name of God) in one's heart? Do people do so at such times and, if so, how?

A. Experience shows that man can do so at any time, even in sleep, provided *Ramnam* is enshrined in his heart. If the taking of the name has become a habit, its recitation through the heart becomes as natural as the heart beat. Otherwise, *Ramnam* is a mere mechanical performance or at best has touched the heart only on the surface. When *Ramnam* has established its dominion over the heart, the question of vocal recitation does not arise. Because then it transcends speech. But it may well be held that persons who have attained this state are few and far between.

There is no doubt whatsoever that *Ramnam* contains all the power that is attributed to it. No one can, by mere wishing, enshrine *Ramnam* in his heart. Untiring effort is required as also patience. What an amount of labour and patience have been lavished by men to acquire the non-existent philosopher's stone? Surely, God's name is of infinitely richer value and always existent.

Q. Is it necessary for the mind to go through different stages of progress (including collapse)

before it attains absolute calm? Why is it that even when one is awake and quite calm one's mind is often disturbed as in a dream? Why do such things as one has neither felt nor seen in real life intrude into one's conscious or sub-conscious mind?

A. Before attaining perfect calm it is essential for almost everyone to go through stages of progress. I use the word "almost" advisedly. It excludes those who have made consistent effort in a previous existence but without complete success and who will not, therefore, have to pass through purgatory in this life. When the apparently calm mind is disturbed as if by dreams it means that the calm is outward and not inward. What does not appear to have any relation to one's life's experience and yet disturbs shows, in my opinion, that there are many things which have associations but of which one has no recollection.

Q. Is it harmful if, owing to stress or exigencies of work, one is unable to carry out daily devotions in the prescribed manner? Which of the two should be given preference? Service or the rosary?

A. Whatever the exigencies of service or adverse circumstances may be, *Ramnam* must not cease. The outward form will vary according to the occasion. The absence of the rosary does not interrupt *Ramnam* which has found an abiding place in the heart. Sevagram, 9-2-'46

(From the Hindustani)

## THE LURE OF LEGISLATURES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I believe that some Congressmen ought to seek election in the legislatures or other elected bodies. In the past I did not hold this view. I had hoped that the boycott of legislatures would be complete. That was not to be. Moreover, times have changed. Swaraj seems to be near. Under the circumstances it is necessary that Congress should contest every seat in the legislatures. The attraction should never be the honour that a seat in a legislature is said to give. The desire and opportunity for service can be the only incentive for a Congressman. Congress should have, and has, such prestige that a Congress candidate is irresistible even where a particular seat is contested. Moreover, those that are not selected by the Board should not feel hurt. On the contrary they should feel happy that they are left free to render more useful service. But the painful fact is that those who are not selected by the Board do feel hurt.

The Congress should not have to spend money on the elections. Nominees of a popular organization should be elected without any effort on the latter's part. Conveyance arrangements for poor voters should be made by their well-to-do neighbours. For instance, if the voters from X have to go to Y, the railway fare from X to Y for the poor voters should be paid by the well-to-do people of X. That is the distinguishing feature of a well organized, non-violent, popular organization. An organization which looks to money for everything can never serve the masses. If money could bring success in a popular contest, the British Government which can and does spend most lavishly should be the most

popular body in India. The facts are that even Government servants drawing fat salaries do not, in their heart of hearts, want the British Government.

Let us examine the utility value of legislatures. The legislatures can expose the Government, but that is the least service. He who can tell the people why they become victims of the Government in spite of knowing its faults and can teach them how to stand up against Government wrongs renders a real service. The members cannot do this essential service, for their business is to make people look to them for the redress of wrongs.

The other use of legislatures is to prevent undesirable legislation and bring in laws which are useful for the public, so that as much help as possible can be given to the constructive programme.

Legislatures are supposed to carry out the popular will. For the moment eloquence may be of some use in these bodies. Ultimately that will not be the need. Experts with practical knowledge and those who can give to these few their support will be required. In an organization which exists for the sake of service and which has boycotted titles and other such paltry things, the sentiment that to be selected as candidates for the legislatures is a mark of honour is harmful. If such a sentiment takes root, it will bring down the name of the Congress and finally prove its ruin.

If Congressmen are to be reduced to such degradation, who will put flesh and blood into India's millions of skeletons? On whom will India and the world rely? (From the Gujarati)

On way to Sevagram, 5-2-'46

## NON-VIOLENT TECHNIQUE AND PARALLEL GOVERNMENT

Midnapore has always been in the forefront of the freedom struggle. The men and women of Mahishadal made history during the Salt Satyagraha of 1930. In the 1931 Satyagraha struggle it again bore the brunt of Government's repression when there was a mass flight of the inhabitants of the villages in Tamluk before the route marches of the military, characterized by such features as forcible salutation of the regimental colours, plunder and worse. The Mahisha community which inhabits the southern portion of this district around and about Mahishadal sub-division is a sturdy cultivator race. Struggle against nature through the centuries has taught them combination and co-operation. Agriculture depends upon proper drainage of the soil and successfully keeping the sea water out of cultivable land by means of dykes. Their sturdiness and social organization are thus a product of their natural environment.

Perhaps no part of India has passed through such fire of suffering as Midnapore during the August upheaval in 1942, when man's brutality completed the work of nature's wrath. Their suffering had chastened them but did not subdue their spirit. The chastening effect was visible in the perfect discipline and pin-drop silence that marked Gandhiji's prayer gatherings which were sometimes attended by over a lakh of people.

The question of non-violence and Jatiya Sarkar naturally constituted the core of the discussions which the Congress workers of Midnapore had with

Gandhiji during his visit to Mahishadal. Jatiya Sarkar was set up in the thanas of Sutahata, Nandigram, Mahishadal and Tamluk in Midnapore Dist. on 17-12-1942 and 16-1-1943 and was formally dissolved on August 8, 1944, as a result of the publication of Gandhiji's statement on secrecy and underground work after his release from detention. By September 1944, about 150 workers connected with it had come out into the open and surrendered themselves to the authorities. In a comprehensive report which the workers of Midnapore submitted to Gandhiji during his visit to Mahishadal they described in graphic detail how during the August upheaval the people had captured thanas, burnt down kutcheries, paralyzed communications, organized a parallel police service, intelligence branch and law courts where delinquents and those engaged in anti-social activities were brought to book and dealt with "according to law". They had scrupulously avoided taking of life, they claimed, and had therefore acted non-violently.

Later on they discussed the whole question of parallel government and sabotage with Gandhiji. "I cannot say," remarked Gandhiji "that all that has been done has been well done or ought to have been done. On the contrary, much of it ought not to have been done. That the people did not remain inert is a matter of satisfaction, but the fact that after all these years they should not have known what the Congress stood for is a matter for sorrow. What they did was thoughtless. By its very nature it could not be sustained.

"You have graphically put in your reports how you blew up a railway track, put a road out of use, burnt a kutchery, seized a thana, set up a parallel government and so on. This is not the technique of non-violent action. People committed the mistake of thinking that all that did not involve killing was non-violence. Sometimes killing is the cleanest part of violence. If you kill the mischief-maker outright, there is an end to it as far as he is concerned, but harassment is worse. It did not put out mischief. On the contrary, it brought the mischief on our own heads. The authorities became vindictive. Perhaps you will say that they would have been vindictive anyhow, but that is not what we should desire or aim at. It does not pay us to let them go into a panic.

"In August 1942, the authorities became panicky. We gave them that excuse. But they are a people who do not know what defeat is; their cowardice is not fundamental. So, they let such things as thanas, kutcheries, panchayat courts etc., remain in your hands for a short while as toys but as soon as they had completed their dispositions they turned the full blast of their machinery of retaliation against us. It is not in this way that India will attain her independence. We cannot afford to repeat it.

"Today you have to reckon not with Britain alone but the Big Three. You cannot successfully fight them with their own weapons. After all you cannot go beyond the atom bomb. Unless we can have a new way of fighting imperialism of all brands in the place of the outworn one of a violent rising, there is no hope for the oppressed races of the earth.

"Let nobody be misled by the Russian parallel," he continued. "Our tradition is wholly different from Russia's. The historical setting too is different. In Russia the whole population was under arms; Indian masses won't take to arms even if they could be given the necessary training. But it is useless to think that our rulers will let us give them that training when they have at a stroke disarmed a first-rate military state like Japan. Today Japan lies prostrate at the conqueror's feet. But non-violence knows no defeat. It must however be true non-violence, not a make-believe. I would not shed a single tear if I alone were left to represent such non-violence."

"After all that we have done and suffered," observed the friends, "we have begun to doubt whether our energies have flown in the right channel, whether the mass awakening was not misdirected. But, is not non-violent rebellion, a programme of seizure of power?" they asked.

"Therein lies the fallacy," replied Gandhiji. "A non-violent revolution is not a programme of 'seizure of power'. It is a programme of transformation of relationships ending in a peaceful transfer of power. If the people had fully carried out the five steps outlined by me in my 8th of August speech in the A. I. C. C. in Bombay, and had there been a perfect atmosphere of non-violence, the Government's power of repression would have been sterilized and it would have been compelled to yield to the national demand.

"If under the impact of foreign invasion or some such cause the ruling power abdicates and a vacuum is created, the people's organization will naturally take over its functions but such Jatiya Sarkar would have no other sanction except that of non-violence and service of the people to enforce its fiats. It will never use coercion. Even those who might hold contrary views will receive a full measure of security under it."

As an instance of the infinitely greater efficacy of the non-violent technique as compared to the technique of coercion, he mentioned the case of Bardoli. In Midnapore whilst they succeeded in capturing a few symbols of power in the initial stages, they could not retain the fruits of their success. But in Bardoli the Satyagrahis were able fully to retain the gains of their struggle. "Moreover, you have seen," resumed Gandhiji, "that all your bravery could not prevent the violation of women. Now that is intolerable. No one should be able to cast an evil eye upon them. This requires inculcation of a higher form of bravery, i. e. that of non-violence which can hurl defiance at death and against which the power of the aggressor cannot prevail. This is what I am trying to do. It may take time. It takes a long time to infuse this kind of higher courage among the millions. Whether this kind of non-violence will ever come into play or not I do not know. But you, who have had training in non-violence for all these years, ought to realize that in your hands non-violence should show all the brilliance that is inherent in it."

They next wanted to know as to how they could start on the right lines. Gandhiji in reply

prescribed to them the spinning wheel as "the symbol and central sun of the 18-fold constructive programme." It was the best way of achieving social solidarity and non-violent organization. The technique of non-violent action consisted in isolating and sterilizing the instruments of evil. Jatiya Sarkar based on non-violence would not put Government servants under duress but would effectively isolate them so that they would either have to align themselves with the people or be reduced to the necessity of carrying out the foreign Governments's writ through undiluted barbarism of which they would soon sicken and tire. Even their relations and dear ones would desert them. "This presupposes that no section among the people is labouring under a sense of injustice and wrong at the hands of the others. Untouchability, exploitation and communal rancour can have no place under a Jatiya Sarkar, or it will be like a house divided against itself which must fall."

Sevagram, 9-2-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### Criminal if True

A letter from Karnatak contains the following information :

"On 1-2-'46 at about 10 a. m. when the Karnatak Provincial Congress Parliamentary Board was conducting its business in its office in Hubli, 20 to 25 persons effected an entrance into the meeting hall without first obtaining permission of the President.

"The Board had met to discuss some important matters. Some of the persons above mentioned asked for time to make certain representations. The President told them that sufficient time for this purpose had been given to them on the previous day.

The Board was now engaged in serious deliberations but would see them again during the afternoon. In reply they said they had further important matters to represent and insisted on doing so then and there. The President opined that their attitude was quite inconsistent with due decorum and discipline but they continued to insist, whereupon the President said that he would be obliged to leave the hall. As he stood up in order to go away one member of the party tried forcibly to hold him down. Another snatched the office files from his hands and was going to take them away. Yet another hit Shri Divakar on the head with his umbrella. Persons in the hall finally came to the rescue and restored order."

If such be the case the Congress organization will go to pieces. Indeed, no organization can successfully work under a system of terror. I do not go into the merits. That work will be done by the Congress Working Committee. What is reported to have taken place is not only against decency and all the rules of the game but is manifestly against non-violence. Moreover, there seems to be an indecent longing for getting into the legislatures. This indecency shows that the deciding reason for contesting elections is being lost sight of.

Sevagram, 9-2-'46

### Flags And Schools

I have two typical letters about flags in schools and colleges. Some boys hoist the Congress flag, therefore others hoist the League flag. Both are wrong. My correspondents report that the mischief commenced by the hoisting of the Congress flag. Probably nothing would have happened for the time being, if both the flags had been tolerated. The

right thing was and is that boys must not take the initiative in such cases. The buildings belong to the authorities and they must decide whether or not to fly, which, if any, flag over their buildings. If boys take the law into their own hands, the result must be chaos and confusion plus breaking of heads. This would be sheer vulgarity and doing no good to anybody. Schools and colleges should be institutions for healing communal breaches, not for promoting differences. If boys and girls do not learn discipline in their schooldays, money and time spent on their education is so much national loss. The one bright thing that emerges from the Lahore episode is that Maulana Saheb Abul Kalam Azad promptly intervened and ruled that the boys who had hoisted the Congress flag were in the wrong.

Sevagram, 11-2-'46

M. K. G.

### 'Harijan' Without M. D.

'Harijan' has been revived after more than three years, years crowded with events of such magnitude that they seem like an age. The sorrow and suffering that the people have borne with undaunted courage fills one with hope and admiration. No wonder Gandhiji and all our leaders are saying freedom is very near. Freedom is near, but many of those who helped to bring it near are gone. Such a one was Shri Mahadev Desai. All such sacrifices, we have been taught, hasten the day of India's deliverance, and this faith has enabled friends and relatives bravely to bear the loss.

Mahadevbhai often told me thrilling stories of his early experiences with Gandhiji, when he was the only personal assistant that Gandhiji had. At the time of the inception of 'Harijan' also he happened to be the only assistant. They were in Yeravda Prison at that time and Mahadevbhai told me how he had recalled from memory more than a thousand addresses and despatched the copies of the paper to them single-handed. Although Gandhiji was the editor of 'Harijan' in the beginning, from its very inception in 1933 right to the end in August 1942, I do not think one ever picked up 'Harijan' without finding in it something rich and beautiful from M. D.'s pen. Even from the sick-bed his contributions came regularly. He had such a facile pen that Gandhiji could write as much or as little as he wanted to. M. D. was always ready to do the rest. And he did not do so anyhow. Gandhiji and the public had come to realize how faithful his interpretation was. His word had come to have almost the authority of the word of his master. That is why when Gandhiji had a breakdown in 1935 he transferred the editorship of 'Harijan' to Mahadevbhai.

To most of us 'Harijan' had for years become associated with Mahadevbhai's pen as much as Gandhiji's. I remember how once Mahadevbhai left a pair of sandals in front of Gandhiji's hut with 'M. D.' inscribed on them. Sardar in his inimitable humour twitted him, "Mahadev, don't have your sandals there. Some visitor might mistake them for a new type of 'Harijan'! 'M. D.' had become a symbol for 'Harijan'."

Mahadevbhai was a voracious reader. He had the bad habit of never going to sleep without reading in bed. But he had so lost himself in work that whatever he read he read with a view to finding good material for 'Harijan'. The book that was last in his hands, almost up to half an hour before his death, 'The Art of Living' by Andre Maurois



bears testimony to this. It has many marginal notes and marked paragraphs by him.

His loss has been irreparable. With the revival of 'Harijan' it is felt more than ever.

Sevagram, 9-2-'46

S. N.

### WOMEN'S CORNER

Gauhati is the gateway to Assam. We put up in an Ashram, newly started, in a small village named Sarania, a few miles out of the city. The Ashram is located on a slight elevation overlooking the tiny village. The surroundings are charming. Trees offer shade and what ought, in time, to be a good garden, goes up in terraces. A new hut of bamboo matting had been put up for Gandhiji. This temporary structure will be made permanent. One simple pukka building with a kitchen and verandah is already up. Amalprabhadevi, daughter of Dr. Das in Gauhati, has decided to dedicate her life to the service of the villagers. She has refused to marry and her father, unlike most parents, has not only not discouraged her desire to serve but is giving her all the help he can. She has three village girls at the moment whom she is training. She has a doctor sister who helps her when needed. While we were there this sister was in charge of the food which was simple and cleanly served on what looked like white marble slabs but were in reality pieces from the bark of the banana tree, neatly sliced and washed. Excellent milk was procured from two nearby villages and a perfect diet of simply prepared vegetables, rice or bread, lettuce, tomatoes, raw onions and oranges was provided. There was no waste and no superfluity as so often happens with guests. During our stay the place was alive with crowds of visitors but ordinarily it is a peaceful spot with plenty of inspiration to be had from the natural beauty of the wooded surroundings and the view of hills in the distance. More young women with the courage and spirit of service of Amalprabhadevi are needed for the service of women and children in villages.

Durgabai, an indefatigable worker, has lately managed to get land and put up a building in the city of Madras, which is to serve as a hostel for girls. We all know the crying need for such shelters for girl students whether they be from the cities or the neighbouring villages. Of course, this hostel will admit girls of all classes and creeds. Common institutions like this are one great means of removing agelong prejudices as also the canker of untouchability.

In spite of advancing years and failing eyesight, Dr. Muthulakshmi carries on her life-long work of rescuing destitute girls and boys, generally children of women dedicated to evil lives. Now her home in Adyar also contains several Burma evacuees, mostly Tamil Harijans. The children are fortunate to have found a mother in her. Her cry is for girl workers who will lighten the burden but alas! such are not easily forthcoming in spite of the tremendous need.

Dr. Sunderam Ramachandran's Maternity and Child Welfare Health Centre close by to Dr.

Muthulakshmi's home is worth emulation. Numbers of poor women and children come and obtain free attention and medicines. There is room for in-patients too. As is usual with all voluntary endeavour, most things have to be improvised, more room, more medicines, more of everything is needed. Had we our own Government, such institutions would not lack anything. As it is, every endeavour from the national side continues to be regarded with suspicion and, if not actively opposed, is generally left to fend for itself.

Just as in Assam the lovely 'sal' and bamboo forests, the mighty Brahmaputra with wooded hills on either side, the inexpressible beauty of the rising and setting sun on the calmly flowing waters of this river took one's mind away for some time from the poverty, dirt and squalor in which our people live, so did the colourful crowds of the women of Tamil Nad enthral one. I have never seen such crowds as those which greeted Gandhiji everywhere during his recent tour and certainly never as many women as were content to stand the heat of the sun or the cold of a winter night without a murmur. Rajaji with humour particularly his own said one day to Gandhiji: "What have you done to make these women risk their lives in these terrific crowds?", and both had a hearty laugh! There is no doubt that there is an awakening among women. This tide we, who are in a position to do so, should try to take at the flood so that we may direct it into right channels.

The mass of colour displayed in the women's section of the crowd was wonderful. Sitting in the sun they looked like a field of flowers of every hue. I do not think I have seen men in any other part of India wearing brightly coloured 'dhoties' either. All this colour is surely a legacy of the gaiety and laughter that was once ours. The dreary drab of village life of today has to be made colourful once again in every sphere by unabated effort on our part.

One of the most pathetic sights was to have young boys running along by the side of Gandhiji sitting near the window of the train when it was slowly steaming out of a station and pointing to their hungry mouths and empty stomachs. Let us hope we shall not be faced with another catastrophe like that of Bengal.

Sevagram, 11-2-'46

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor : PYARELAL



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[ TWO ANNAS

## ABOUT RAJAJI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read Shri Kamaraj Nadar's press message. I am sorry. I can easily be silent, but the cause may suffer. He says he is my follower. In that case he should have referred to me before rushing to the press and certainly before resigning. I have intentionally described myself as a *bhangi*. In the man-made social ladder, I want to be at the bottom. I would like Shri Kamaraj to cease to be a Nadar and to become a *bhangi* with me and then in all humility withdraw his resignation. Whether it is legally possible or not, the Provincial and Working Committees alone can decide. Morally it is perfectly possible, if he himself feels he has hurt himself and the cause by resigning. Then he will rejoin the difficult post (if it is legally possible) as a strong man. He was weak in resigning. He says he prevented four others from following him. It was well that they did not resign.

Why worry about the use of the word 'clique'? In spite of all my love for the English language, it is a foreign tongue for me and I am as likely as not to make mistakes in using it. Of course, I have used the word 'clique' deliberately. I must not withdraw it. This is its dictionary meaning: 'small exclusive party'. I know that there is such a clique in Tamil Nad against Rajaji. I am unable definitely to name one single person in it. No one need wear the cap unless it fits him. There are many cliques in the Congress organization as even in the best managed organizations in the world. The fewer their number the better the organization.

Were I not challenged at the time that I was touring in the South I would have been silent.

I must admit that I did not talk to those who were with me in that special train. I was buried in my work which was divided between meetings at frequent stoppages and writing whilst the train was in motion. And let the public know that those who are physically nearest me have to be so forbearing that they would not come near me and interfere with my work. Such has been the usage during my stormy life. My own children thus get the least of me. Aruna Asaf Ali came for two days to see me fresh from her hiding place and was so forbearing that she had of me only as much as she could during my walks.

Seva ram, 15-2-'46

## LIGHTER INTERLUDES

In between the heavy round of engagements in connection with the Silver Jubilee function of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha at Madras there was a number of light interludes during Gandhiji's stay there. These had to take place during the few minutes when he walked to and back from his meetings. Thus one time there was a group of discharged Indonesian sailors who waited on Gandhiji about the same time that Van Mook had landed in Madras in the course of his air passage from Holland to Batavia. They had refused to man their posts when their ship was ordered to proceed to Batavia with personnel and cargo ostensibly meant to be used against the nationalist struggle there, and had in consequence been discharged. They wanted India's sympathy and active co-operation in their cause and complained about the use of Indian troops to suppress the Indonesians. Gandhiji told them that Indian sympathy they had already as was shown by the resolution of the Working Committee on Indonesia and the Far East. As for the use of Indian troops against them, it was as much India's and Britain's shame as their misfortune. It could be ended only by India gaining her independence, which would be the forerunner of the emancipation of all the suppressed and exploited races of the earth.

Then there was a group of discharged I. N. A. men. Gandhiji saw them for a couple of minutes as he was going to his residence. They were returning to their respective homes. They had received their training in the military academy at Tokyo. "We worked under Netaji's guidance. Whose lead should we now follow?" they asked. Gandhiji told them that they could only follow the lead of the Congress and commended to their attention Captain Shah Nawaz's statement in which he had said that whilst they had fought with arms for their country's freedom when they were outside India, they would now serve India through non-violence. "Lastly, you should remember," he told them, "that it is unbecoming the dignity of a soldier to depend on anybody's charity. As soldiers of freedom, you should earn your bread by your honest industry and disdain to look to others for support, even though you may have to suffer hardships and privations in consequence."

Lastly there was a group of Negro soldiers from West Africa. West African Negroes are perhaps the most awakened of the Africans. The experiment

of modern university education has been tried among them and has produced some brilliant though queer results. They had come to Gandhiji with a long list of questions indicative of the deep stirring in their consciousness. The first question was: "There are several religions in the world. They were all originated in foreign countries. Which one of these should Africa follow? Or should she discover her own religion? If so, how?"

"It is wrong to say," replied Gandhiji, "that all religions were originated in foreign countries. I had fairly extensive contact with Zulus and Bantus and I found that the Africans have a religion of their own, though they may not have reasoned it out for themselves. I am not referring to the rites, ceremonies and fetishes that are prevalent among African tribes but the religion of one Supreme God. You pray to that God. There are many religions, but Religion is only one. You should follow that one Religion. Foreigners might bring you Christianity. Christianity as exemplified in Europe and America today is a travesty of the teaching of Jesus. Then there are Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism and so on. You should absorb the best that is in each without fettering your choice and form your own religion."

They next quoted Gandhiji's observation that to remain in slavery is beneath the dignity of man; a slave who is conscious of his state and yet does not strive to break his chains is lower than the beast. "How can a continent like Africa fight down the fetters of slavery when it is so hopelessly divided," they asked.

"I know your difficulty," replied Gandhiji. "If you think of the vast size of Africa, the distance and natural obstacles separating its various parts, the scattered condition of its people and the terrible divisions among them, the task might well appear to be hopeless. But there is a charm which can overcome all these handicaps. The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. He frees himself and shows the way to others. Freedom and slavery are mental states. Therefore, the first thing is to say to yourself: 'I shall no longer accept the role of a slave. I shall not obey orders as such but shall disobey them when they are in conflict with my conscience.' The so-called master may lash you and try to force you to serve him. You will say: 'No, I will not serve you for your money or under a threat.' This may mean suffering. Your readiness to suffer will light the torch of freedom which can never be put out."

"Africa and India both drink of the cup of slavery. What necessary steps can be taken to unite the two nations so as to present a common front?"

"You are right," replied Gandhiji. "India is not yet free and yet Indians have begun to realize that their freedom is coming, not because the white man says so but because they have developed the power within. Inasmuch as India's struggle is non-violent, it is a struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed races against superior might. I do

not propose mechanical joint action between them. 'Each one has to find his own salvation' is true of this as well as of the other world. It is enough that there is a real moral bond between Asiatics and Africans. It will grow as time passes."

"Everything immoral and deadly is attributed to Africa. What steps should be taken to eradicate the epidemic of foreign prejudice against us," was their next question.

"In so far as there is a modicum of truth in this criticism," replied Gandhiji, "it is no special prerogative of Africa. Immorality and wrong are common in all countries. But you must not allow yourselves to take refuge in self-complacency either by saying to yourself: 'Well, others are no better than we'. Many, perhaps most, of the evils that are at the back of the prejudice against Negroes are the result of nominal Christianity imported from America. They have learnt to drink, dance immoral dances and so on. Then there are evil African customs. You must eradicate these and thus disarm foreign prejudice. It is a laborious task but a joyous one. The epidemic of foreign prejudice will then die a natural death."

They wanted to know as to how they could set up depots of useful Indian books and what India could give them and how they could achieve "co-operative industrialization" in order to be saved from the terrible exploitation under which they were suffering.

"India can give you good ideas," replied Gandhiji. "It can give you books of universal worth. The commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of Western exploiters. Then, India can offer you the spinning wheel. If I had discovered it when I was in South Africa I would have introduced it among the Africans who were my neighbours in Phoenix. You can grow cotton, you have ample leisure and plenty of manual skill. You should study and adopt the lesson of the village crafts we are trying to revive. Therein lies the key to your salvation."

Sevagram, 8-2-'46

PYARELAL

## TO SUBSCRIBERS AND AGENTS

It is not, for the present, possible for us to send Harijan by V. P. P. Hence intending subscribers are requested to send their subscriptions by M. O.

Intimation of a change of address to be effective for the week should be received by Thursday. The subscriber no. must always be quoted.

The attention of the agents is drawn to the agency term No. 1 about maintaining with us a deposit equivalent to at least the price of one month's copies required by them. This rule will be strictly observed, and the supply to its defaulters will be stopped at once.

The intimation of a change in the number of copies required by agents, to be effective, should also be received by us before Thursday.

MANAGER

## WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Food crisis should be regarded as a certainty. In the circumstances the following things should be attended to at once:

1. Every person should confine his daily wants regarding food to the minimum, consistent with his or her health requirements; and where, as in cities, milk, vegetables, oil and fruit are available, grains and pulses should be reduced as they easily can be. Starch can be derived from starchy roots such as carrots, parsnips, potatoes, yam, bananas; the idea being to exclude from present diet and conserve those grains and pulses which can be kept and stored. Vegetables too should not be eaten as an indulgence or for pleasure when millions are denied the use of these things altogether and are now threatened with starvation due to shortage of cereals and pulses.

2. Everyone who has access to any water should try himself or herself to grow some edible for personal or general use. The easiest way to do so is to collect clean earth, mix it with organic manure where possible — even a little bit of dried cowdung is good organic manure — and put it in any earthen or tin pot and throw some seeds of vegetable such as mustard and cress etc., and daily water the pots. They will be surprised how quickly the seeds sprout and give edible leaves which need not even be cooked but can be eaten in the form of salad.

3. All flower gardens should be utilized for growing edibles. And in this connection I would suggest to the Viceroy, Governors and high officials to take the lead. I would ask the heads of agricultural departments at the Centre and Provinces to flood the country with leaflets in the provincial languages telling laymen how and what to grow easily.

4. Reduction should be taken up not merely by the civilian population but equally, if not predominantly, by the military. I say predominantly for the military ranks being under rigid military discipline can easily carry out measures of economy.

5. All exports of seeds, such as oil seeds, oils, oil cakes, nuts etc., should be stopped, if they have not been already. Oil cakes, if the seeds are sifted of earth and foreign matter, are good human food with rich protein content.

6. Deep wells should be sunk by the Government wherever possible and required, whether for irrigation or for drinking purposes.

7. Given hearty co-operation by Government servants and the general public, I have not the slightest doubt that the country can tide over the difficulty. Just as panic is the surest way to defeat, so also will be the case when there is widespread distress impending and prompt action is not taken. Let us not think of the causes of the distress. Whatever the cause, the fact is that if the Government and the public do not approach the crisis patiently and courageously, disaster is a certainty. We must fight this foreign Government on all other fronts except this one, and even on this we shall fight them if they betray callousness or contempt for reasoned public opinion. In this connection I

invite the public to share my opinion that we should accept Government professions at their face value and believe that Swaraj is within sight inside of a few months.

8. Above all, black-marketing and dishonesty should disappear altogether and willing co-operation between all parties should be the order of the day in so far as this crisis is concerned.

Sevagram, 14-2-'46

## LIVING UP TO 125

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have not talked about wishing to live up to the age of 125 years without thought. It has a deep significance. The basis for my wish is the third *mantra* from *Ishopanishad* which, literally rendered, means that a man should desire to live for 100 years while serving with detachment. One commentary says that 100 really means 125. Even today in Madras the word 'hundred' is used to mean 116. Only the other day some one presented to me what was described as Rs. 100/-, but was, on scrutiny, found to be Rs. 116/-.  $100 = 99 + 1$  is not an invariable formula in our country.

Be that as it may, the meaning of 'hundred' is not necessary for my argument. My sole purpose is to indicate the condition necessary for the realization of the desire. It is service in a spirit of detachment, which means complete independence of the fruit of action. Without it one should not desire to live for 125 years. That is how I interpret the text. I have not the slightest doubt that without attaining that state of detachment, it is impossible to live to be 125 years old. Living to that age must never mean a mere life like unto death, like that of an animated corpse, a burden on one's relations and society. In such circumstances one's supreme duty would be to pray to God for early release and not for prolongation of life anyhow.

The human body is meant solely for service, never for indulgence. The secret of happy life lies in renunciation. Renunciation is life. Indulgence spells death. Therefore, everyone has a right and should desire to live 125 years *while performing service without an eye on result*. Such life must be wholly and solely dedicated to service. Renunciation made for the sake of such service is an ineffable joy of which none can deprive one, because that nectar springs from within and sustains life. In this there can be no room for worry or impatience. Without this joy, long life is impossible and would not be worth while even if possible.

Examination of the possibility of prolonging life to 125 years by outward means is outside the scope of this argument.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

Sevagram, 11-2-'46

## The Story of My Experiments with Truth

By M. K. Gandhi

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## A Discipline for Non-violence

By Richard B. Gregg

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# HARIJAN

Feb. 24

1946

## HOW TO CANALIZE HATRED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hatred is in the air and impatient lovers of the country will gladly take advantage of it, if they can, through violence, to further the cause of independence. I suggest that it is wrong at any time and everywhere. But it is more wrong and unbecoming in a country where fighters for freedom have declared to the world that their policy is truth and non-violence. Hatred, they argue, cannot be turned into love. Those who believe in violence will naturally use it by saying, 'kill your enemy, injure him and his property wherever you can, whether openly or secretly as necessity requires'. The result will be deeper hatred and counter-hatred, and vengeance let loose on both sides. The recent war, whose embers have yet hardly died, loudly proclaims the bankruptcy of this use of hatred. And it remains to be seen whether the so-called victors have really won or whether they have not depressed themselves in seeking and trying to depress their enemies. It is a bad game at its best. Some philosophers of action in this country improve upon the model and say, 'We shall never kill our enemy but we shall destroy his property'. Perhaps I do them an injustice when I call it 'his property', for the remarkable thing is that the so-called enemy has brought no property of his own and what little he has brought he makes us pay for. Therefore, what we destroy is really our own. The bulk of it, whether in men or things, he produces here. So what he really has is the custody of it. For the destruction too we have to pay through the nose and it is the innocent who are made to pay. That is the implication of punitive tax and all it carries with it. Non-violence in the sense of mere non-killing does not appear to me, therefore, to be any improvement on the technique of violence. It means slow torture and when slowness becomes ineffective we shall immediately revert to killing and to the atom bomb, which is the last word in violence today. Therefore, I suggested in 1920 the use of non-violence and its inevitable twin companion truth, for canalizing hatred into the proper channel. The hater hates not for the sake of hatred but because he wants to drive away from his country the hated being or beings. He will, therefore, as readily achieve his end by non-violent as by violent means. For the past 25 years, willingly or unwillingly, the Congress has spoken to the masses in favour of non-violence as against violence for regaining our lost liberty. We have also discovered through our progress that in the application of non-violence we have been able to reach the mass mind far more quickly and far more extensively than ever before. And yet, if truth is told as it must be, our non-violent action has been half-hearted. Many

have preached non-violence through the lips while harbouring violence in the breast. But the unsophisticated mass mind has read the secret meaning hidden in our breasts and the unconscious reaction has not been altogether as it might have been. Hypocrisy has acted as an ode to virtue, but it could never take its place. And so I plead for non-violence and yet more non-violence. I do so not without knowledge but with sixty years' experience behind me. This is the critical moment, for the dumb masses are today starving. There are many ways that will suggest themselves to the wise reader as to how to apply the canons of non-violence to the present needs of the country. The hypnotism of the I. N. A. has cast its spell upon us. Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. (I use the present tense intentionally.) His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high but failed. Who has not failed? Ours is to aim high and to aim well. It is not given to everyone to command success. My praise and admiration can go no further. For I knew that his action was doomed to failure, and that I would have said so even if he had brought his I. N. A. victorious to India, because the masses would not have come into their own in this manner. The lesson that Netaji and his army brings to us is one of self-sacrifice, unity irrespective of class and community, and discipline. If our adoration will be wise and discriminating, we will rigidly copy this trinity of virtues, but we will as rigidly abjure violence. I would not have the I. N. A. man think or say that he and his can ever deliver the masses of India from bondage by force of arms. But if he is true to Netaji and still more so to the country, he will spend himself in teaching the masses, men, women and children, to be brave, self-sacrificing and united. Then we will be able to stand erect before the world. But if he will merely act the armed soldier, he will only lord it over the masses and the fact that he will be a volunteer will not count for much. I, therefore, welcome the declaration made by Capt. Shah Nawaz that to be worthy of Netaji, on having come to Indian soil, he will act as a humble soldier of non-violence in Congress ranks.

Sevagram, 15-2-'46

### Please Note

I have taken up 'Harijan' at such a critical moment in our country's history that having undertaken to write I cannot wait in certain matters for publishing my thoughts till the next number of 'Harijan' is out. Then too it is published not at the place where I reside but away from me. Thus exacting readers will forgive me if they find things in the columns of 'Harijan' which have already been printed in the daily press. The reason for publication is obvious. 'Harijan' goes to many readers who do not read the papers in which my statements may be published and in which, accurate publicity can never be guaranteed. 'Harijan' is not a commercial concern in any meaning of the expression. It is published purely in the interest of the cause of India's independence.

Sevagram, 15-2-'46

M. K. G.

## OH! FOR OUR ENGLISH!!!

(By M. K. Gandhi)

How nice it would be if we had newspapers only in our own languages. We would not then be blind persons, one mistaking the tail for the elephant, another the tusks, a third the trunk, for the noble animal,—all wise in their own conceit, yet all wrong in essence. Thus, I, in my conceit, said and still say that the opposition to Rajaji was and is confined to a clique. An esteemed friend and others maintain that I have made a serious blunder in calling the opposition by this name. My appellation cannot be and was not meant to be applied to the Congress organization, whether provincial, central or any other, which, like the king, can do no wrong. A clique generally does the wrong thing. But surely both my critics and I are right, each in our own way, and both are wrong. All this bother over the use of a foreign word! If I had written in the national or my mother-tongue, we would not have quarrelled over a word. Only let me close the Rajaji episode by saying that if I am wrong in the use of the word or in my estimate of Rajaji, no one need follow me. I have no official authority. The loss will be purely mine in that, for a wrong estimate, I shall have lost much or some of the moral weight I possess.

My purpose, however, just now is to quarrel with the reporter who, in trying to translate my Hindustani speech at the Goseva Sangh meeting into English, has made me say the opposite of what I had said and meant. A handsome and delicate compliment has been turned into an indelicate reflection. There was no 'if' about my saying that Janakibai, the widow of the late Jamanalalji, was the rightful first successor of her late husband, even as the late Ramabai was of her late husband Justice Ranade. Next to her were his children. They might fail, but those of us who had gathered together to honour the memory of the deceased were also heirs, only if we were true. We were heirs by choice unlike the heirs through relationship. I am sure that the delicate compliment I paid in my indifferent Hindustani was not lost upon the widow, the children who are all working for the cause, or the number of friends who filled the pandal which was specially constructed for the purpose. All were heirs in a common and noble service which constituted a limitless inheritance. I prided myself on the message which was altogether lost in transmission through a foreign medium. Could it have been reported and transmitted in Hindustani, it would have gone home to the readers.

I have not been able to read the whole report. Let me therefore complete it by briefly stating the other two thoughts I placed before the meeting. Cattle preservation was one of the major problems of India. It was not to be solved by speeches or money. It could only be solved by the Goseva Sangh possessing many cattle experts who understood and gave themselves to the problem and by the mercantile community doing its work in the spirit of service rather than in the spirit of self-aggrandizement and exploitation. If they applied their undoubted talent

to cattle preservation, they could render great service to India. They need not be overwhelmed by the vastness of the problem. Each one was to think what he could do and do it thoroughly, irrespective of his neighbour or others. Therefore, the central body was to concentrate on producing milk and bringing milk cheaply to every inhabitant of Wardha. In the end they would discover that they had solved the cattle problem for India.

Lastly, I asked them to bear in mind Aruna Asaf Ali's well-meant taunt that in thinking of their benefactor, the four-footed animal they, might not forget their elder friend, the biped of India, who made up the forty crores and without whom cattle could not exist for one day. Therefore, every honest man owed it to himself and the country only to eat what he must for living healthily and not a morsel for indulgence. Every man, woman and child of understanding should try to grow for the use of India two blades of grass where today only one was growing. If they worked intelligently, honestly and co-operatively in hope, they would find that they could tide over the impending calamity without fuss, without anxiety and with dignified bearing.

Bombay, 18-2-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. It is necessary to import as many foodstuffs as possible. As it is, people do not get enough to eat. Any further reduction in rations is fraught with risk. It will mean further under-nourishment, making the people an easy prey to disease. It may even lead to food riots. As for increasing production, it is most difficult, if not utterly impossible, at the present juncture.

A. I am aware that many people hold the views given above. But the argument does not impress me. People will find it unbearable to have their rations further reduced when they are already not getting enough to eat. But if we accept, as I do, that the Government figures are correct, foresight demands, and it is our duty, to swallow the bitter pill and ask the people to do likewise, i. e., we should all eat less so that we can hold out till the next harvest. Today, because of the corrupt administration, the masses do not even get their just dues under the rationing system. It will be a great thing if this can be rectified, so that everyone can get his or her share easily and truly. If, however, we believe the Government figures to be wrong and continue the agitation for increased rations and if the Government concedes that demand, a time will come before the next harvest is in when we shall be left without any food whatsoever and the poor will have to die an untimely death. We should take every care to avoid such a calamity. It will, therefore, be wisdom on our part to put up with a reduction in the present rations.

Then, I do not think it is impossible to grow more foodstuffs, though I agree that it is difficult. The difficulty is due to our lack of knowledge and the requisite skill. If we are all optimistic and courageous and employ ourselves forthwith to produce whatever

food we can by our individual effort, we shall probably be able before long to give the people a balanced diet and shorten the period of reduced rations.

My optimism is irrepressible, but I admit that nothing will be possible without whole-hearted co-operation on the part of both the Government and the public. Without it, even the imported foodstuffs may be squandered and maldistributed. Besides, we are not yet independent. Relying on outside help will make us still more dependent. If, however, without relying on them, we do get imports of foodstuffs, we shall gratefully accept and make the best use of them. While it is the duty of the Government to try to get food from outside, I do not think it is good for us to look either to them or to other countries. What is more, disappointment from that direction will be positively harmful for the morale of our people in these hard times. But if the people become united and determined to look to none save God for help and do not oppose such Governmental measures as they find useful, there will be no cause for disappointment. Such action will enable the people to emerge stronger from the ordeal and foreign countries will think of their duty to send us food of their own accord wherever they can spare it. God helps those who help themselves. How can others withhold help from the self-reliant? The British Government, during their hour of need, took away all that India had and today we have to put up with the consequences of their action. Need we then tell them and those whom they helped by depleting India's resources that their duty today is towards India?

Q. India does not produce enough cotton. This has to be imported from Africa and America. Peasants are not allowed to grow cotton, the reason given being that they should grow more food.

A. This cannot apply to those who grow cotton for their own use. It can only be applicable in the case of those who grow cotton as a money crop. The Government has committed the crime of making cotton a commercial commodity. This sin cannot be wiped out by importing cotton. That can only aggravate the wrong. The export of cotton was made solely for the benefit of Lancashire. It thus became a commercial commodity in an artificial manner. I can understand the prohibition against growing large quantities during war of cotton in certain areas in the interests of food production. To prohibit the growing of cotton altogether and depend on imports for our needs is no remedy for food scarcity. Wherever possible, people should grow cotton for their own use. I might understand and even tolerate the policy of importing cotton for the use of Indian cloth mills. But if this policy prohibits the growing of cotton for the individual's own use, it becomes wholly untenable and must, therefore, be strongly resisted. This is a matter for the consideration of both the Government and the public.

Sevagram, 16-2-46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## THE LEPROSY PROBLEM

First, the problem in leprosy is one of educating not only the common people, but the leaders of society, the administrators, the legislators, and sometimes even medical men and public health authorities, in the modern view of the disease. Leprosy is an ordinary disease, sometimes infective but not fearful or worthy of reproach. Not all leprosy is infective. Even when it is so, it is infective only in close and prolonged contact and that too to children primarily. Leprosy is not hereditary. It is not venereal in origin. It is capable of control and arrest if patients would take early and persistent treatment. But the patients would come early for treatment only when the public understand that there is no shame attached to the disease. Moreover, doctors should acquire the modern knowledge about leprosy and do their best for the patients.

Leprosy, however, is more easily prevented than cured. Prevention in leprosy is nothing more than the prevention of close contact between children and infective cases. In Norway they controlled leprosy mainly by preventing children from living with infective cases. 'Isolation' or 'segregation' with reference to leprosy only means the avoidance of close and prolonged contact with infective cases, primarily by children. Rigid segregation puts early cases in hiding. Every case has to be decided on its merits. There are cases which need to be sent to a sanatorium for treatment and isolation; even here the aim must be to keep the patient in useful work and return him to society as a useful person.

In our land leprosy is largely a rural problem. For though it is not a disease of all villages there are many villages with a high incidence. We cannot and should not banish all the patients to settlements. The old notion that the leprosy patient needs an asylum for life should be abandoned. Near Madurantakam we have an experiment of segregating infective cases during nights only in huts on the outskirts of the villages. By day the patients work in the fields; by night they sleep in the segregation area. The children are protected and the patient retains earning capacity. By a sympathetic approach we should help patients to learn to live in the villages and do their work without being a danger to children. We want in India cheap and humane segregation.

There is a spiritual aspect of the problem which ought to stir us deeply. *A case of leprosy is also a cause.* He or she belongs to an oppressed class. To remove that sum of avoidable human misery which the leprosy patient has to endure, we should remove the ignorance and prejudice which are the cause of it. This can best be done by a number of brave and humane people coming forward to answer the challenge to fellowship which leprosy throws. Such an answer Father Damien made in his time and thereby did more for leprosy than all the acts and grants of Parliament could. We can now make a similar answer without running the risk that the good Father so nobly ran.

Lastly, leprosy work can be made a lever with which to raise the general level of our villages.

For leprosy goes to the root of the problem of human suffering. Any set of workers who help to relieve the leprosy situation will inevitably face the whole cycle of social and economic questions. It is also true that leprosy work gains immeasurably by being part of the Constructive Programme. It can help to remove the leprosy patient off the charity list and to give him the dignity of self-support. In the *Kasturba Gandhi Kushtaroga Nivarana Nilayam* we hope to make the women and children spin their way to self-respect. The economic problem in leprosy is that of creating men and women of value. The psychological problem is one of persuading people that it can be done. I see in the Constructive Programme a solution to the problem. T. N. JAGDISAN

## Notes

### Purses for Public Men

An interesting case of the use of purses presented to a public person has recently come under my observation. I receive many purses from the public. Thus, during my recent tour, donations covering over two lakhs were given to me between Calcutta, and Madura. Some of them were anonymous, some ear-marked, and some donors said, when asked, that I was to use the money in any manner I liked. I have kept no property which I can call my own. Am I entitled to use those donations or a part of them for personal needs? During the whole of my career I have never made any such use and have always advised friends to do likewise. I hold that there is no other course open to persons who enjoy public confidence and to whom the public give donations, fully believing that the money will be used more judiciously and carefully than by themselves for some public purpose. It would be a terrible thing if the trust reposed in one were abused for personal purposes. Ruinous consequences of such use can be better imagined than described. Public service must be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion.

Bombay, 19-2-'46

### Ignorant Waste

Shri Jhaverbhai Patel of A. I. V. I. A., who knows his subject, writes:

"Since the cutting off of the supply of rice from Burma there has been an acute shortage of rice in India. To meet this quantitative deficiency Government prohibited the polishing of rice beyond a certain degree. If polishing had been banned altogether the deficiency caused by the supply of rice from Burma being cut off would have been more than met. The import of Burma rice came to only about 5 per cent. of Indian production, while the loss entailed in polishing rice came to 10 per cent. But Government could not introduce that measure partly because it is difficult to make violent changes in the habit of the people and partly because the present government is not in a position to create and carry public opinion with it. But what is more, even the halting step taken by the Government has been put to naught without the intelligent co-operation of the people. Since the Government has begun supplying undermilled rice, consumers have begun getting the rationed rice polished. I have

recently seen in Gujarat that the pounding of rice on wages by the women of the *Gola* caste from door to door has become a regular system. There has also been a brisk sale of wooden pestles for use by families. In big cities like Bombay, where space does not permit the use of wooden mortars and pestles, women use the handy iron pestles and mortars. The average quantity of rice reduced in getting it polished in wooden mortars comes to about 5 per cent, while there is no limit to this reduction in the case of iron mortars, the loss sometimes being as high as 30 per cent. There may hardly be a few families who may be eating rice as it is rationed out. The result is worse than the regular supply of polished rice.

"The most effective way to get whole rice find its permanent way into our dietary is to teach our womenfolk the science of dietetics."

It is very true that this peremptory reform can be brought about quickly by educating our women in the art of conservative cookery. How this education can be imparted is a serious question. Schools and colleges are perhaps the most ready-made media, let alone the press and the platform. If the people are to save themselves and the starving millions, during this critical period the press and the platform have to respond to the urgent need.

Sevagram, 17-2-'46

M. K. G.

### Wasteful

Wherever he goes, apart from the unrestrained greetings he gets from the crowds, Gandhiji also receives endless gifts in money and in kind. His greed can never be satiated! The demands on the money entrusted to him increase with time. The accurate sorting and counting of the money is a herculean task and takes hours of the time of those in charge of this department.

Gifts in kind make accommodation for the travellers more and more cramped as the journey progresses. The yarn and cloth given is always more than welcome. There is endless need for Khadi for Gandhiji's growing family of individuals and institutions who cannot pay in yarn. But there are certain gifts in kind, such as models of spinning wheels made in gold and silver and a number of useless metal and wooden goods, which are difficult to dispose of and the presentation of which should be discouraged. The cost of workmanship entailed in a gold spinning wheel is, perhaps, more than the metal involved. It would be better to give money rather than such gifts. Apart from yarn and cloth, only a really rare specimen of village craftsmanship or ancient art, or jewellery which women may feel spontaneously called upon to offer Gandhiji, should form the exception.

Another type of gift that needs to be discouraged is bad paintings or photographs or bad statuettes in wood, silver, gold, ivory or glass, of Gandhiji himself. They are inartistic. Nor should artists or others expect Gandhiji to put his signature to bad likenesses of him. It is unwise to encourage a low standard of production in any sphere. And it is easy for the public to procure good photographs.

On the train to Madras, 4-2-'46

A. K.



## WEEKLY LETTER

Crowds are Gandhiji's pet study. Child-like, erratic, wayward, they can sometimes be vicious too like a caged animal when worried. Gandhiji has had sometimes to be protected against their unthinking adoration. But he can never put them off any more than a mother can her wayward child.

Now that freedom is at hand the education and disciplining of the crowds have become a matter of supreme importance. "How will the millions react to the first shock of freedom," is the question that continues to exercise Gandhiji's mind. Does their upwelling enthusiasm and devotion spell non-violence or violence? Unless they are properly organized and trained in the non-violent spirit they will not be able to make much of freedom and it might even prove to be a questionable boon. He turned his recent train journey from Calcutta to Madras into a tour for the inspection and study of crowd behaviour.

As is well known Gandhiji has a particularly soft corner for Orissa, the "orphan child" of Mother India. The organizers of the journey had decided not to have any stoppages during the night. But Gandhiji particularly asked the train to be stopped at certain stations in Orissa. Cuttack was reached at about midnight. A large crowd had gathered there and Gandhiji was taken out to address them. What he met there hurt him deeply. There was noise and confusion. He poured out his anguish to them. It had cut him to the quick, he said, that Orissa which he had loved so fondly and through which he had made his Harijan pilgrimage on foot should belie his expectations. Was this their non-violence or did they imagine that freedom would be won or kept through indiscipline and hooliganism? They were living in a fool's paradise if they did. Was it not ridiculous to pit indiscipline and hooliganism against the atom bomb which was the ultimate of brute force? It was time that they made up their mind as to their choice between the two paths. They were at liberty to scrap non-violence if they felt that it was a played-out force. But if they were thinking of violence while they professed non-violence, they would be guilty of deception and fraud upon themselves and the world. "I do not want your cheers of welcome, nor your money during these stoppages," he remarked. "But I want you to purge yourselves of the lie in the soul. That will please me more than your gifts, the noises never will and never have."

Berhampur, however, made some amends for Cuttack. The crowds continued to surge at all the stoppages during the rest of the journey. Day journey began at Waltair. It was a sight and a revelation to see monster crowds that had walked long distances and had been braving the inclemencies of weather with uncalculating devotion. They poured out their coppers into Gandhiji's beggar's bowl unstintedly for the service of the Harijan cause. The counting of collections occupied Kanu Gandhi and his batch

of 40 tellers for the better part of two days and nights at Madras. It included 3,895 currency notes and 54,608 coins, the total amount collected during the journey being Rs. 55,071-7-3

(To be continued)

Sevagram, 16-2-'46

PYARELAL

## MEANING OF GOD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes:

"I am reading your "Gita Bodh" these days and trying to understand it. I am puzzled by what Lord Krishna says in the 10th discourse. "In dicer's play I am the conquering double eight. Nothing, either good or evil, can take place in this world without my will." Does God then prevent evil? If so, how can He punish the evil-doer? Has God created the world for this purpose? Is it impossible then for mankind to live in peace?"

To say that God permits evil in this world may not be pleasing to the ear. But if He is held responsible for the good, it follows that He has to be responsible for the evil too. Did not God permit Ravana to exhibit unparalleled strength? Perhaps, the root cause of the perplexity arises from a lack of the real understanding of what God is. God is not a person. He transcends description. He is the Law-maker, the Law and the Executor. No human being can well arrogate these powers to himself. If he did, he would be looked upon as an unadulterated dictator. They become only Him whom we worship as God. This is the reality, a clear understanding of which will answer the question raised by the correspondent.

The question whether it is impossible for mankind ever to be at peace with one another does not arise from the verse quoted. The world will live in peace only when the individuals composing it make up their minds to do so. No one can deny the possibility nor say when that will come to pass. Such questions are idle waste of time. To a good man, the whole world is good. By following this golden rule the correspondent can live in peace under all circumstances, believing that what is possible for him to be is also possible for others. To believe the contrary connotes pride and arrogance.

Sevagram, 16-2-'46

(From Harijanbandhu)

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# HARIJAN

Editor : PYARELAL

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[ TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE GRIM SPECTRE

The grim spectre of the impending famine filled Gandhiji's mind during the brief interval that he was at Sevagram after his return from Madras. He had premonitions of the coming danger whilst he was in Bengal itself and what he learnt about the condition in Bihar and Madras disturbed him even more. He took the opportunity to discuss the question with the Governor of Madras in the course of his meeting with him but did not come away from the talk reassured. The situation called for the co-operation of all concerned and I am betraying no secret when I say that Mr. Abell was agreeably surprised to find when he flew to Sevagram on the 11th inst. that Gandhiji had anticipated his proposals in an article on food and cloth shortage which has since appeared in 'Harijan'.

Gandhiji is not in the habit of allowing the grass to grow under his feet. He addressed the Ashram people after the evening prayer on the same day to emphasize the supreme necessity of conserving and economizing food and increasing its supply by laying under contribution every available inch of space that could be used for growing food. He took up the question with Dr. Zakir Hussain and some other members of the Talimi Sangh who came to him for a talk on the afternoon of the 16th inst.. Since Nayee Talim meant a living co-relationship with the actual conditions of life, it ought to respond to every change in the latter. "It would not, therefore, do for you to say in the present crisis that you are occupied with your educational activity whilst the people are threatened with death due to starvation. Nayee Talim must react to the present situation by converting itself into an instrument for increasing our food supply and teaching people how to meet the danger of food shortage. If the students under Nayee Talim can produce even a part of their food requirement they will to that extent release food for others, besides teaching them self-help by their personal example." Someone had complained that the land at the disposal of the Sevagram Talimi Sangh was of a poor quality and hardly fit for agriculture. Gandhiji brushed aside the objection. "You do not know the kind of land we had to begin with in South Africa. Who would give good land to 'coolies', as we were called there. But by dint of application we were able to convert it into a fruit orchard.

"If I were in your place I would not use the plough to begin with. I would arm our children

with the hoe and teach them to use it effectively. It is an art. Bullock power can come later. Similarly, I would not like you to be deterred by the poor quality of the soil. A thin top layer of loam or compost can enable us to grow many a useful vegetable and pot herb. A beginning can be made at once by converting nightsoil into manure by the shallow trenching system. The conversion does not need more than a fortnight. Every pint of water whether from bathing and ablutions or from the kitchen should be turned into the backyard vegetable beds. Not a drop of water should be allowed to be wasted. Greens can be grown in earthen pots and even discarded old tins. No opportunity should be neglected, however trifling. The cumulative result, then, if the practice is on a nation-wide scale, will be colossal."

### AT RUNGTA HOUSE

Gandhiji took advantage of his one day stay in Bombay on his way to Poona by delivering his message to the people of Bombay on two vital issues of which his mind is full these days, viz. the discipline of prayer and the food crisis. The public prayer was held as usual at Rungta House on the evening of the 18th. The special feature of the prayer gathering was the mass singing of *Ram Dhun* to the accompaniment of *tal* for the first time in Bombay after the manner that has become familiar since Gandhiji's recent visit to Bengal, Assam and Madras. The meaning and significance of the practice will be found explained elsewhere in these columns. Some among the gathering at Rungta House could not keep correct time in the beating of the accompaniment. It evoked from Gandhiji a gentle rebuke. Bombay had the reputation of being musically minded. It had ample facilities for the teaching of music. Gandhiji had expected them to give a better account of themselves. Instead he found confusion in the meeting and the beating of *tal* out of tune. "There is a time for laughing and shouting and a time for observing silence and being serious," he remarked chidingly. "I have often said that a people who want to be free should learn to mount to the gallows with a smile upon the face. But laughter becomes an offence against decorum if it is out of season. Similarly, shouting out of season is an exhibition of bad manners. It becomes a man to remember his Maker all the twentyfour hours. If that cannot be done we should at least congregate at prayer time to renew our covenant with God. Whether we are Hindus or Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians or Sikhs, we all worship the same God,

Congregational prayer is a means for establishing the essential human unity through common worship. Mass singing of *Ram Dhun* and the beating of *tal* are its outward expression. If they are not a mechanical performance but are an echo of the inner unison, as they should be, they generate a power and an atmosphere of sweetness and fragrance which has only to be seen to be realized.

"In the Police and the Army," continued Gandhiji, "physical drill and training in the use of arms are regarded as an essential part of discipline. Military training includes marching in step and executing of movements to order in the mass noiselessly and harmoniously too. The mass singing of *Ram Dhun* and the accompaniment of *tal* are as much a part of discipline in non-violence as physical drill and training in the use of arms are that of military discipline." He, however, warned them that his advice must appeal to their hearts, not merely to their heads, if it was to bear fruit. Dry intellect would not take them far.

#### SERVANTS OR MASTERS ?

Turning next to the food crisis, he said it presented a grim prospect. They could criticize the Government as much as they liked for its share in it. He himself had not been sparing in his criticism of the Government in the past and he would do so again when the occasion demanded it even though he stood alone. He stood by what he had said in 1942. If the British had stayed in India as the servants of the people, not their masters, and purely to defeat the Axis powers, he would have had nothing to say. Instead they had in their arrogance cast to the winds the warnings and protests of the people's representatives and denuded India of her vital resources, though perhaps not deliberately, with the result that they all knew.

#### SHED INERTIA AND PREJUDICE

Nevertheless he could understand the food shortage. But cloth shortage he could not understand at all. India could grow any amount of cotton. "In this land of ours, fabulously rich in natural resources, there is the lofty Himalayas with its everlasting snows where, they say, dwells the Lord of the Universe. It has mighty rivers like the Ganges. But owing to our neglect and folly, the year's rains are allowed to run down into the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. If all this water was trapped and harnessed to irrigational purposes by the construction of dams and tanks, there should be no famine or food shortage in India. Similarly, cloth shortage can immediately be remedied by planting a miniature mill in every home in the form of a spinning wheel or a *takli*. That would give us all the cloth that we need almost for nothing. I have cried myself hoarse in pressing this solution on the Government. It is immediately feasible and it is my claim that not a single person need go naked if necessary steps are taken to put it into operation. The only obstacles in the way are the inertia and prejudice in high places.

"In regard to the food shortage I admit that Government alone has adequate resources to cope with it. But even so we need not apathetically

resign ourselves to fate, fixing our gaze at the skies for the rains to come. There is an inexhaustible reservoir of water in the bowels of the earth. It should be tapped, even though we may have to dig two thousand feet deep for it, and used for growing food. We may not blame fate before we have exhausted all available means for combating a threatening calamity.

"Today there is a lot of wastage in food going on in big cities like Bombay in the form of feasts and ceremonies. It is the sacred duty of every man, woman and child to conserve every grain of food and every drop of oil and ghee in this crisis. One should eat no more than necessary to keep the body in health and fitness when millions are faced with the prospect of death through starvation. The foodstuffs thus saved can be distributed among the needy poor — not as alms but as remuneration for honest labour."

Proceeding Gandhiji diagnosed the present helplessness of the country to the double slavery — slavery under the foreign yoke and slavery to our own inertia and sloth. As an instance of the latter he mentioned the fitful and inadequate response to the offer under the new khadi plan of the Bombay Kalbadevi Khadi Bhandar to provide instruments of and instruction in spinning and carding and the allied processes to all those who cared. If we were not under the hypnotic spell of inertia and laziness, the people of Bombay should flock to the Khadi Bhandar in an unending stream day and night and make in no time the shortage of cloth a thing of the past.

#### A PLEA FOR CLEAR THINKING

The political slavery, they all hoped and he shared that hope, would soon end. But the removal of the foreign yoke won't necessarily bring freedom to the people in the real sense of the term. The Congress President had only the other day denounced the recent happenings in Calcutta as being unworthy of a people who aspired to be free. He hoped that they would never disgrace themselves again like that. They were greatly deceiving themselves if they thought that by indulging in hooliganism they would be able to make the British quit India. They would belie their creed and demean themselves in the eyes of the world if after pledging themselves to truth and non-violence as their only means for the attainment of Swaraj, they exhibited their impotent wrath by indulging in looting, stone-throwing, arson and abuse. He repeated what he had previously said that if 40 crores of Indians resolved unanimously and whole-heartedly that they would have Swaraj through truth and non-violence alone, it would be theirs for the asking. But if they lacked that faith, it was open to them to repudiate non-violence openly and after due deliberation. People like him might question their wisdom but nobody would charge them with falsehood and cowardice. He was afraid, they could not escape that charge today. He reminded them of Capt. Shah Nawaz's declaration that Netaji Bose had told them that on their return to India they would be expected

to serve their country not by means of the sword but through non-violence. "Granted that India produced sufficient arms and ammunition and men who knew the art of war, what part or lot will those who cannot bear arms have in the attainment of Swaraj? I want Swaraj in the winning of which even women and children would contribute an equal share with physically the strongest. That can be under ahimsa only. I would, therefore, stand for ahimsa as the only means for obtaining India's freedom even if I were alone."

#### WARNING SIGNALS

If there is even a modicum of truth in some of the reports that are coming in, it shows a pretty alarming state of affairs. It was only the other day that Shri M. L. Khemka, President of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, stated before the Editors' Conference at Allahabad that whereas the Secretary, Food Department of the Government of India, had stated that all export of grains had ceased since August 1943, the export list issued by the Calcutta Customs House showed that only during the months of August and September, one single non-Indian firm had exported from the port of Calcutta to foreign countries no less than 22, 504 tons of rice valued at over Rs. 94 lakhs. Shri Khemka added that "a closer examination of the export list of Calcutta alone would disclose further export of rice from Bengal". A correspondent writes from Bombay on behalf of the Manager of an Indian Shipping Company:

"Our line was established in 1917. Since then our cargo vessels have been plying between Hong Kong and other Chinese ports besides the various ports in India. Two of our boats were lost during the war to the Japanese. Our new boat arrived only last month. In her very first voyage to a foreign country last week on 14-2-'46, she carried an export cargo of 2,951 bags of *moong dal*."

In a supplementary note he adds:

"Last month also the steamers 'Begum' and 'Jalajyoti' have carried about 35,000 bags of pulses and *moong* to Colombo; 26,053 bags of *Lang dal*, 3,011 bags of *tur dal* and 1,612 bags of *moong* was exported in 'Begum'. I further understand that about the same quantity is exported every month within the knowledge of the authorities."

Equally alarming is the report sent by the President, North Bengal Rice Mills Association, Dinajpur. The following is its gist:

"The Government of Bengal suddenly reduced the rate of rice from Rs. 11-8-0 to Rs. 9-8-0 per maund in 1945, and when protest was made by the Rice Millers against drastic and sudden reduction, the stock of rice including the entire stock of raw materials of boiled, half-boiled, moist and raw paddy in the possession of Rice Mills was forcibly requisitioned under the garb of D. I. Rules, in order to deprive the Millers of subsequent increase of rate to Rs. 10-8-0 per maund.

"In 1944, the Government of Bengal procured half a crore of maunds of rice from Dinajpur

District at Rs. 13 3-0 to Rs. 11-3-0 per maund and sold the same rice in deficit and rationed areas at Rs. 16-0-0 per maund. The Government thus made a net profit of more than one crore of rupees from the procurement of one district alone. With the reduction of rates of rice in rationed area it became the policy of the Government to impose heavy discount or *Batta* up to Rs. 2/- per maund on rice supplied by the Rice Mills. The Government procured 36 lac maunds of rice in 1945 from the District of Dinajpur alone at the rate of Rs. 9-8-0 to Rs. 10/- per maund and sold the same at Rs. 14/- to Rs. 15/- per maund. It may be noted that the rice on which Government was deducting *Batta* up to Rs. 2/- per maund was also being sold at the same rate of Rs. 14/- to Rs. 15/- per maund. Thus the Government made a profit of not less than fifteen million rupees. Discount or '*Batta*' on rice is being imposed on various flimsy and vague grounds, viz., undermilling, off-colour, under-polishing, over-boiled, under-boiled, and many more new categories are being invented every week by the ardent and aspiring high officials who get quick promotion by helping the Government to profiteer at the expense of the over-burdened consumers. Government purchases medium rice even at a lower rate than coarse rice on assessment of *Batta*, but exports the same in rationed areas as medium rice.

"In 1945, the Rice Mills were compelled to separate *Brokens (Khudi)* from rice which were being used as part and parcel of rice up to 1944. . . . Huge stocks of broken rice have accumulated and in spite of repeated reminders and representations no arrangement has been made for their disposal. . . .

"There are innumerable instances where Government neither purchased rice offered by Rice Millers on the ground that rice is bad, nor granted export permit, with the result that the stock has been wasted or used as cattle fodder.

"If the Millers would have been allowed to export the refused rice even within the Province it would have compared far superior to the notoriously deteriorated rice supplied from the Government Stores. Thus the Government is practically depriving many people from getting the minimum quantity of meal which they badly require in these hard days of scarcity.

"Rice Millers have been compelled to supply cent per cent polished rice, and if any grain of rice is found to be of red tinge the rice is declared under-polished and heavy *Batta* is imposed. In polishing rice beyond normal practice there is wastage of one seer per maund and it yields more 'brokens' besides reducing the vitamin contents of rice. Thus the Government is wasting lacs of maunds of rice which can be easily saved."

The insistence on the Rice Millers supplying cent per cent polished rice and the wastage involved in the separation of 'brokens' from rice are nothing short of criminal, if true. An immediate searching inquiry and action are necessary if the tragedy of 1943 is not to be repeated on a vaster scale.

Poona, Saturday, 23-2-'46

PYARELAL



# HARIJAN

March 3

1946

## NOT LONELY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend wrote to me the other day how lonely he felt in the midst of company. This remark was prompted by my telling him that I distrusted the word of the official world. He did not, and had thought that I might share his trust. Behold his disappointment when he found me wanting. It may be that was not what he meant by his cryptic letter. Anyway that was my interpretation and I replied that as a man of God he must never feel lonely. For, God was ever with him. Why should he care even if the whole world deserted him? Let him trust in spite of me, as long as the trust came from his heart and not his head.

I feel differently. Mutual trust and mutual love are no trust and no love. The real love is to love them that hate you, to love your neighbour even though you distrust him. I have sound reasons for distrusting the English official world. If my love is sincere, I must love the Englishman in spite of my distrust. Of what avail is my love, if it be only so long as I trust my friend? Even thieves do that. They become enemies immediately the trust is gone.

See what is happening in Bombay — the Bombay where I have passed so much time, which has given the public causes so much money and which I had thought had fairly imbibed something of ahimsa. Will it prove the burial ground of ahimsa?

I am unable to think that the incendiarism, the looting and the insults heaped upon Englishmen are or were acts of hooligans. Who are hooligans? Will there be none when English rule is no more? The fashion of blaming the hooligan ought to be given up. We are the makers of the brand. They respond to the air about them.

Imagine the senselessness of looting grainshops. The looters did not help themselves. Even if they did, they were not starving. The grain was meant for the starving. If it was being misused, looting could not prevent that misuse. Usurpers will always replace the looted grain while there is any to usurp. Between the two sets of looters the starving will be more starved than before.

They who incited the mutineers did not know what they were doing. The latter were bound to submit ultimately. Or, was it meant as a lesson in violence? That is not the way to understand history.

I ask myself, and perhaps others are asking, why I am not repeating what I did after Chauri Chaura. I have no call in that direction. When or if it comes, nothing in the world will prevent me, ill or well. Let me reaffirm the truth that I love the Englishman as well as the Indian. Both are humans. Yet I want the rule of and for the masses of India. Lokamanya has taught us that Home Rule or Swaraj

is their birthright. That Swaraj is not to be obtained by what is going on now in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi.

Let every Congressman, whether four anna member or not, think for himself where Congress should stand. Let us not deceive ourselves and the world.

Poona, 24-2-'46

## TWO REQUESTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend suggests that I should resume writing my 'autobiography' from the point where I left off and, further, that I should write a treatise on the science of ahimsa.

I never really wrote an 'autobiography'. What I did write was a series of articles narrating my experiments with truth which were later published in book form. More than twenty years have elapsed since then. What I have done or pondered during this interval has not been recorded in chronological order. I would love to do so but have I the leisure? I have resumed the publication of 'Harijan' in the present trying times as a matter of duty. It is with difficulty that I can cope with this work. How can I find time to bring the remainder of my experiments with truth up to date? But if it is God's will that I should write them, He will surely make my way clear.

To write a treatise on the science of ahimsa is beyond my powers. I am not built for academic writings. Action is my domain. What I understand, according to my lights, to be my duty and what comes my way I do. All my action is actuated by the spirit of service. Let any one who can systematize ahimsa, into a science do so — if indeed it lends itself to such treatment. In the event of my inability the correspondent has suggested three names in order of preference for this task: Shri Vinoba, Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, Shri Kaka Kalelkar. The first named could do so but I know he will not. Every hour of his is scheduled for his work and he would regard it as sacrilege to take a single moment therefrom for writing a *shastra*. I would agree with him. The world does not hunger for *shastras*. What it craves and will always crave is sincere action. He who can appease this hunger will not occupy his time in elaborating a *shastra*.

Shri Kishorlal has already written an independent treatise. If his health permits I know he would like to write further. It may not be correct to call his work a *shastra* but it may be said to be very near to one. In his present state of health, however, I do not think he can shoulder the burden and I would be the last person to lay it on him. Like Shri Vinoba he too does not allow a moment of his time to be wasted. Much of it is given to help solve the personal problems of a large circle of friends. The end of the day leaves him utterly exhausted.

Shri Kakasaheb like Shri Thakkar is an incorrigible nomad. Just now he has made the propagation and development of the national and provincial

languages his special concern. Even if he wanted to divert a moment of his time to the writing of a *shastra* I would try to prevent him from doing so.

From the above it may be concluded that there is no need at present for the treatise in question. Any such during my lifetime would necessarily be incomplete. If at all, it could only be written after my death. And even so let me give the warning that it would fail to give a complete exposition of ahimsa. No man has ever been able to describe God fully. The same holds true of ahimsa. I can give no guarantee that I will do or believe tomorrow what I do or hold to be true today. God alone is omniscient. Man in the flesh is essentially imperfect. He may be described as being made in the image of God but he is far from being God. God is invisible, beyond the reach of the human eye. All that we can do, therefore, is to try to understand the words and actions of those whom we regard as men of God. Let them soak into our being and let us endeavour to translate them into action but only so far as they appeal to the heart. Could any scientific treatise do more for us?

Poona, 25-2-'46

(From *Harijandhru*)

### COERCIVE FAST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Telegrams and letters condemning my remarks about Rajaji have been received. Some of them say that all the praise bestowed on Rajaji is well deserved. They admit his integrity, self-sacrifice, great ability and administrative capacity. But they hold his so-called apostasy in 1942 to be unforgivable and add that his scheming to be Premier of Madras is insufferable. For me there is no offence or apostasy in resigning from the Congress and maintaining one's views. If he is scheming to get the Premiership, it is undoubtedly worthy of condemnation and would be a sad discovery for me.

But my purpose in reverting to the subject is not for the sake of defending him. My opinion carries no authority save moral which can be rejected at will. What I want is to reprehend the threat of fasting or the fast itself if I do not withdraw the epithet 'clique' in respect of those who are opposing him. I have given my meaning of the word. And I adhere to its use according to that meaning. Nobody should be coerced into changing his belief. There would be an end to all decency and reason if such fasting became effective. As the author of fasting as a weapon in Satyagraha I must state that I cannot give up an opinion honestly held even if the whole world fasts against me. I might as well give up my belief in God because a body of atheists fasted against such belief. The rule of conduct stated by me is of universal applicability. Incidentally, I may mention that the fasts reported of prisoners in some U. P. jails and now of persons aggrieved by the decision of the Parliamentary Board elsewhere fall under the same category though for different and sound reasons.

Poona, 22-2-'46

### THE DISCIPLINE OF PRAYER

Gandhiji accepted no public engagements during his stay in Madras. The only exception was in connection with the Harijan Industrial School at Kodambakam. Congregational prayers took the place of public engagements. If railway journey provided Gandhiji an opportunity to study crowd behaviour, the public prayer gatherings provided an opportunity for imparting discipline to them. Whether India gains her Swaraj violently or non-violently, discipline is equally necessary in either case, perhaps in the latter even more than in the former. In the case of an army, he explained to them, the discipline consists in learning the use of arms for the purpose of killing the enemy. In the case of non-violence it has to be in the inculcation of the art of dying, without killing or retaliation even in the face of the gravest provocations and in selfless service of society. If 400 millions of India could speak with one voice, move together and act together as one man, freedom would be theirs for the asking. Prayer is the greatest binding force, making for the solidarity and oneness of the human family. If a person realizes his unity with God through prayer he will look upon everybody as himself. There will be no high, no low, no narrow provincialisms or petty rivalries in the matter of language between an Andhra and a Tamilian, a Kanarese and a Malayalee. There will be no invidious distinction between a touchable and untouchable, a Hindu and a Mussalman, a Parsi, a Christian or a Sikh. Similarly there would be no scramble for personal gain or power between various groups or between different members within a group.

The outer must reflect the inner. If we are in tune with God, no matter how big a gathering, perfect quiet and order would prevail and even the weakest would enjoy perfect protection. Above all, realization of God must mean freedom from all earthly fear. Political slavery, he has always affirmed, is incompatible with acceptance of the yoke of God; salvation is not for the slave.

In the beginning the gatherings were apt to be noisy which necessitated the omission of the recitation of the Sanskrit *shlokas* and the other texts from the Quran and the Zend Avesta. But towards the close of our stay in Madras a distinct improvement was noticeable in the observance of silence and discipline which, again, confirmed Gandhiji's experience that no matter how indisciplined a crowd is, it is sure to respond to the higher appeal provided you are sufficiently in earnest, persistent and yet patient.

Poona, Saturday, 23-2-'46

PYARELAL

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## STEPPING OFF THE LAST RUNG

We are faced with the prospects of famine. For millions of villagers this means descending just one more rung on the ladder leading to starvation—the one last rung which will bring them to the bottom.

Let me describe a visit I paid some days ago to a little Harijan village near here.

\* \* \*

I have to ride over there to make some investigations regarding the inroads of a river. It is a frosty morning, and I put on a thick coat and tie up my head in a woollen scarf. A mile and a half across the fields, and here are the little mud and grass huts. The cattle are standing in front. The cows and bullocks are hardly bigger than the Ashram year-old calves, the bones are all standing out on their bodies, and they regard me with dull and weary eyes. The first impulse is to say "How cruel, why don't you feed your animals properly?" But look at the human beings. Are they much better? The same lustreless eyes, the same bones sticking out. In a way they are even worse off than the animals, for Nature has not provided them with a coat of hair and their clothes are in rags. The women are cooking the morning meal. "Will you show me what you are cooking?" I ask. A woman brings out a thin maize *roti* and a little mustard leaf vegetable which she has collected from the field. "And the *dal* (pulse)," I enquire, "where is that?" "Do you think I should not hide my shame with a decent petticoat if I could buy *dal*?" she exclaims, pointing to her torn and tattered garment, unsuccessfully stitched all over with coarse thread. "Do you mean to say you don't get any *dal*?" I reply. "It is like this," chimes in a man nearby. "If there are special guests, or some festival, we manage to scrape together a little *dal* by selling a goat or a calf or something." "I see. Then what about milk?" "None of course." "And ghee?" "None either! Then you must be taking oil." Not even oil!! Then I ask about condiments. "Salt?" They reply, "Yes, we cut wheat grass we can find in the hedgerows and on the common lands and that we exchange in the neighbouring village markets for salt, and if we have enough grass for sale we may sometimes get some chillies."

If such people's food supply will be reduced, it must mean the end. There is no stock in the house, and no stamina in the body. Most of them are landless peasants and all of them are illiterate. Millions of their like are spread throughout India.

In drawing this little picture I am showing nothing new. Theoretically, this state of things is known to everybody. Yet the vividness of their realization is not sustained in well-to-do people's minds. If it were, it would not be humanly possible for the well-to-do to eat and dress and live as they do.

When the pinch of famine begins, the city population will make itself heard, but the landless peasantry will suffer silently in the unseen back-of-beyond.

May those who are to organize the famine measures remember these dumb millions, before it is too late!

When responsible government comes at last, their first duty will be to salvage this stratum of society, and set it permanently on its feet.

Bahadrabad

Kisan Ashram, 17-2-'46

MIRABEHN

## GANDHIJ'S PRESS STATEMENTS

I

Among messages and letters condemning my remarks about Rajaji are some from persons threatening to fast if I do not withdraw the word 'clique'. As the author of fasting as a weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha, I must reprehend such use of fasts. No one should give up opinion honestly held even if the whole world were against him. I, therefore, advise against such fasts. Poona, 22-2-'46

II

I have followed the events now happening in India with painful interest. This mutiny in the Navy and what is following is not, in any sense of the term, non-violent action. Inasmuch as a single person is compelled to shout 'Jai Hind' or any popular slogan, a nail is driven into the coffin of Swaraj in terms of the dumb millions of India. Destruction of churches and the like is not the way to Swaraj as defined by the Congress. Burning of tramcars and other property, insulting and injuring Europeans, is not non-violence of the Congress type, much less mine, if and in so far as it may be different from the Congress. Let the known and unknown leaders of this thoughtless orgy of violence know what they are doing and then follow their bent. Let it not be said that India of the Congress spoke to the world of winning Swaraj through non-violent action and belied her word in action and that too at the critical period in her life. I have deliberately used the adjective "thoughtless". For, there is such a thing as thoughtful violent action. What I see happening now is not thoughtful. If the Indian members of the Navy know and appreciate non-violence, the way of non-violent resistance can be dignified, manly and wholly effective, if it is corporate. For the individual it always is. Why should they continue to serve if service is humiliating for them or India? Action like this I have called non-violent non-cooperation. As it is, they are setting a bad and unbecoming example for India.

A combination between Hindus and Muslims and others for the purpose of violent action is unholy and will lead to and probably is a preparation for mutual violence—bad for India and the world.

The rulers have declared their intention to 'quit' in favour of Indian rule. Let the action be not delayed by a moment because of the exhibition of distressful unrest which has been lying hidden in the breast. Their might is unquestioned. Its use beyond the bare requirement will be unworthy and even wicked if it is made to suppress the people or a portion of them. The people have been far too long under the foreign heel. Poona, 23-2-'46

## III

I congratulate Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali on her courageous refutation of my statement on the happenings in Bombay. Except for the fact that she represents not only herself but also a fairly large body of underground workers, I would not have noticed her refutation, if only because she is a daughter of mine—not less so because not born to me or because she is a rebel. I had the pleasure of meeting her on several occasions while she was underground. I admired her bravery, resourcefulness and burning love of the country. But my admiration stopped there. I did not like her being underground. I do not appreciate any underground activity. I know that millions cannot go underground. Millions need not. A select few may fancy that they will bring Swaraj to the millions by secretly directing their activity. Will this not be spoon-feeding? Only open challenge and open activity is for all to follow. Real Swaraj *must* be felt by all—man, woman and child. To labour for that consummation is true revolution. India has become a pattern for all exploited races of the earth, because India's has been an open, unarmed effort which demands sacrifice from all without inflicting injury on the usurper. The millions in India would not have been awakened but for the open, unarmed struggle. Every deviation from the straight path has meant a temporary arrest of the evolutionary revolution.

I do not read the 1942 events as does the brave lady. It was good that the people rose spontaneously. It was bad that some or many resorted to violence. It makes no difference that Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, Kakasaheb and other workers, in their impatient zeal for the moment, misinterpreted non-violence. That they did so, only shows how delicate an instrument non-violence is. My analogy is not meant to cast any reflection on any person. Everyone acted as he or she thought best. Supineness in the face of overwhelming organized violence would have meant cowardice. I would be weak and wrong if I failed to give my estimate of the doings of 1942.

Aruna would "rather unite Hindus and Muslims at the barricade than on the constitution front." Even in terms of violence, this is a misleading proposition. If the union at the barricade is honest, there must be union also at the constitutional front. Fighters do not always live at the barricade. They are too wise to commit suicide. The barricade life has always to be followed by the constitutional. That front is not taboo for ever.

Emphatically it betrays want of foresight to disbelieve British declarations and precipitate a quarrel in anticipation. Is the official deputation coming to deceive a great nation? It is neither manly nor womanly to think so. What would be lost by waiting? Let the official deputation prove for the last time that British declarations are unreliable. The nation will gain by trusting. The deceiver loses when there is correct response from the deceived.

Let us face facts. The coming mission is claimed to be a friendly mission, entertaining the hope that they will discover a constitutional method of delivery. The problem is knotty, probably the knottiest that has ever confronted statesmen. It is possible that the mission will put forth an insoluble conundrum. So much the worse for them. If they are intent upon finding an honest way out of the difficulties of their own creation, I have no doubt there is a way. But the nation too has to play the game. If it does, the barricade must be left aside, at least for the time being. I appeal to Aruna and her friends to make wise use of the power their bravery and sacrifice has given them.

It is a matter of great relief that the ratings have listened to Sardar Patel's advice to surrender. They have not surrendered their honour. So far as I can see, in resorting to mutiny they were badly advised. If it was for grievance, fancied or real, they should have waited for the guidance and intervention of political leaders of their choice. If they mutinied for the freedom of India they were doubly wrong. They could not do so without a call from a prepared revolutionary party. They were thoughtless and ignorant if they believed that by their might, they would deliver India from foreign domination.

Aruna is right when she says that the fighters this time showed grit as never before. But grit becomes foolhardiness when it is untimely and suicidal as this was.

She is entitled to say that the people "*are not* interested in the *ethics* of violence or non-violence", but the people *are* very much interested in knowing *the way* which will bring freedom to the masses—violence or non-violence. The people have, however imperfectly, hitherto gone the way of non-violence. Aruna and her comrades have to ask themselves every time whether the non-violent way has or has not raised India from her slumber of ages and created in them a yearning, very vague perhaps, for Swaraj. There is, in my opinion, only one answer.

There are other passages in Shrimati Aruna's statement which, as it appears to me, betray confusion of thought. But their treatment can wait.

Needless to say that I have dealt with the message believing it to represent her opinion. If it does not, I apologize to her in advance. My argument however, is not affected even if it is found that the reporter has not correctly interpreted her. For my argument is, after all, impersonal and directed only to the portions which are calculated to mislead the public, irrespective of their authorship.

Poona, 26-2-'46

## NOTICE

Agents will please note that it is not open to them to charge more than the published price for copies of *Harijan*, and a breach of the rule will lead to the cancellation of their agency. Purchasers are requested to co-operate by refusing to pay more than the published price, and to report to us if extra price is asked for.

A specimen copy will be supplied on receipt of postal stamps worth three annas. MANAGER



## Notes

### Nature Cure Treatment

Nature Cure treatment means that treatment which befits man. By "man" is meant not merely man as animal but as a creature possessing, in addition to his body, both mind and soul. For such a being *Ramnam* is the truest nature cure treatment. It is an unfailing remedy. The expression *ramban* or infallible cure is derived from it. Nature too indicates that for man it is the worthy remedy. No matter what the ailment from which a man may be suffering, recitation of *Ramnam* from the heart is the sure cure. God has many names. Each person can choose the name that appeals most to him. Ishwar, Allah, Khuda, God mean the same. But the recitation must not be parrot-like, it must be born of faith of which endeavour will be some evidence. What should the endeavour consist of? Man should seek out and be content to confine the means of cure to the five elements of which the body is composed, i. e., earth, water, *akash*, sun and air. Of course, *Ramnam* must be the invariable accompaniment. If in spite of this, death supervenes, we may not mind. On the contrary, it should be welcomed. Science has not so far discovered any recipe for making the body immortal. Immortality is an attribute of the soul. That is certainly imperishable but it is man's duty to try to express its purity.

If we accept the above reasoning it will automatically limit the means permissible under nature cure. And man is thereby saved from all the paraphernalia of big hospitals and eminent doctors etc. The large majority of persons in the world can never afford these. Why then should the few desire what the many cannot have?

Poona, 24-2-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

### Commendable

The responsibility of feeding the delegates to the recent Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha was undertaken by a few merchants of Madras. They did this work with efficiency from January 23rd to February 1st. To feed fifty thousand persons was no small task. The food was good and cleanly served. It was a great thing for an organization like the Sabha to have the burden of feeding the delegates completely taken from them.

The Madras friends deserve congratulations for having so willingly and efficiently carried out the difficult duty undertaken by them.

Sevagram, 8-2-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

A. K.

### Kasturba Memorial Trust Agents

As Chairman of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Mahatma Gandhi has appointed the following Agents in the respective provinces:

1. Andhra Smt. G. Durgabai, Madras
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Negotiations are going on for the appointment of agents in the following provinces:

(1) Delhi, (2) Sind, (3) N. W. F. P., (4) Central India, (5) Tamil Nad, (6) Maharashtra and (7) Nizam's Dominions.

Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust,  
(Central Office)  
Bajajwadi, Wardha,  
20-2-1946

A. V. THAKKAR

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You say that one of the contracting parties in a marriage should be a Harijan. I hope you do not call other marriages taboo.

A. This is a good question. I do not believe that all other marriages are taboo. I have pointed to the ideal, the practical attainment of which it is our duty to strive for as speedily as possible.

Poona, 21-2-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 5]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 1946

[TWO ANNAS

## TO AGENTS

There is naturally an ever-increasing demand for copies of 'Harijan'. It is impossible to cope with it so long as the quota of paper sanctioned for it remains as at present. We are trying to get more paper and would in the meanwhile request subscribers and especially agents to be patient. Agents will readily realize that their demands can be attended to, only after the permanent subscribers have been provided for, and will, we hope, co-operate with us by setting a limit to their demands for the present. Fresh agents will kindly help by not applying at all for the present.

6-3-'46

J. DESAI

## Notes

### A Useful Pamphlet

A friend sends me a copy of a leaflet published by the Department of Agriculture, Bombay Province. It contains hints on small scale vegetable cultivation in compounds of bungalows etc. This was published in 1942 during war time in pursuance of a campaign for growing more food. What was then necessary is much more so now in view of the increasing shortage of food. It is a pity that the leaflet is printed in English. It may be, however, that only the English pamphlet has been sent to me and that it has been translated into the provincial languages. Be that as it may, the leaflet is certainly instructive and useful and I would suggest to the readers who are interested, as they should be, in the matter that they send for and study it with a view to making use of the suggestions, if they have a plot of land available for the purpose. Among the hints contained are the following chosen by me at random:

(a) Plots selected should be well-drained and not overshadowed by trees or buildings.

(b) Beds in which flowers have been successfully grown are usually suitable but portions of lawns may also be dug up and used for vegetable gardening.

(c) Waste water from bath-rooms or kitchen can be utilized for the purpose.

(d) It stresses the necessity of using organic manure such as cowdung and tells the reader what vegetables can be easily grown.

(e) A table is given at the end showing the quantity of particular seeds required, the depth at which they should be sown, the size of the beds and the distance between the rows of plants.

Poona, 1-3-'46

M. K. G.

### Helpful Suggestions

A correspondent writes:

"You are at present in Poona. I understand from the papers that H. H. the Aga Khan is your friend. He has plenty of land and water supply at his disposal in his palace in Poona. The same applies to the spacious grounds of Government House at Ganeshkhind. Could not both these places be utilized for growing food? Could you suggest it to him?

"You believe in fasts. You have said that 'fasts are not merely for attaining religious merit but are also beneficial for health. Cannot you then recommend to the well-fed abstention from food either one day or for even one meal or more during the week? A great deal of foodstuffs could thus be made available to the poor.

"They say that even a small quantity of sprouted grain, if eaten raw, provides the requisite nourishment. Is this so?"

The above is condensed from a letter. All the three suggestions are sound and could easily be put into practice. The first is obviously for those who possess both land and water; the second for the well-to-do; the third applies to all. In essence it means that whatever can be eaten raw should be so eaten. By intelligently following this rule one can make a small quantity go a long way. I have little doubt that if people understood the laws of dietetics and acted accordingly, a tremendous economy in food could be effected.

Poona, 1-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### Utilization of Available Power

Q. Flour grinding machines are turned by engines in thousands of villages in Gujarat. By removing them to the source these engines could easily be used for drawing water from rivers, tanks and wells for purposes of irrigation. Could not the Government be induced or the owners be persuaded

to divert the engines for this useful work in addition to working the grinders?

A. I regard the existence of power wheels for the grinding of corn in thousands of villages as the limit of our helplessness. I suppose India does not produce all the engines or grinding machines. I fondly hope that the correspondent is incorrect and that the number of wheels and engines does not run into thousands even for the whole of India. But if true, it is indicative of the utter laziness into which our people have fallen. The planting of such machinery and engines on a large scale in villages is also a sign of greed. Is it proper to fill one's pockets in this manner at the expense of the poor? Every such machinery puts thousands of hand *chakkis* out of work and takes away employment from thousands of housewives and artisans who make these *chakkis*. Moreover, the process is infective and will spread to every village industry. The decay of the latter spells too the decay of art. If it meant replacement of old crafts by new ones, one might not have much to say against it. But this is not what is happening. In the thousands of villages where power machinery exists, one misses the sweet music in the early morning of the grinders at work.

But to come to the main point. Whilst I hold that these power engines are at present being put to wrong use, it would be some compensation if the engines, in addition to their present use, were also used to pump water out of rivers, tanks and wells for irrigation. My correspondent suggests Government aid for this. Must this be necessary? Will not the owners of their own free will turn their engines towards this useful and necessary work? Or have we been reduced to such a paralytic state that without Government compulsion we are unprepared to do anything? Be that as it may, it is my firm opinion that all necessary measures should be taken at once to utilize existing power in order to save the people from the terrible fate confronting them.

Poona, 1-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

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## **NON-VIOLENT INDIA AS WORLD POWER**

We can obtain control over others by generating two kinds of forces—constructive or destructive. Love and service characterize the former, while hatred and fear distinguish the latter.

Today the world is under the power of fear and hatred. This is the result of our socio-economic order which is necessarily based on our possessing a control over our neighbour. Centralized industries which have their machinery and plants located at one place have to obtain their raw materials from distant places. They also have to find their markets and control them in their favour, may be at the other end of the world. Textile mills may be located at Manchester where no cotton grows. The needed cotton has to be grown in India—6000 miles away. After it is spun and woven into cloth it has to be sent back to India to be sold—another journey of 6000 miles. This makes it imperative for the lives of the cotton growers in India to be planned by the millowners of Manchester who will also want to control the Government of India so as to obtain favourable customs and excise duties so that their cloth may be sold. This is done by resorting to channelling science to produce atom bombs and teaching children to sing songs of hatred against the Japanese or the Germans, the successful competitors in the markets. The result is the slavery of India as a bye-product.

To achieve all this, violence has to be glorified and given a high status in society. Admirals and Generals have memorials erected to them in St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. They are placed in juxtaposition to the Deity. Only then will people flock into the army, navy and the air force. This is a degradation of civilization into barbarism. The world is groaning under this system today. The Great Powers hold their sway by virtue of the atom bomb. The rest of the world is cowed down by fear of destruction. The world may have been gained but the soul has been destroyed.

What is the alternative? We have to raise different standards of value. The welfare of mills and machinery should make room for the interests of the people. Our lives should not be ordered by the needs of the material world. We need not artificially increase our wants and then strive to satisfy them. We have to set first things first. True life does not consist in the abundance of things we possess.

India has put forward a solution. Her own standard of values is signified by the status in society given to the various classes of people. The lowest are the parasites whose existence depends on the destruction of others. Economic Imperialism is of this order. Then come the predatory creatures who consume without production. To be "drunk like a lord" cannot be an ideal with us. The aristocrats belong to this group. The next in order is the economic group—the *Vaishyas*. But money does not occupy the pivotal place. The upper two groups

are public servants, the *Kshatriyas* to look after the people's needs and the *Brahmins* to be the custodians of culture. With this standard of values India reached out to the remotest parts of the world carrying light and learning. This was a cultural penetration which led to peace and harmony amongst nations.

Under this scheme of things, self-indulgence was not the goal of life. When we emphasize indulgences the order is based on pleasures and rights. This ultimately leads to conflict and violence. If, on the other hand, we emphasize duties, life comes under the control of self-discipline and our wants are restricted. This is the basis of civilization. We have to give the highest place in society to the service of the needy. By so doing we eschew violence and our influence over others is based, not on fear, but on the appreciation of our service. This is the power India had once and can have even today. It is one of mutual regard and respect and will lead to the fusion of cultures and world peace.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### FROM RUBBISH TO GOLD

Having settled down to a *kisan's* life for the purpose of understanding the problems of the villager, I have come to one definite conclusion, and that is that manure-making is one of the most important things we have got to tackle. The ordinary peasant makes no effort to prepare manure. Cow-dung and small amount of rubbish are just thrown in a heap without any attempt to mix them together. The heap may be in a pit or on the level ground. During the monsoon it is left exposed to the rain and rots to some extent, after which it is scattered (and that unevenly) on the fields. In this way the minimum results are obtained from the material at hand.

The absence of manure in Indian villages is always ascribed to the fact that the major portion of the cow-dung is used for fuel. But even without drawing on the fuel supply, double the cow-dung could be collected to what is at present gathered up for manure. Much of it gets trampled into the ground under the feet of the tethered cattle, and still more is left about on the grazing grounds. If all this were saved, and the rubbish which eternally lies about in the farm-yards and village lanes were regularly gathered up and the two mixed properly together, more than double the present quantity of manure would be produced, and its quality would be far superior.

To tackle the production of this farm-yard manure is a more urgent job than the setting up of big factories for manufacturing artificial fertilizers. Artificial manure needs big outlay in capital, machinery and experts, and for a long time it will reach only a very limited number of our seven lakhs of villages. It also requires careful application, whereas the farm-yard manure needs no outlay of any kind. The materials are lying there waiting to be gathered up, the peasant with his ordinary tools can do all the work and throughout the world farm-yard manure is acknowledged as the all round best and safest.

In Kisan Ashram I have started experiments in the simplest possible methods of manure making.

I am not yet able to give exact figures and timings as the work is in its initial stages, but the procedure I am at present trying out is on the following lines: A shallow pit is dug 2 ft. deep, 22 ft. long, and 10 ft. broad, (the length and breadth can be varied according to the daily amount of stuff to be handled). Each day grass, leaves and other light rubbish is collected and heaped near the edge of the pit; cow-dung and horse droppings are collected and heaped separately next to the rubbish. At the end of the day rubbish is spread in a thin layer over a little less than half the bottom of the pit, and on top of that a thin layer of dung, broken up and sprinkled by hand. Thus one layer on top of another is spread according to the amount of material collected during the day. The last layer is always rubbish so as to protect the dung from sun and wind. Every third day water is poured on the layers sufficient to saturate them. When the half pit is full, the manure is covered with a thin layer of earth and left for six to eight weeks, after which it is drawn to the other half of the pit. Care is taken to cut away the layers in thin vertical slices. When the manure is laid out thus in the other half of the pit, it is again saturated with water and covered with earth. After another six to eight weeks the manure is examined, and, if it is sufficiently disintegrated, it is removed from the pit, piled on the ground and covered over with earth, ready for use when needed, otherwise it is drawn once more across the pit as described above. During the rains a roof should be put over the pit.

It will be difficult enough to induce the peasant to do even this much in his present untrained mental state. Anything more complicated would probably fail. But this method gives promise of being quite efficacious.

For obtaining full statistics in this kind of work, variations in the method of production should be tried out, and two or three years of crop results should be studied. But I have put the matter forward without waiting to show these statistics, because all those of us who are interested in such work should be co-operating in our efforts and sharing our ideas and reports of results. As soon as the new Provincial Governments begin to function, this is a matter which their Agricultural Departments should take up without delay, and it is for us to be ready to come to their assistance with these simple, practical methods.

One reads of simple indigenous methods of manure-making in China where, from time immemorial they seem to have practised the art. And one hears also that the Chinese peasant gets four times the yield from his soil to what the Indian peasant does. At the same time the villages in China are swept clean, because everything in the way of rubbish is put into the manure pit. Here in India our villages are littered with debris from one year's end to another. All this rubbish can be turned into gold if we will but use it in the right way.

Kisan Ashram, Bahadrabad,

14-2-'46

MIRABEHN

# HARIJAN

March 10

1946

## CONFLICT OF IDEAS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"She was unable to understand Gandhiji calling upon R. I. N. ratings to resign if their condition was humiliating. If they did that they would have to give up their only means of livelihood. Moreover, they were fighting for principles. If they resigned now there would be hundreds in these days of unemployment to take their places who would be subject to the same discrimination and treatment and the R. I. N. ratings would not have achieved anything. It simply does not lie in the mouth of Congressmen who were themselves going to the legislatures to ask the ratings to give up their jobs. It does not help the cause of the country at all."

Every one of the statements quoted above from Arunabehn's press interview is contrary to the views generally held by or attributed to Congressmen. Whether she really holds or does not hold the views put into her mouth is irrelevant here. For the moment it is enough to examine them on their merits and to show that they are wholly inconsistent with Congress resolutions.

The first principle of non-violent action as propounded in the Congress resolution of 1920 at its special session in Calcutta under the late Lala Lajpatrai is that of non-cooperation with everything humiliating. It must be remembered that the R. I. N. was founded not for the benefit of the ruled. The men went with their eyes open. Discrimination stares one in the face. It cannot be avoided if one enters the service which is frankly organized to keep India under subjection. One may, one ought, to, try to mend the conditions. That is possible only up to a point. That cannot be achieved through mutiny. Mutiny may conceivably succeed but the success can only avail the mutineers and their kin, not the whole of India. And the lesson would be a bad inheritance. Discipline will be at least as necessary under Swaraj as it is now. India under successful mutineers would be cut up into warring factions exhausted by internecine strife.

India of the Congress has made little headway in the appreciation of the fight for Swaraj, if it is true that hundreds would take their places if the present ratings resigned in pursuance of their campaign against humiliation. Can we have Swaraj for the masses if we are so degraded that hundreds of us are ready to swallow humiliation even to the extent of taking the places of humiliated fellow-men? The very thought is unworthy of Congressmen and that too at the moment when Swaraj is believed to be within sight.

Those who hold that enlistment in the R. I. N. is their only means of livelihood must have a very poor opinion of them. A soldier's is a hard life. He is disciplined to work in co-operation and

trained to work with the pickaxe and the spade. Such a one will disdain to think that apart from soldiering he has no means of livelihood. We have a poor opinion of soldiers, if we think that they cannot earn their bread by the sweat of the brow. A labourer is any day worthy of his hire. What is, however, true is that a soldier out of his calling will lack the glamour and the amenities provided for him. We have wasted precious twentyfive years if we have not yet stripped the profession of killing and destroying of the thick coat of varnish that has covered it for so long.

Aruna Asaf Ali has been reported to have said that the ratings would have gained nothing by resigning. Well, they would have gained honour and dignity if they had manfully given up their job. and taught the citizens of Bombay the way to save honour and dignity, and they would have spared Bombay the senseless destruction of life, property and very precious foodstuffs. Surely this would have been an achievement not quite beneath notice.

The last statement in the reported interview is surely a confusion of thought. Congressmen going to the legislatures for conserving the honour and liberty of the country is not the same as ratings serving for their livelihood with the possibility of being used against their own countrymen and their liberty. Congressmen who go to the legislatures are representatives elected by their voters and they go even if it is only to prevent those from going who will misrepresent the voters. Going to the legislatures may be altogether bad, but there can be no such comparison as has been just adverted to.

Poona, 3-3-46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### FRUITS OF VIOLENCE

"Look at Italy," said Gandhiji the other day to a friend who would have independence at all costs. "Garibaldi was a great man. He brought deliverance to Italy. And Mussolini did make her look great. But where is she today? Look at Japan, look at Germany. The very violence which brought them to the pinnacle of power has razed them to the ground. And has not the atom bomb proved the futility of all violence? And yet we are crazy enough to think that we can win Swaraj by breaking a few skulls and destroying property which, after all is said and done, is our own." Needless to say that all these happenings have filled him with unspeakable anguish. But he is an irrepressible optimist. "I am sure, out of this orgy of violence the people will learn the lesson of non-violence," he remarked. The sense of oppression and misery that he feels at what is happening is so great that only his unquenchable faith in the God of Truth and Non-violence could sustain him.

### THE STARK REALITY

Drums and music and the display of banners serve in the army to camouflage the horror and bestiality of war. Let not patriotic sentiment blind us to the stark realities of the Bombay happenings. Here is an eye witness' account of what took place in one part of Bombay on the 22nd February;



"Bombay is the scene of a death dance today. I have just returned from our hospital. Never have I seen such carnage and bloodshed. One used to read in books about 'rivers of blood'. Well, I have seen that sight with my own eyes this time. Bodies of the dead and wounded, Hindus and Muslims, ranging from old men and women to two-year old infants are lying pell-mell in our casualty office. Every student in our hostel and the entire nursing staff had their hands more than full. Could not something be done to stop this senseless orgy involving the murder of so many innocents? The bowels of some have gushed out. Others have received bullet wounds in the chest. Amputation of hands and feet had to be done in the case of still others. The sight of it makes one shudder. It is now nearly 9 p. m.. Things have quietened down somewhat. There was firing in the street before our college at about six in the evening. A male nurse who worked in our hospital has been wounded. British soldiers go on firing indiscriminately from moving lorries.

"I was assisting in the operation theatre. The combined odour of blood and dead bodies nearly made me feel giddy. One hears tales of popular rowdyism too. The actual rowdies however seem to escape scot-free. . . .

"I have once again been to our hospital from where I have just returned. The number of the dead has mounted to 56. The condition of many more is serious."

#### THE BETTER WAY

Several army men have been to Gandhiji's camp during the week to seek advice. One of them saw Gandhiji. He was deeply agitated. The men were getting desperate, he said. Would Gandhiji ask them to lie low and swallow all the humiliations and injustice?

"No," replied Gandhiji. "But, as you know, I stand for unadulterated non-violent action and open means. I abhor secrecy."

The visitor felt puzzled. What place could non-violence have in the fighting ranks as a means of redress, he wondered.

"I laid down a programme of non-violent action in my 7th of August '42 speech in the A. I. C. C. for looking and organizing the highest non-violence and self-sacrifice that the country was capable of," remarked Gandhiji. "I told in that speech what the press should do, what the students should do, what the princes should do, what the Government servants should do, and lastly what the Indian soldiers should do. If all of them had done their part as suggested by me, it would have had a staggering effect. That programme can still be acted upon. The soldiers should declare that they will do soldiering not for their bellies but to make India free and to keep her free. I do not want them to be disloyal to the Government in whose pay they are, for, if they are disloyal to the present Government today, by the same token they may be disloyal to the national government tomorrow. But it is no disloyalty for a soldier to go and tell his superiors that he will be their man only so long as they stand for his country's freedom and that he would never bear arms to

crush the liberty of his own people. If as a result of their declaration they were disbanded, cashiered or even court-martialled, they should not mind. Thereby they would light a spark which not all the armaments at the disposal of any power would be able to put out and before long the entire Indian Army would be filled with the spirit of patriotism without having to shed blood. If, on the contrary, they resorted to indiscipline and violence or rowdyism they would alienate all sympathy and provide the authorities an excuse to teach them a lesson."

"My brain was muddled, when I came here," replied the visitor. "I now see things more clearly. You have saved us from a big mistake. We shall take no precipitate or thoughtless step."

#### STRAWS IN THE WIND

Typical of the deep heart-searching that is going on in the mind of many a Britisher at present is the following from the letter of an army man to Gandhiji:

"Many of us, conscripted soldiers, have the welfare of your country at heart. So much so, that we have taken the only opportunity we have, to show practically, our feelings. This has been in the form of letters to our members of Parliament in which we have stressed the urgency for an immediate all out action towards the solution of the problem that is with us today. So far as we are able to make recommendations we have said that the only solution is immediate handing over of your country to you, its people, and a request that you be asked to use every available means to implement the very right 'Quit India' proposal.

"Another point I raised with my M. P. was this. What is my position as a soldier of H. M. Forces, if I am called upon to take up arms against people I love? I intimated that I should refuse to do so, as I shall if ever anyone is so misguided as to issue an order to that effect. I also asked that suitable steps should be taken to see that our position was clarified. We did not come into this army to fight an imperialist war, and I for one won't.

"There is impatience—and rightly so—and the outbreaks of rioting are signs of it. Such outbreaks I feel sure are ill advised and will do nothing but alienate sympathy from the rightness of the cause. I sincerely hope that reason and forbearance will be brought to bear on those responsible so that no general precipitation of mob rule will ensue.

. . . "I may have exceeded any rights I have in writing as I have done, but if there is attendant risk, I am quite prepared for it. I do, at least, feel I have expressed honestly what I feel as a man with some humanity in my heart. Also, it may help you to know that you have many of us, here, and in England, wishing you god-speed. . . . There seems so very little one can do alone in a practical way to help, but wherever this is possible, I should be only too pleased to identify myself with anybody militating towards a speedy and peaceful end to problems, which though not, of my making, are here I feel, because of us, and so in some measure I admit responsibility for them."

Poona, 3-3-'46

PYARELAL



## WHAT, AFTER FINISHING STUDIES?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. A student has seriously posed this question: "What am I to do after finishing my studies?"

A. We are today a subject race and our educational system has been devised to serve the interests of our rulers. But even as the most selfish person is obliged to hold out some lure to those whom he is out to exploit, so a number of temptations for studying in their institutions have been brought into being by the rulers. Moreover, all members of Government are not alike. There are some liberal minded among them who will consider the problem of education on merits. Therefore, there is no doubt some good even in the present system. But the prevailing education is willy-nilly put to wrong use, i. e., it is looked upon as a means of earning money and position.

The ancient aphorism, 'Education is that which liberates', is as true today as it was before. Education here does not mean mere spiritual knowledge nor does liberation signify only spiritual liberation after death. Knowledge includes all training that is useful for the service of mankind and liberation means freedom from all manner of servitude even in the present life. Servitude is of two kinds: slavery to domination from outside and to one's own artificial needs. The knowledge acquired in the pursuit of this ideal alone constitutes true study.

Realizing that a form of education devised by foreign rulers could only be calculated to subserve their interests, the Congress accepted in 1920, among other things, the principle of the boycott of all Governmental educational institutions. But that era seems to be over. The demand for entrance to Government institutions and those imparting education on similar lines is increasing faster than the number of such schools and colleges. The ranks of examinees are ever swelling. In spite of this hypnotic spell, however, I hold that true education is what I have defined.

A student who is superficially attracted by the educational ideal set forth by me and leaves his studies liable to repent of his action later. I have, therefore, suggested a safer course. While continuing his studies in the institution which he has joined he should ever keep before him the ideal of service set forth by me and use his studies with a view to serve that ideal, never for making money. Moreover, he should try to make up the lack in the present education by application of his leisure hours to the ideal. He will, therefore, avail himself to the utmost of whatever opportunity offers for taking part in the constructive programme. Poona, 1-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## NOTICE

Agents will please note that it is not open to them to charge more than the published price for copies of *Harijan*, and a breach of the rule will lead to the cancellation of their agency. Purchasers are requested to co-operate by refusing to pay more than the published price, and to report to us if extra price is asked for.

A specimen copy will be supplied on receipt of postal stamps worth three annas. MANAGER

## WAYS AND MEANS

Ever since Gandhiji has turned his own and public attention to finding out ways and means of averting the food crisis which faces the country, suggestions have been pouring in on him. Many of these he has already embodied in his statements to the press and articles in 'Harijan'. Here are some more that merit the attention of the authorities where the remedy lies in their hands and of the general public so far as practical co-operation on their part is concerned.

1. Lakhs of acres of fertile black cotton soil — 4 lakhs in Guntur, 6 lakhs in Krishna and Godavari districts, 10 lakhs in the Circars, 20 lakhs in other parts — are being used for the growing of Virginia tobacco. Inasmuch as tobacco and its use is to be condemned as harmful for man, it is a golden opportunity for the owners of these lands to give up its cultivation or restrict it and devote these fertile areas to growing food and fodder crops.

2. The shelled and dried cocoanut, commonly known as *copra* is extensively used for commercial purposes for manufacturing toilet articles such as cocoanut and other scented oils, soaps etc.. *Copra* may be preserved for a long time without any difficulty and may be used as a supplementary nutritive diet. It contains a high percentage of good quality vegetable fat as well as minerals and vitamins. The main producing areas are Cochin and Travancore and there are, of course, big interests behind the cocoanut oil industry.

3. A Poona friend sends two samples of *jowar*. 'A' is which the villagers harvested in their fields last season and which was taken away from them under the compulsory levy scheme by Government officials, the producer being paid at the rate of Rs. 6/- per Bengal maund of 40 seers. 'B' is of what these same villagers who were compulsorily dispossessed of their produce of 'A' a few months before are now compelled, in order to avoid starvation, to take at Rs. 10/- per maund! This, if true, is a glaring example of the inefficiency, shortsightedness and utter indifference of the official world to the needs and welfare of the poor. Surely local needs should be assessed accurately before exporting a single grain of foodstuffs from any area.

4. From Bihar a friend draws Gandhiji's attention to *mahura* which is an edible commodity but which is also largely used for the manufacture of country liquor. If this latter use were to be drastically cut down, *mahura* could not only supplement the food ration of the villager but would also "cause compulsory saving by labour (in most cases amounting to 25% of their total earnings) and thereby enable them to purchase more milk, vegetables, eggs, etc.". *Mahura* can also be utilized for replacing a good portion of the grain consumed by cattle.

5. The manufacture of alcoholic drinks prepared from grains should be stopped immediately.

6. The supply of rice and maize to starch factories should be stopped or curtailed for the time being.

7. A Punjab friend opines that in wheat-growing districts several hundred maunds of unripe wheat crop is daily being consumed by cattle in the shape of green fodder. 200-300 maunds of this unripe wheat would amount to 5000-7500 maunds of grain if allowed to ripen. The friend suggests a scale of rationing of grains for cattle as for men and substitution for cattle of more green fodder in the shape of *shattala*, *sarson*, green vegetables and grass.

8. The manufacture of cakes, biscuits, pastries, fancy breads, sweetmeats, etc. in hotels and restaurants is a matter that needs investigation and curtailment.

9. Ceremonial feasts and parties must be stopped.

10. The question of rice has already been touched on by Shri Pyarelal but bears repetition. A correspondent from Dinajpur writes that 30,000 maunds of broken rice are lying and being wasted in the mills there. It may not be sold in the market, whereas, if released, it could feed thousands of hungry mouths. The writer suggests that an inquiry should be held to reveal how much rice Bengal produces, how much is purchased by Government from the mills and what use is made of it, how much broken rice is lying all over the province and whether Government will allow this to be handed over to a food distribution committee specially appointed for the purpose.

11. Professor Ranga fears that while every effort has been made to assure rations of food to the urban people, very little, if any, thought has been given to assure similar rations for the rural areas. He suggests:

(a) Sufficient remuneration to the peasant for food crops so as to wean him from cultivating commercial crops. The peasant is being starved of clothing, kerosene oil, fuel and other oils. Remunerative prices for foodgrains without the mediation of middlemen would alleviate his distress. Consumers' goods should be made available to him on a system of rationing and a systematic and equitable exchange of agricultural produce for these should be worked out and enforced.

(b) Adequate supply to him at reasonable rates of agricultural implements.

(c) Healthy competition between householders, kisans and villages as to the maximum per capita production and minimum per capita consumption. Those who produce more may be paid more and may have a greater supply of consumers' goods allotted to them.

(d) Every scrap of unoccupied but cultivable land may be placed at the disposal of individual landless peasants or their co-operative societies on condition that they grow only food crops.

(e) Foodgrain producers should be persuaded to keep only their annual requirements with them, the remainder to be put at the disposal of village panchayats who will see what is needed by non-foodgrain producers and landless labourers and wisely store and distribute the same.

(f) All surplus foodgrains should be at the disposal of district authorities for distribution elsewhere.

There should be a procurement, distribution and rationing authority entrusted with the important task of equitably distributing available foodstuffs.

(g) Rural folk must be persuaded to postpone marriages and other ceremonials, or, at any rate, minimize consumption and wastage of food on such occasions by celebrating them in a communal manner.

(h) Communal feeding centres for artisans and others at low prices will minimize food wastage.

(i) Grain storage may have to be built up for every fifty villages or every taluk in order to ensure timely and adequate supplies of foodgrains to any villages in that or in neighbouring areas whenever a sudden food shortage occurs.

(j) Iron must be placed at the disposal of every taluk and village panchayat and iron bands for carts must be given priority so that bullock carts may be at the disposal of the food distribution and procurement authorities for transport purposes.

(k) Military motor lorries must be requisitioned for transport whenever necessary and railway authorities must be prepared to run special trains when urgently needed to do so.

(l) Rural folk need a more liberal allowance of food than townsmen.

(m) Wastage of water must be stopped and wells sunk wherever needed. Repairs of existing tanks and wells should be the duty of Government.

(n) Forest and other green leaf manure has to be gathered, conserved and transported where required. Freight rates for such transportation should be lowered. The supply of manure to kisans is an important one and should be given to panchayats or kisan organizations for equitable distribution.

(o) Cultivation of root crops which can be raised three or four times in the year should be encouraged.

(p) Paddy must be husked by hand and thus the quantity of rice can be increased by at least 10%.

(q) If provincial and district authorities were to take up the task of allowing their grain and pulses to germinate in the scientific manner it may be possible to increase the total quantity of nourishment that can be got of foodgrains by 15 to 25%.

12. Cattle rearing must be encouraged. A friend from Guntur writes that while his is a district famous for good milch cattle such as the Ongole cow, good breeds are being exported daily for military and slaughter purposes.

13. The use of the military, in particular those who are being now demobilized, has been recommended for various types of service in the present crisis. A correspondent says that there is a wide and fertile rice growing valley running from Kalyan to Karjat. Thousands of acres of good land bordering ample water flowing into the sea lies uncultivated from November to June. The water could easily be canalized or wells dug further afield. Obviously rice growers are too poor to do this, but if crops can be grown without detriment to the paddy, why should not Government put several regiments of Indian engineers or other troops on to this task?

This is probably applicable to many other portions of this vast land.

14. Finally, there is the usual and universal complaint against hoarding and black-marketing. The best way to eliminate the black market is for the rich to abstain from going there. Will they? Violence is in the very air we breathe today. But violence does not consist only of murder, loot, arson and destruction of property. Greed, selfishness, exploitation, bribery and corruption are subtler and therefore more potent forms of violence. Mob fury abates or can be controlled by superior violence but the latter continue as a canker and eat into the very vitals of society. This can be eliminated by a vigorous public opinion and a true appraisal of moral values.

Poona, 2-3-'46

A. K.

### WHOSE NEED?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The institution of domestic servants is an old one. But the attitude of master towards servant has changed from time to time. Some regard servants as members of the family whereas others look upon them as slaves or chattels. Between these two extreme views may be summed up the attitude of society in general towards servants. Nowadays servants are in great demand everywhere. They have become conscious of their value and naturally demand their own conditions of pay and service. This would be proper if it were invariably coupled with a proper understanding and performance of their duty. In that event they would cease to be servants and would earn for themselves the status of members of the family. The belief in the efficacy of violence is, however, in the air. How then can servants properly win the status of members of their masters' families? That is a question that may well be asked.

I hold that a man who desires the co-operation of and wishes to co-operate with others should not be dependent on servants. If anyone has to have one at a time of scarcity of servants, he will have to pay what is demanded and accept all other conditions with the result that he will, instead of being master, become the servant of his employee. This is good for neither the master nor the servant. But if what an individual seeks is not slavery but the co-operation of a fellow being he will not only serve himself but also him whose co-operation he needs. Through the extension of this principle a man's family will become coterminous with the world and his attitude towards his fellow beings will also undergo a corresponding change. There is no other way of reaching the desired consummation.

He who wants to act on this principle will be content to start with small beginnings. In spite of a man's ability to command the co-operation of thousands he must have sufficient self-restraint and

self-respect in him to enable him to stand alone. Such a person will never dream of looking on any person as his menial and try to keep him under subjugation. In fact he will forget altogether that he is master of his servants and will try his best to bring them to his level. In other words he should be content to do without what others cannot have.

Poona, 1-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### EXAMINATIONS IN HINDUSTANI

Sjt. S. N. Agarwal, Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, has made the following announcement :-

The Hindustani Prachar Sabha has decided to conduct examinations in Hindustani. The final degree examination will be held by the Central Organization at Wardha. The preliminary examinations will be conducted by the Provincial Organizations. The provinces of Gujarat and Bombay have already commenced holding these examinations. The Central Organization will also conduct examinations for the non-Hindustani speaking provinces, barring these two and the four South Indian provinces.

The date for the next examinations has been fixed for 25th September 1946. The syllabuses and the rules for these examinations can be had from the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha. Those who want centres for the Hindustani Prachar examinations to be opened at a particular place should write to the Examinations Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha and obtain from him the written forms and other information relating to the opening of such centres.

It is hoped that all lovers of *Rashtrabhasha*, men as well as women, will avail themselves in their numbers of the opportunity, of taking these examinations.

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## HIGH-HANDEDNESS EXPOSED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Bombay High Court has just delivered an illuminating judgment, allowing two habeas corpus applications of H. K. Shah and B. E. Sathe against detention orders extended from time to time. Chief Justice Stone and Justice Lokur have delivered a considered judgment setting at liberty the two applicants who were evidently illegally detained and might have remained under detention but for the fact that Advocate Purushottam Trikumdas assisted them to bring their cases before the Bombay High Court. I have just time to give below the few important extracts from the judgment.

After observing that the two affidavits filed by Mr. Simms, Home Secretary, Government of Bombay in relation to the two accused cannot be distinguished from each other except for the numbers at the tops, the learned judges go on to say: "In the case of Mr. Sathe, there is no suggestion in the reasons given that he assisted or supported any underground organization or organized anything underground, though it is suggested that, he assisted the activities of an organization, the object of which was to commit acts of sabotage, and even if it is to be presumed that such an organization would work underground, the very fact that these two affidavits of Mr. Simms are in identical terms, though they deal with the circumstances of two different cases, demonstrates a very casual approach to the grave responsibilities and duties, which devolve on every government servant charged with these wide powers of detention without trial.

"In Gokhale's case a full bench of this High Court had occasion to comment upon detention orders being made on cyclostile forms inappropriate to the facts of the particular case and it now appears that unless checked, the era of the cyclostiled affidavits is about to dawn. Even passing over such irregular features in Mr. Simms' affidavits as referring to an affidavit without stating whose affidavit it is he refers to, his affidavit does not even state that all the circumstances of the petitioner's case were fully considered before the extension orders of the 7th January, 1946, were made."

Commenting upon the further affidavit of Mr. Simms which he filed after declining to attend the court in order to submit himself to cross-examination the judges observe: "That is a very remarkable document for any one to file who has been given an opportunity by the court to attend the court in order to give *viva voce* evidence. It is even more remarkable by its omission than by what it says, for it leaves unchallenged the affidavits for the 22nd February of the two petitioners filed in answer to Mr. Simms' two

affidavits which are in identical terms, and which the last affidavit seeks to amend." Referring to the extension orders, the learned judges go on to observe, "But once the original order has run its course, the legislature has provided certain safeguards for the protection of the persons detained. Before the six months expired, the person detained will have received the notice giving him the grounds for his detention, and he may have a representation under section 7. The extension order itself has to be made within thirty days immediately preceding the expiry of the previous order, and lastly, there is added to subjective satisfaction an objective test that the detaining authority shall have further considered all the circumstances of the case. In our opinion emphasis is to be placed on the word 'all' and the question at once arises what is the nature of all the circumstances which have to be considered. That must be a question of law."

Holding that the defence plea that the detaining authority had not considered all the circumstances of the case the judges observe:

"Mr. Purushottam Trikumdas advanced various heads of circumstances which he submits it is obligatory for the detaining authority to consider. In our opinion it is clear that such circumstances must include:

(1) A consideration of the matters and things which the detenu did or was suspected of doing when the original order was made.

(2) These matters and things must be considered in conjunction with and in the high light of the present state of affairs. That is to say, the state of affairs existing in India at the date when the proposed extension order is to be made.

(3) A consideration of any representation which the person detained may have made under section 7 (4) had consideration of the person detained since his detention and the present state of his health.

"Turning again to the circumstances of the two cases before us, having given the whole position our careful consideration we are not prepared to accept the affidavits of Mr. Simms filed on either of these petitions as affording any reliable answer to the assertion of the petitioners that all the circumstances of their cases have not been considered in the light of the state of affairs current in India on the 7th January, 1946. On that date as the petitioners point out there was no successful prosecution of a war for the mass movement to hinder and the various committees of the Congress previously unlawful, had been legalized and the members of the Working Committee of the Congress Party and its leader had been released from detention. These are all circumstances which already ought to have been considered before



the renewal orders of the 7th January, 1946 were made."

The judges then draw attention to the fact that Mr. Simms did not state that H. E. the Governor had considered the papers and agreed to the extension orders of 7-1-46 being made. The judges say: "It is extremely significant that His Excellency did not consider and agree to the making of these extension orders though he had considered and agreed to the making of all the orders in both the cases in 1944 and 1945. If he had done so when the orders of the 7th January, 1946 were made, it is inconceivable that Mr. Simms should not have stated that most important fact, which is bound to inspire confidence that any order which has been so considered and agreed to has been made after due care, attention and consideration." Therefore they hold that the two petitioners have "successfully challenged the two extension orders of the 7th of January as not being validly made, because, having regard to the facts stated by the petitioners it is impossible to come to the conclusion that the detaining authority complied with the objective test of having considered all the circumstances of the petitioners' cases. . . . That being so it is our clear duty to order their immediate release."

In my opinion the released men are entitled to damages for illegal detention. This, however, may be debatable. But there can be no doubt that all persons similarly detained, no matter in which province, should immediately be discharged without a doubt. There is no danger of the government being overturned by reason of the discharges.

Bombay, 13-3-'46

### CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AND SAMAGRA GRAMASEVA

On the 29th of January Gandhiji was asked a few questions in the Constructive Workers' Conference at Madras. Two of those questions and their answers are given below:

Q. Can a worker who has taken up one item of constructive work dabble in others? Is it right for him to do so? If so how?

A. Constructive programme as it stands today is comprised of 18 items. The spinning wheel as the symbol of non-violence occupies the central place. So every worker must spin and know all about spinning. Supposing a worker takes up paper making as his main occupation and has to find his livelihood also through it, he won't have much time left for other things. But he will be able to render some other service to the villagers besides that which he renders through the spinning wheel and paper making. For instance, he can work for improving the sanitation of the place and render advice about the care of the sick when he cannot take up full responsibility for nursing them.

Supposing another worker decides to concentrate on the spinning wheel only and to find his livelihood also through that, he can do so. I have no doubt in my mind that the wheel can serve as the instrument of earning one's livelihood and at the same time enable the worker to render useful service to his neighbours. The thing is that every worker

should decide for himself what will be his main activity besides the spinning wheel and what will be his subsidiary activities. Whatever he does, he should do intelligently and with knowledge. Thus, in order to ply the wheel intelligently, he should know all the processes that precede and succeed spinning. He should have full knowledge of the activities that he wishes to concentrate upon and have a general working knowledge about other items of the constructive programme. A student of astronomy cannot know astronomy without some knowledge of science in general. Similarly a worker cannot afford to be utterly ignorant about other items of constructive work.

Q. Please explain the meaning of Samagra Gramaseva of your conception. How can we fit ourselves for that?

A. The 18-fold Constructive Programme includes Samagra Gramaseva. A Samagra Gramasevak must know everybody living in the village and render them such service as he can. That does not mean that the worker will be able to do everything single-handed. He will show them the way of helping themselves and procure for them such help and materials as they require. He will train up his own helpers. He will so win over the villagers that they will seek and follow his advice. Supposing I go and settle down in a village with a *ghani* (village oil press), I won't be an ordinary *ghanchi* (oil presser) earning 15-20 rupees a month. I will be a Mahatma *ghanchi*. I have used the word 'Mahatma' in fun but what I mean to say is that as a *ghanchi* I will become a model for the villagers to follow. I will be a *ghanchi* who knows the Gita and the Quran. I will be learned enough to teach their children. I may not be able to do so for lack of time. The villagers will come to me and ask me: "Please make arrangements for our children's education." I will tell them: "I can find you a teacher but you will have to bear the expenses." And they will be prepared to do so most willingly. I will teach them spinning and when they come and ask me for the services of a weaver, I will find them a weaver on the same terms as I found them a teacher. And the weaver will teach them how to weave their own cloth. I will inculcate in them the importance of hygiene and sanitation and when they come and ask me for a sweeper I will tell them: "I will be your sweeper and I will train you all in the job." This is my conception of Samagra Gramaseva. You may tell me that I will never find a *ghanchi* of this description in this age. Then I will say that we cannot hope to improve our villages in this age. Take the example of a *ghanchi* in Russia. After all the man who runs an oil mill is a *ghanchi*. He has money but his strength does not lie in his money. Real strength lies in knowledge. True knowledge gives a moral standing and moral strength. Everyone seeks the advice of such a man. Take the instance of Vinoba. He is a good *ghanchi*. You all know what he does and you can all follow his example according to your capacity.

(From *Harijansevak*)

S. N.



## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENTS

## I

The following letter from Gandhiji to the P. S. V. of 21-2-46 and the latter's reply dated 29-2-46 are released to the press by Gandhiji with the consent of His Excellency the Viceroy.

"Here are a few more suggestions to meet the food situation which have been sent me by friends.

"The Indian Army should be given this unique opportunity of doing constructive work. They can be moved about easily. They could therefore be sent to all such places where wells need to be dug most urgently.

"Regarding additional foods, fish has been mentioned. Fish abounds in the seas around the coast of India. The war is over; there are innumerable small and medium-sized vessels which were used for doing patrol and guard duties along our shores for the last five years. The R. I. N. could arrange about staffing these, with the Department of Fisheries giving all assistance. If everything and anything can be done during a war—why not a peace time war effort? Dry fish does even now form part of the normal diet of a great number of people who are very poor—that is when it is available and they can afford to buy it.

"All public gardens should immediately by law be made to start growing vegetables. Squads of army personnel should be put to work here too. People requiring extra labour to transform their ground or garden should also be able to obtain free help through this channel.

"The distribution of food should be through Co-operative Societies or similar organizations.

"All food parcels to friends or relatives in Britain or elsewhere abroad should be stopped as also the export of ground-nuts, oils, oil cakes, etc..

"All stocks of food-stuffs in the hands of the military should be released forthwith and no distinction should be made between military and civil ranks. In this connection I draw His Excellency's attention to the following A. P. I. message published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of 11-2-46.

Dacca, Feb. 8

It is learnt that huge quantities of decomposed *atta* are being destroyed for the last few days by throwing them into the river Shitalaksha at Narayanganj.

"The campaign against despondency and for growing more food will avail nothing, unless bribery which is going on as never before is stopped and honesty and straight dealing begin to pervade the Government ranks and the Public."

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"Thank you for your letter of the 21st February making suggestions to meet the food situation. His Excellency, to whom I have shown your letter, is grateful to you for writing, and will have the various proposals examined where this has not been done already.

"2. Only a day or two ago His Excellency suggested to the Commander-in-Chief that it might be possible for the R.I.N. to assist with fishing. Recent events may make this difficult, but meanwhile His Excellency has initiated enquiries about the possibility of importing

dried fish from Canada and Newfoundland, and also about the securing of suitable vessels and equipment so as to make a start with developing on modern lines the fisheries industry. Already the Army is doing a good deal in the Grow More Food campaign and is releasing machinery for digging wells, levelling ground, etc..

"3. In Delhi a considerable part of the Central Vista is to be ploughed up and the gardens of bungalows are to be used for growing vegetables on a larger scale. The sending of food parcels to friends or relatives outside India has been ordered to be stopped and an urgent examination is being undertaken of the question of exporting groundnuts, oil cakes, etc..

"4. Bribery and corruption is admitted to be one of the worst enemies of efficient food administration. This is also one of the most difficult to defeat. The detailed implementing of the controls is mainly in the hands of Provincial Governments, and perhaps the new Ministries may be able to achieve results in this direction."

Poona, 6-3-'46

## II

Letters and wires continue to come to me seeking my aid in saving General Avari's life which seems now to be sinking. I know Gen. Avari. He is a lovable worker. But I know too that he is often improperly obstinate. The present occasion is a case in point. If a man however popular and great he may be, takes up an improper cause and fasts in defence of the impropriety, it is the duty of his friends (among whom I count myself), fellow workers and relatives to let him die rather than that an improper cause should triumph so that he may live. Fairest means cease to be fair when the end sought is unfair. Let me say once more where Gen. Avari's end is improper and unfair. He may be wholly right in his statement that a great wrong has been perpetrated by the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress. But who can right the wrong? Not Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Gen. Avari tells me he can. He is but an individual, Sardar though he is. He has pronounced the decision of the Board. A judge cannot review his own judgment. The Sardar is out of the picture. The Central Board cannot, must not, review its own judgment. It has no authority. No institution can act capriciously in a well managed democracy. Gen. Avari and his friends have the right of appeal or review by the Working Committee, then the A. I. C. C., finally the Congress. This procedure may appear to him too long. It is not, unless he is fighting for an individual or individuals and not for a principle as he assures me he is doing. Time always runs in favour of the defence of a principle. If the general session of the Congress which is the highest tribunal for vindicating justice decides against Gen. Avari, he has to submit to its verdict. The Congress is the *Panchayat*. Like the king it can do no wrong. This is merely a necessary and legitimate conception for guidance in the observance of an infallible duty. In truth, however, decisions of human organizations in all climes have been sometimes found to be wrong. So it may be in the case under discussion. Then, but not till then, will Gen. Avari have in theory the right, if he chooses to exercise it, to stir public conscience into action by a fast to the finish. In

practice, it will be ludicrous. For the principle behind such action can only euphemistically be so called. In democracy even pure men may unconsciously give wrong decisions. The remedy is more and purer education, greater awakening of the public and in such quickened atmosphere the rise of a number of public workers whose sole duty will be to speak, write and act so as to serve as bright examples for the public.

Now I hope the friends of Gen. Avari will understand me when I say that those who wrongly support him and his fast and thus encourage him will hasten Gen. Avari's death, not those who will not swerve from well-recognized canons of justice even for the sake of saving the life of an erring friend. Let justice triumph though the heavens weep.

Poona, 7-3-'46

## HARIJAN

March 17

1946

### MY CONFESSION AND CURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is plain to me as it has become to some of my friends that I am incorrigible. I can learn only by my mistakes. I have just discovered myself making a mistake which I should never have made.

I have known Dr. Dinshah Mehta for a long time. He has dedicated his life solely to nature cure of his conception. His one ambition is to see a full-fledged nature cure university established in India. A university worth the name must be predominantly for the prevention and cure of the diseases of the poor villagers of India. No such university exists in the world. The Institutes in the West are designed more for the rich than the poor.

I feel that I know the method of nature cure for the villagers of India. Therefore I should at once have known that nature cure for the villagers could not be attempted in Poona city. But a Trust was made. Very sober Jehangirji Patel permitted himself to be a co-trustee with Dr. Mehta and me and I hastened to Poona to run for the poor, Dr. Mehta's erstwhile clinic which was designed for the rich. I suggested some drastic changes but last Monday the knowledge dawned upon me that I was a fool to think that I could ever hope to make an institute for the poor in a town. I realized that if I cared for the ailing poor I must go to them and not expect them to come to me. This is true of ordinary medicinal treatment. It is much more so of nature cure. How is a villager coming to Poona to understand and carry out my instructions to apply mud poultices, take sun cure, hip and friction sitz baths or certain foods cooked conservatively? He would expect me to give him a powder or a potion to swallow and be done with it. Nature cure connotes a way of life which has to be learnt; it is not a drug cure as we understand it. The treatment to be efficacious can, therefore, only take place in or near a man's cottage or

house. It demands from its physician sympathy and patience and knowledge of human nature. When he has successfully practised in this manner in a village, or villages, when enough men and women have understood the secret of nature cure, a nucleus for a nature cure university is founded. It should not have required eleven days' special stay in the Institute to discover this simple truth that I did not need a huge building and all its attendant paraphernalia for my purpose. I do not know whether to laugh or weep over my folly. I laughed at it and made haste to undo the blunder. This confession completes the reparation.

I should like the reader to draw the moral that he should never take anything for gospel truth even if it comes from a *Mahatma* unless it appeals to both his head and heart. In the present case my folly is so patent that even if it had continued for some time very few; if any would have succumbed to it. The real villagers would not have come for relief to this Institute. But if the discovery had come too late it would have blasted my reputation for I would have lost in my own estimation. Nothing hurts a man more than the loss of self-respect. I do not know that now I deserve the confidence of my fellowmen. If I lose it I know that I shall have deserved the loss. To complete the story I must tell the reader that not a pice of the money earmarked for the poor ailing villagers has been spent on this abortive enterprise. What shape the present Institute will now take and where and how poor men's nature cure will be tried is no part of this confession. The result of the initial mistake must not, however, be an abandonment of the new pursuit that I have taken up in the so-called evening of my life. It must, on the contrary, be a clearer and more vigorous pursuit of the ideal of nature cure for the millions if such a thing is at all practicable. Possible it certainly is.

Poona, 6-3-'46

### To Patients

Letters are being received in large numbers from patients wanting to be admitted to the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona. Let me inform them that no such facility exists at present. The standard of cleanliness that was intended to be introduced into the institution has not been reached. Work for the village people has not yet been started. So long as the preliminary adaptations are not complete nothing can be done. The patients have therefore to wait. Dr. Dinsha Mehta's Nature Cure Clinic at Bombay is no doubt there. He may open branches at Poona and Sinhagad also. But since he has undertaken heavy responsibility in connection with the Nature Cure Trust all this may take time. For private patients the scale of his fees will continue as before.

Bombay, 12-3-'46

M. K. G.

### NOTICE

Intimation of a change of address to be effective for the week should be received by *Thursday*. The subscriber number should always be given.

MANAGER

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. How can a person in the military do constructive work ?

A. A military man who has any grit in him can take up spinning together with the anterior and posterior processes. He can go in for paper making or any other village craft during his leisure hours. Army men have plenty of leisure when they are not fighting. Even when there is fighting all are not engaged in it though they have to stand by ready. Thus they can learn all those activities which are being conducted for the freedom of India. They should learn the national language in the two scripts. All this study must be coupled with a burning love of freedom and the courage to stand true to one's conviction and to act accordingly even if one is left alone. In no way does this conflict with military discipline. I do not believe in indulging in indiscipline especially in military service. Nor is there any room in my scheme of things for secret activity. Adherence to these principles is the only correct course for an individual or a people.

Q. It is supposed to be a sign of ill breeding not to leave some food on one's plate after finishing a meal. The contrary is supposed to be the correct thing to do.

A. It passes my comprehension how such action can be tolerated, especially in the face of the threatened famine. I do not know the reason for this practice and it would be waste of time to enquire into it. I consider it to be a sign of vulgarity and lack of perspective to have more on one's plate than one requires. In the present time no one is really entitled to full meals. Waste would be a sign of callousness. On the other hand, I consider it good breeding and discrimination to leave one's plate clean of leavings. It saves too the time of those who wash up. It is thoughtful and correct before beginning a meal to remove what one considers excess from one's plate on to a clean plate. Hosts should be discriminating and have enough delicate regard to find out what their guests require in the way of food and then give them no more than what they want.

Q. Writing letters in blood and using blood for auspicious marks is becoming almost a fashion. Ought it not to be stopped ?

A. To my mind this is a revolting practice. It causes no hurt to take a little blood from oneself. In these days in particular, blood letting can be performed without the slightest pain or inconvenience. If too much is taken from him the donor experiences weakness. But to write or sign letters in one's own blood is neither bravery nor does it connote any sacrifice or suffering. It is nothing more or less than criminal folly and ought to be abjured. Not only that. It is a duty to stop it. The easiest way is for all leaders not to countenance such a vulgar and uncivilized practice.

Poona, 6-3-46

(From Harijanbandhu)

## SATYAGRAHA IN FACE OF HOOLIGANISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend has gently posed the question as to what a Satyagrahi should do to prevent looting by goondas. If he had understood the secret of Satyagraha he would not have put it.

To lay down one's life, even alone, for what one considers to be right, is the very core of Satyagraha. More, no man can do. If a man is armed with a sword he might lop off a few heads but ultimately he must surrender to superior force or else die fighting. The sword of the Satyagrahi is love and the unshakable firmness that comes from it. He will regard as brothers the hundreds of goondas that confront him and instead of trying to kill them he will choose to die at their hands and thereby live.

This is straight and simple. But how can a solitary Satyagrahi succeed in the midst of a huge population? Hundreds of hooligans were let loose on the city of Bombay for arson and loot. A solitary Satyagrahi will be like a drop in the ocean. Thus argues the correspondent.

My reply is that a Satyagrahi may never run away from danger, irrespective of whether he is alone or in the company of many. He will have fully performed his duty if he dies fighting. The same holds good in armed warfare. It applies with greater force in Satyagraha. Moreover, the sacrifice of one will evoke the sacrifice of many and may possibly produce big results. There is always this possibility. But one must scrupulously avoid the temptation of a desire for results.

I believe that every man and woman should learn the art of self-defence in this age. This is done through arms in the West. Every adult man is conscripted for army training for a definite period. The training for Satyagraha is meant for all, irrespective of age or sex. The more important part of the training here is mental, not physical. There can be no compulsion in mental training. The surrounding atmosphere no doubt acts on the mind but that cannot justify compulsion.

It follows that shopkeepers, traders, mill-hands, labourers, farmers, clerks, in short, everyone ought to consider it his or her duty to get the necessary training in Satyagraha.

Satyagraha is always superior to armed resistance. This can only be effectively proved by demonstration, not by argument. It is the weapon that adorns the strong. It can never adorn the weak. By weak is meant the weak in mind and spirit, not in body. That limitation is a quality to be prized and not a defect to be deplored.

One ought also to understand one of its other limitations. It can never be used to defend a wrong cause.

Satyagraha brigades can be organized in every village and in every block of buildings in the cities. Each brigade should be composed of those persons who are well-known to the organizers. In this respect Satyagraha differs from armed defence. For

the latter the State impresses the service of everybody. For a Satyagraha brigade only those are eligible who believe in *ahimsa* and *satya*. Therefore, an intimate knowledge of the persons enlisted is necessary for the organizers.

Poona, 6-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR COMBATING FOOD SCARCITY

1. A friend from the South writes that the policy of the Madras Government is beneficial to neither producer nor consumer for the reason that middlemen take enormous profits at the cost of both. The District Collector appoints wholesale dealers who in turn appoint their own agents. For example, an agent purchases paddy at X village at Rs. 5-9-10 per maund of 32 Madras measures. This is taken to the wholesale dealer's godown four miles away. The same paddy is then returned to where it was produced and sold at Rs. 0-3-5 per Madras measure. The difference between cost and sale prices per maund is Rs. 1-3-6, 21.7% above cost price. All this after deducting cost of transport goes into the middleman's pocket. This difference also contributes to hoarding and the creation of a black market. The ryot can easily sell at a price lower than the retail sale price and still get more than what the agent gives him. The consumer too could purchase cheaper from the ryot than from the ration shop.

Of course when the paddy purchased is sold as *rice* the middleman's profit is still higher. Why, in any event, should not the consumer have paddy which he can himself easily convert into rice by hand-pounding? Apart from physical and material gain this would also afford bran for his cattle. The friend therefore suggests the following remedies:

(a) Paddy to be stocked in godowns in the villages. After enough has been stocked for local needs the remainder may be sent direct to where it is needed.

(b) Ration to be distributed in the form of paddy.

(c) Paddy to be distributed at cost price. Cost of procurement and distribution to be subsidized by the Government.

(d) Ration to be doubled in the case of agricultural labourers or any labourers doing hard manual labour.

2. A friend from Bengal suggests that jute growing should be curtailed to meet local needs. It absorbs a great area of cultivable lands which should be used for staple foods.

3. Another friend writes that there is a great deal of grain stocked in some of the States. After meeting local needs they should be asked to co-operate with British India and send the surplus to needy places. A strict watch should be kept so that grain stuffs wherever stocked may not be lost by rotting nor used for profiteering.

4. Every help should be afforded to poor agriculturists in the matter of implements of agriculture. To improve these and supply them at cheap rates to farmers is the duty of the State.

5. A Punjab friend writes that price control, instead of helping the poor man is helping to raise prices and create a black market. He says that *gram* in the Punjab bazars today is selling at Rs. 18/- per maund and that too is available through dubious channels. If control were removed, the price would come down. There is plenty of wheat in the Punjab which is getting black and there is adulteration of flour which is hard to get even at Rs. 13/- or 14/- per maund.

6. Many persons write that every advantage should be taken of the coming mango crop which promises to be a bumper one. Mangoes have good nutritive value for human beings.

7. Oil cakes from ground-nut, rape and other seeds can be easily processed into a highly nutritious food for man. This food can be used for making bread and if mixed with an equal part of wheat *atta* can make *chapatis* also. If more kerosene oil is imported more seeds would be available for the poor to eat.

8. Since food is above politics and parties there should be a special Food Cabinet at the Centre with trusted representatives of the people. This would perhaps be a potent factor in helping to get rid of corruption.

9. The majority of well-to-do people eat too much. They should be educated to realize that health and strength are not dependent on the large amount one eats. In fact it is the other way round.

10. A plea for soya bean has also been made on the ground that it contains protein, fat and carbohydrate value. One part soya bean to three parts wheat gives standard nutrition. If it could be added to the daily wheat ration the latter could be reduced to 9 oz. The writer urges its immediate importation and encouragement for its growth here.

11. Famine conditions offer a golden opportunity for teaching villagers the value of co-operation in all departments of life. But the teaching must be imparted by those who really love the villagers and will become one with them and see that everything is done honestly.

12. A friend who knows writes:

"Regarding the food situation, I have been talking to some young army officers. They are keen and anxious to do all that they can. What they want is a short course in agriculture, and precise instructions as to what they have to do. It would be necessary to attach some agricultural experts with these engineer corps. They have got quite a good amount of equipment in the shape of tractors, jeeps and bull-dozers, but they must not be expected to produce ploughs. They must be provided with these materials. The army has to be directed by those who know their job. Unfortunately, however, the direction at the centre is exceedingly weak, and wholly without vision. It is good that the Viceroy has taken the matter in his hands, but the Executive which has to handle this vast problem has not yet been organized. The problem in terms of arithmetic is something as follows:

"Our total production of cereals is 60 million tons per annum, out of which 18 millions come in the market. The official estimate of the deficit is



6 million tons — or a third of the entire quantity of grain, which is marketed throughout a year—an enormous quantity to deal with in terms of transport alone. The problem is of an alarming magnitude, if it is considered that the principal areas requiring immediate help are South Bombay, and the entire Madras Presidency, including Mysore and Travancore. There is a possibility of getting 3 to 4 million tons of grains from abroad, but it would be quite impossible to handle even a quarter of these imports at our ports on the West and South-East coasts. There is neither storage nor facilities for handling the traffic at the ports, or on the rail-road. There is a very considerable danger of people starving, and grain rotting at the ports, or lying unloaded in the ships, simply because the problem has not been worked out in detail. A fully loaded goods train means only 50 wagons, and a train load of 1,000 tons at a time. The time for loading such a goods train is anything upto 3 to 5 days, *if the necessary siding and labour are available*. Add to this the time required for unloading and transit between two points, and you get the measure of the time lag. If we receive three million tons of imports, it would mean 3,000 special goods trains; at least half of them during the first 150 days, or 10 per day—quite an impossible feat even under the best of circumstances. How on earth we are going to manage this with the limiting factor of the Western ports, and the resources of the railway lines operating only in Southern India? We shall need very much more than what the available railway transport and road transport in the hands of the public as well as the army can do. Unfortunately, nobody either here or in the Central Government has even thought in these concrete terms. I sometimes fear that it is quite impossible to make the Government realize the magnitude of the danger that threatens this country not only this year, but the year after, for the immediate quantity that we want for our existing population is 7 million tons of more production, and 14 millions in 1953 for a population of 45 crores. We cannot, therefore, live on the prospects of charity from abroad, even if it materializes regularly in future.

"The only sovereign remedy is, as Gandhiji has said, self-help, which must be translated into concrete measures to step up our production and to increase the mobility in transit and the effectiveness of storage. The waste, as a result of faulty storing and insect disease, which runs into a very big total, could and should be largely eliminated. The trouble, however, is that the services have got into a rut, and even the Viceroy trying to stir it up cannot succeed, unless the details of the organization are worked out with the completest co-operation between the official machinery and the public organizations. I do hope therefore, that the change at the centre will take place soon, at any rate, in food, for otherwise we are in again for very bad times indeed. The help from abroad might expose our utter inefficiency, unless the executive responsible for working out the plans wakes up in time, and of this there is no sign whatever."

Poona, 10-3-46

A.K.

## TWO REMARKABLE EXPERIMENTS

The question sometimes arises in planning a programme of social uplift as to what should be considered primary and given priority. Dr. G. T. Wrench, M. D., in his book *The Wheel of Health* describes some remarkable experiments which furnish an indictment of building new and sanitary houses and of organizing physical drill as prior to food in a policy of health. The first experiment was conducted in Stockton-on-Tees.

Stockton-on-Tees is an ancient market town. Its population in 1931 was 67,722. Of the population 40 per cent of the males between fourteen and sixty-five were unemployed. Some seven or eight years back, the Stockton Town Council launched a vigorous slum clearing programme. A vigorous policy of better housing was launched. That gave Dr. G. C. M. Gonigle, Medical Officer of Health of Stockton-on-Tees, an opportunity to conduct a unique series of statistical observations proving conclusively the vital primary claim of food.

As a result of a survey of housing newly taken in 1919, the largest section of the town scheduled as an 'unhealthy area' was dubbed as 'Number 1 area'. It was decided to demolish part of Number 1 and transfer its inhabitants to a 'new up-to-date municipal estate, agreeably named Mount Pleasant'. In 1927, 152 families comprising 710 individuals were transferred to Mount Pleasant, leaving behind in Number 1 area 289 families with a total of 1,298 individuals.

Here was as striking a contrast between two sets of conditions as one could imagine between conditions new and old, of good housing and slum. "Naturally everyone thought the transfer to Mount Pleasant would result in a betterment." But an amazing thing happened. It was found that "the health of the inhabitants of Mount Pleasant instead of improving or at least remaining stationary actually began to deteriorate, whereas that of the families and people left behind in the slums did not". The standardized death rate of the first five years following upon the transfer was 33 per 1,000; that of the unchanged slum 22 per 1,000. The rate for Mount Pleasant Estate was 33.55 per 1,000. This was the more surprising in view of the fact that "it represented an increase of 46 per cent over the mean standardized rates for the same individuals in the previous quinquennium". It was "a real increase and beyond the probable extent of fortuitous variation."

What was the explanation? Better housing? "Had something better proved something worse?" It sounded absurd. Dr. G. C. M. Gonigle solved the riddle. From a comparative analysis of the family budgets before and after the change he showed that in the slums the people had rents which averaged 4 sh. 8 d. a week per family. In 1928 on the Mount Pleasant Estate the rent was 9 sh. a week and by 1932 it had risen to 9 sh. 3½ d. per week or double the original rate. Consequently less was spent on food. Particularly, it was found in the case of unemployed of both areas that the food per man per week in the Mount Pleasant Estate cost 34.7 pence, that in the unchanged slum 45.6 pence. The conclusion was that "in making housing and sanitation better first money was withdrawn from the individual's primary need—food". The deterioration of food led to the deterioration of health in spite of the compensating



factors in the form of better housing and sanitation in the second case.

The second experiment is similar. It is of particular importance to those who are interested in the education of children. It shows how "food takes primary place to exercise and physical drill". It was reported by McCollum and Simmonds that fortytwo out of eightyfour negro children in a "kindly but impoverished institution", were as an experiment, given one quart of milk daily, in addition to the customary institutional food. Between these children and the children who were not given milk, there was not only a difference of growth and health "but of desire of exercise". The non-milk children were "apathetic and very tractable. . . . Those on the milk-fed group, on the other hand, soon caused annoyance to their teachers by their restlessness and activity." To this may be added the following from the League of Nations Report on the Problem of Nutrition, Volume I. "A pint of milk daily added to what was considered a good diet in an institutional boarding school was followed by the usual increased growth and decreased illness, and it was particularly noted that the children were more highly spirited and irrepressible."

Remarks Dr. Wrench commenting on this: "The irrepressible activity which good food provides is willingly poured out by the child or man into the many channels that are ready for it. Whether it be as work or play, exercise or drill, sports or sheer necessity, the well-nourished body is glad of the opportunity of activity." To give drill and exercise priority would be to put the horse before the cart. Proper and adequate nourishment is the first step in the education of the child.

PYARELAL

## PERSECUTION OF HARIJANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Parikshitlal Mazumdar writes:

"There was high mortality due to some epidemic in a village in Wadhwan State, Kathiawad. The superstition of the villagers ascribed this misfortune to Harijans and they began to intimidate the Bhangi families. The latter fled from the village through fright. Harijan workers, as soon as they learnt of the incident, approached the State authorities to take immediate steps to protect the Bhangis and did their level best to dispel the superstition from the minds of the ignorant villagers. The State acted promptly and the families returned. This year Kathiawad Harijans have had to suffer more than usual because of the outbreak of disease among cattle. These poor folk have to pay dearly for the superstition of the villagers."

The only remedy for this kind of superstition is the spread of correct knowledge. The reason for its existence in Kathiawad seems to be that the reform movement has not yet touched the villages there. Workers must make herculean efforts to remedy this defect. But wherefrom are such workers to come? Even those already working in Kathiawad fight shy of going to the villages. And even if they go, one can well imagine the immense difficulty of the task confronting them. Man's endeavour at its

highest consists in continuing to perform one's duty undeterred by difficulties. The Kathiawad incident must be taken to heart. Both the State and the people understood their duty and took prompt and firm measures in the instance quoted and the difficulty was surmounted for the time being. If this example were to be widely followed it would cut at the very root of superstition. And that would be true education.

Poona, 6-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## Hindu and Mussalman Tea etc.

Hindu and Mussalman tea is sold at railway stations. Separate arrangements for meals for the two communities are sometimes made and none seem to be there for Harijans. All this is a sign of our pitiable condition and constitutes a blot on British administration. One can understand their not interfering in religious matters but for them to allow separate arrangements for tea, water etc. for the two communities is to set the seal of approval on separatism. Railways and railway travelling offer a golden opportunity which could be used for social reform and for educating the public in sanitation and hygiene, good manners and communal unity. Instead, however, an utter neglect of and indifference to these desiderata are shown. Railway travel serves to strengthen rather than mitigate evil customs and bad habits. First and second class passengers are pampered, luxurious habits encouraged. Third class passengers on whom the railway revenues largely depend are denied even elementary amenities and exposed to all kinds of hardship. In either case weakness is exploited. And when, in addition to this, separatism and untouchability are recognized by the Railway authorities, it is the very limit. If any passenger wishes to impose restrictions on himself he is at liberty to do so at his own expense and suffer, may be, even hunger and thirst. But let him not demand special facilities for himself from Railway authorities.

That vegetarians and non-vegetarians should be catered for is another matter. That is already being done.

Poona, 7-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MARCH 24, 1946

[TWO ANNAS

## Notes

### Why for Harijans?

Q. "The Harijans are specially favoured by the Government. Special facilities are provided on an extensive scale for their education, employment and advancement. Why should you again seek our help on their behalf? There are equally poor and even poorer people among the *Savarnas*. Why don't you work for their betterment?"

A. This is a curious question. It is no wonder that Harijans are favoured by the Government. Whatever the reason, the fact is not to be deplored, if the favour really does them good. All Government favours do not. The motive behind seems to me to divide them from the so-called touchables. The reason lies with the latter. If touchables had not misbehaved themselves, there would have been no division possible. And even though the Congress has been championing them all these years, have the *Savarna* Hindu masses improved their manners? The answer has to be 'no' even though there has been considerable improvement. The Congress influence is most powerful for ending foreign rule. It is weak on social matters. Therefore, without entering into an unholy competition with the foreign Government, it is necessary for the reformers to do their duty by the Harijans until the bar sinister is completely removed. As for the *Savarna* poor, there are many to look after them. Some go to the extent even of spoonfeeding them.

Bombay, 16-3-'46

### Shocking if True

The Joint Secretary of the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh, Shri Hemantkumar, writes that apart from Karadi nowhere are temples open to Harijans and nowhere may they use public wells.

If this is true, I may say it is a good thing that I have been unable to go to Bardoli. How can those Gujaratis who do not look upon Harijans as part and parcel of themselves, who do not permit them to draw water from public wells nor enter temples for the worship of God, who even attribute epidemics to Harijans and are prepared to beat them for practices which superstition attributes to them, how can they welcome me? Or what value can their welcome hold for me?

I have long since counted myself as a *bhangi* in my speech, in my actions and above all in mind and

spirit. Anyone who looks upon them with contempt does the same to me. Indeed I hold it an honour to be among the despised Harijans and among them *bhangis*. Any welcome to me under the circumstances would be tantamount to an insult.

Therefore, I make this request to Gujaratis that they atone for the grievous wrong they continue to do to fellow human beings. I shall consider their repentance adequate when they admit Harijans into their fold and only then will I consider them capable of maintaining Swaraj. I do hope that the people of Bardoli Taluka will understand and respond to my message in a special manner.

Bombay, 11-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### Thoughtlessness

"You are aware that *pari passu* with the growth of popular outbreaks the lawlessness of the military is also becoming more and more brutal. You have condemned the hooliganism of the masses but you say nothing about the brutality of the military."

This is a specimen of thoughtlessness. People have no right to commit excesses whereas the military is the very embodiment of madness. Condemnation of military madness would be meaningless when the very institution of the army is condemned. But criticism of their conduct becomes necessary as a warning to the Government. There is a time and occasion for everything. It would be out of place when condemning popular excesses.

What is the duty of a Satyagrahi General? Should he reform his own army or that of the opponent? If he reforms his own the power of the opposing force is sterilized. If the process continues over a sufficiently long period the opponent is *ipso facto* completely transformed. The critic's remarks can only be meant for me. Others have already condemned military excesses. In my opinion we have not as yet got sufficient material to judge them. I expect that this is being prepared. The duty of the people, however, is to turn the searchlight inwards. Too much brooding over the wrongs of others is apt to lead one imperceptibly to act likewise. It would then be a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

Bombay, 15-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

## WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

The following is the text of the four resolutions of the Working Committee passed on 15th and 16th March, 1946, at Bombay.

### I

#### RESOLUTION ON FOOD

Whereas the war and its after-effects have already created a serious food situation which has been materially aggravated by the failure of rains in many parts of India, with the result that the country is faced with both a food and a cloth famine, it is essential that the policy of the Government and the people should be one at this time of crisis. Hunger makes no distinction between high and low, Hindu and Muslim, or any other. But the real burden of suffering, however, will inevitably fall on the poor. In the circumstances, the Working Committee would like to make its policy clear.

The first thing in these difficult times is for the people not to lose heart. Everyone should realize his personal duty and perform it to the best of his ability, believing that if everyone acts likewise India will be able to save thousands of poor lives. Every villager and townsman should, therefore, do the best he can for his neighbour and for himself.

Everyone who possesses any land should in the shortest time grow such foodstuffs on it as he can. Cultivable land lying waste should speedily be brought under the plough and every facility should be given for this purpose by the State. After fulfilling his own minimum requirements from his produce, he should make the remainder available for others who may be in need.

Preference should be given to food crops over money crops wherever practicable.

People should sink ordinary wells and dig tanks wherever there is scarcity of water and all facilities for this purpose should be given by the State and local bodies.

It is the duty of the rich today to live simply and divert their energy and wealth towards productive and constructive activities for the relief of distress.

Every effort should be made to secure supplies from abroad, but we should not feel helpless in any case. On the contrary, we must produce all we can in India and be prepared to face all emergencies with the resources available. It must be remembered that even the receipt of additional imports or the raising of additional crops will not serve the purpose in view unless the supplies reach the starving places in time and are equitably distributed there.

All food should be economically used and expenditure on occasions of marriages and other ceremonies must be avoided.

Processes of canning and preservation of fruit should be encouraged and widely adopted so that full use may be made of all available fruit and no part thereof may be wasted.

It is the duty of the State to put all their available resources of manpower, technical skill and mechanical appliances, whether civil or military, for growing, preserving and transporting food wherever necessary. All exports of cereals, foodstuffs, oilseeds, oilcakes, groundnuts, oil and other edibles should be absolutely prohibited.

The State should sink deep wells and adopt other means of water supply wherever necessary. Demobilized

and discharged personnel from the defence services, including the I. N. A., should be utilized for increasing the production of foodstuffs.

The Committee expects the nation to make all necessary sacrifices for relieving distress in the country and for making successful any reasonable schemes of rationing and procurement, any measures for checking hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption that may have to be taken on hand.

It is clear that just as it is the duty of the public to co-operate in all helpful ways, it is the primary duty of the Government to understand and fulfil the essential needs of the people. Measures for meeting the serious situation cannot be fully successful and effective unless power vests in the people.

So far as want of cloth is concerned, it is the duty of the State and the people alike to render every assistance to the villagers in order to enable them to produce by their own effort enough Khadi in the villages. The State should provide facilities for cotton-growing or cotton itself, and instruments of production and instructors where necessary.

Congress committees and Congressmen are advised to help in every way to give effect to the recommendations in this resolution.

### II

#### RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Working Committee have noted with grave concern the growing tension in the international situation resulting in open recrimination between the great Powers and attempts on their part to secure or hold on to colonial areas and vantage points and create satellite States, which may lead to possible future conflicts. The war that has recently ended has, in spite of the professions made during the course of it, neither ended the imperialist domination of subject countries nor the era of power politics. The old imperialism still continues and in addition new types of imperialism are growing. The recent UNO Conference in London is startling evidence of the fact that instead of a new order of free and united nations evolving, there is disunity among the leading nations and lack of freedom over vast areas. Oil is still the lure of imperial domination, and security and preservation of the so-called life-lines of empty or strategic outposts are made the excuses for expansion as well as retention of colonial areas. This continuation of the old and discredited policy which has led already to two disastrous world wars is likely to result in yet another war on a more colossal and destructive scale.

It is evident that peace and freedom cannot grow out of these seeds of continuing conflict and war. Imperialist policy has to be discarded not only in the interests of subject nations, but also to rid the world of the peril that might overwhelm humanity. It has thus become urgently necessary to end foreign domination over the countries of Asia and Africa, and for foreign armies to be withdrawn from all such countries, and notably from Indonesia, Manchuria, Indo-China, Iran and Egypt. India still remains the crux of the problem of Asian freedom and on the independence of India depends the freedom of many countries and the peace of the world.

## III

## RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as "any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or the Syrian race or a person belonging to the race or class known as the Cape Malay", and of broken promises and declarations. A civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on coloured and Asiatic peoples must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.

The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa is the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth.

The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing, on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed anti-Asiatic bill as a domestic affair, the right of the Indian Government and, by parity of reasoning, of the other Allied Powers, of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different States with reference to any legislation regarded by them as of an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a State.

The Committee venture to advise the victorious Allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the Government of South Africa inasmuch as the late war would have been fought in vain if now the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa in the bar sinister against Asiatic races and coloured people inhabiting that sub-continent is maintained.

To the Indian Deputation from South Africa the Committee would say that whilst they (the Committee) and, indeed, the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realize that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them, and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the Motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

The Committee would, however, fain hope, even at the eleventh hour, that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its White settlers would

listen to reason and the appeal of the moral law by which mankind lives.

## IV

## RESOLUTION ON THE RECENT DISTURBANCES

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the recent disturbances created by the people in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and other places were in every way harmful and were an obstacle in the way of the Congress. These included arson and incendiarism whether of private shops or public places, looting, especially destruction of foodstuffs, frightening pedestrians, compelling people to shout slogans, compelling Europeans to remove their hats and otherwise molesting them. All these acts were manifestly against the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress and were derogatory to national dignity. Whilst there is nothing but unmixed condemnation of popular frenzy, this Committee, without prejudging the military action taken in order to deal with the recent outburst of violence, are of opinion that the popular belief, generally and justly, has been that such action has been taken in excess of necessity and in order to strike terror in the hearts of the people and that therefore the military have bulletted passers-by or even innocent people, men, women or children standing in their own galleries. Any such action, at the present moment, instead of cowering down the populace, has the effect of infuriating it. The Committee, therefore, ask the Government to institute an inquiry into the military action taken in the various places and hope that the inquiry will be open and public and will have on it representatives with judicial qualifications and enjoying public confidence. At the same time the Committee hope that the people will observe restraint befitting the Congress and help the conference between the Cabinet Mission and the representatives of the people to carry on their work in a calm atmosphere.

**Leprosy in Poona**

In Poona is a group of leprosy patients and their children who have rented out tin-huts in a slum called *Kathadikhana* and live together as a colony. They live by begging. Some patients who were either thrown out of Khondwa Leper Home or came away from it started living together. They attracted to their group other patients who drifted into Poona, until today it is an interprovincial colony 85 strong (37 men, 31 women and 17 children). Some of them especially the women, reveal a story of desertion by their own families. They present a miserable sight of derelict and debased humanity. But I found amongst them an impressive fellowship and mutual helpfulness.

I fully realize the difficulties that will attend any efforts to give this group a more reasonable existence. It must be difficult to manage them, but they tell me they are willing to be helped. The fact that they have come together impresses me deeply. I see in their condition a call which we may not ignore. In proportion to the difficulty of the task should be our attraction to it. They should be helped to live better and their children should be saved from disease and destitution. Poona is a city of great traditions of social service and will it be too much to expect that this sacred spot of India hallowed with the memory of Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Devadhar and a host of other eminent social servants would rid itself of this malignant growth by providing these patients a place where they will find not only relief but work and at least partial self-support?

Bombay, 2-3-46

T. N. JAGDISAN



# HARIJAN

March 24

1946

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Course of events has raised the question of South Africa Whiteman's policy to the highest level. Unseen it holds the seeds of a world war. The threatened land and franchise bill which has brought the South African Indian Delegation to India, though superficially it affects the Indians of Natal and Transvaal, is in effect a challenge to Asia and by implication to the Negro races. India in her present exalted mood can view it in no other way. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is Indian to the core but being also an internationalist he has made us used to looking at everything in the international light instead of the parochial. India, weak physically and materially but strong ethically and numerically, has proclaimed from the housetops that her independence would be a threat to no one and no nation, but will be a help to noble effort throughout the world and a promise of relief to all its exploited peoples. Therefore, India regards the contemplated measure of the Union of South Africa as an insult and challenge to them.

The Indian Deputation see in the present measure not merely an assault on Indian property rights but also on their status as free men. They do not want merely to exist in South Africa. They need not have sent the deputation all the way to India for that purpose. They want to be in South Africa as equals of the European settlers of South Africa. They know that today they are not. But they must stop deterioration and hence move forward. In that forward march India will help of course. Indeed, all the moral forces will be at their call. The brunt, however, will have to be borne by them. They rediscovered the force of Truth (*Satyagraha*) and that will be their only and ultimate source of power. Time for it is not yet. Let us hope, it will never come. They have to try to gather together on their side all the moral forces of the world. They will have to clear the ground of all the weeds, all sordidness, all personal ambition which always and everywhere creeps in, if sleepless vigilance is not kept on the watch-tower. Imagine the plight of a poor barque sailing when the beacon light in front has gone out.

They must be prepared for accidents and consequent suffering. If they are in earnest and hardy enough to brave the worst, they are bound to come out the best in the end.

What about the Whites of South Africa? They invited the Indians in the first instance. If they had thought the invitees would always be like slaves or that they would not be followed by their free brethren, they (the Whites) were soon undeceived.

Does real superiority require outside props in the shape of legislation? Will they not see that every such wall of protection weakens them, ultimately rendering them effeminate? The lesson of history ought to teach them that might is not right. Right only is might. Field Marshal Smuts is a great soldier-statesman. Will he not perceive that he will be taking the Whitemen of South Africa down the precipice, if he persists in the policy underlying his measure? Let him take counsel with the Allies to whose victory on the battlefield he contributed not a little. He will surely throw away its fruits if he persists in his plan of protecting the civilization of the West by artificial means.

Poona, 18-3-'46

## "A TEMPLE TO GANDHIJI"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Under this strange heading I read a newspaper cutting sent by a correspondent to the effect that a temple has been erected where my image is being worshipped. This I consider to be a gross form of idolatry. The person who erected the temple has wasted his resources by misusing them, the villagers who are drawn there are misled and I am being insulted in that the whole of my life has been caricatured in that temple. The meaning that I have given to worship is distorted. Worship of the Charkha lies in plying it for a living or as a sacrifice for ushering in *Swaraj*. *Gita* is worshipped not by parrot-like recitation but by following its teaching. Recitation is good and proper only as an aid to action according to its teaching. A man is worshipped only to the extent that he is followed, not in his weaknesses but in his strength. Hinduism is degraded when it is brought down to the level of the worship of the image of a living being. No man can be said to be good before his death. After death too he is good for the person who believes him to have possessed certain qualities attributed to him. As a matter of fact, God alone knows a man's heart. Hence the safest thing is not to worship any person, living or dead, but to worship perfection which resides only in God known as Truth. The question then certainly arises as to whether possession of photographs is not a form of worship carrying no merit with it. I have said as much before now in my writings. Nevertheless I have tolerated the practice as it has become an innocent though a costly fashion. But this toleration will become ludicrous and harmful if I were to give directly or indirectly the slightest encouragement to the practice above described. It would be a welcome relief if the owner of the temple removed the image and converted the building into a spinning centre where the poor will card and spin for wages and the others for sacrifice and all will be wearers of Khaddar. This will be the teaching of the *Gita* in action and true worship of it and me.

Bombay, 15-3-'46



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You ask people not to eat polished rice but I fear the disease is too far gone. Polished rice is washed again and again and the water thrown away. It is then boiled and that water too is emptied into the drain thus depriving the cereal of all its vitamin value. The rice thus served, with each grain separate, is pleasant for both the eye and the palate. The practice obtains even in students' hostels. How are we to get rid of it?

A. I am aware of the above-mentioned mal-practice. We live in the poorest of poor countries and are yet unable or unwilling to give up such harmful habits. Each one thinks only of himself. We look upon our neighbours as strangers instead of as our kith and kin. What does it matter to us whether they live or die? If they die it is their own fault. If they live it is accredited to their merit. Life and death are not in our hands. Therefore, let us eat, drink and be merry!

In such a distorted view of life we have to follow what we consider to be our duty and believe that what is true will one day be followed. Until then, whenever occasion arises we must proclaim from the housetops what we consider to be right.

Q. You say that those who eat fish should be provided with the same. Does not this entail violence both for him who eats and him who provides the fish?

A. Both commit violence. So do those who eat vegetables. This kind of violence is inherent in all embodied life, therefore, in man too. It is in this condition and in spite of it that we have to practise non-violence as a duty. I have often indicated how we may do so. The man who coerces another not to eat fish commits more violence than he who eats it. Fishermen, fish vendors and fish eaters are probably unaware of any violence in their action. Even if they were they might look upon it as unavoidable. But the man who uses coercion is guilty of deliberate violence. Coercion is inhuman. Those who quarrel among themselves, those who will stoop to anything in order to amass wealth, those who exploit or indulge in forced human labour, those who overload or goad or otherwise torture animals, all these knowingly commit such violence as can easily be stopped. I do not consider it violence to permit the fish eater to eat fish. It is my duty to suffer it. Ahimsa is the highest duty. Even if we cannot practise it in full, we must try to understand its spirit and refrain as far as is humanly possible from violence.

Bombay, 11-3-'46  
(From *Harijanbandhu*.)

Q. You have declared that freedom seems to be near. But I cannot follow the point. The Pakistan problem is only one complication against you.

A. Hope knows no insurmountable complications. But why ask, when the answer will be known within a few months, if not weeks. And I am not the only optimist this time.

Bombay, 12-3-'46

## DECIMAL COINAGE AND ITS COST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After due sanction required by section 153 of the Government of India Act, 1935, a bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, is said to have been introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 18th February, 1946. If it becomes law the rupee will be equivalent to 100 cents instead of 64 pice. The consequential changes will naturally follow. The object is stated to be:

"The existing series of small coins below four annas which were introduced as a war-time expedient, have proved unsatisfactory and unpopular, and the large recoinage programme which their reversion to the pre-war standards entails offers a unique opportunity for introducing a decimal system of subsidiary coinage in place of the present coinage system whereunder the rupee is divided into 16 annas and each anna into 12 pies. Modern trade and commerce demand speed and simplicity in the methods of computation, to achieve which there is nothing to compete with the decimal system which has gradually displaced all other systems in most of the advanced countries of the world. Public opinion has expressed itself largely in favour of the adoption of decimal coinage in India and the object of this Bill is to amend the Coinage Act for this purpose," and a note says:

"With the division of the rupee into 100 cents the existing coins will not correspond to an exact number of cents in all cases. During the transition period when both the anna and the cent coins will circulate side by side and prices might be quoted in terms of either, it is necessary to provide for conversion involving fractions of cents. As it is not proposed to issue cent coins of a smaller denomination than a half-cent, the Bill provides for conversions involving smaller fractions, to be made in rupees of any one transaction at the nearest half cent, and where the amount involved is a quarter cent to the nearest half cent below."

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala has studied the question carefully and has come to the conclusion that whilst in theory the introduction of the decimal coinage may be defensible, in practice for some years to come the poor will be sacrificed as usual in the interests of the modern trade, i. e. the rich merchants. It is unnecessary here to summarize his convincing argument in support. It is given in full in the columns of the '*Harijanbandhu*'. It is sufficient here to state that even in the country of the rulers the decimal coinage has not been introduced. Public opinion there commands respect and affects the decisions of the House of Commons. In India, public opinion, such as it is, has very little force and, moreover, the opinion of the millions who will be the sufferers is inarticulate. Shri Mashruwala very aptly points out that the poor will be taxed without the odium of additional taxation. Wisdom would have suggested that if the power is to be transferred inside of a few months to the representatives of the people, it would be improper for the Government to embark upon an

experiment even though claimed to be scientific and yet manifestly against the immediate interests of the poor. In a poor country like India, often, the immediate is, as in this case, the decisive factor. It is to be hoped that the Central Legislative Assembly will throw out the bill, if on re-consideration, the Government do not withdraw it.

Poona, 17-3-'46

### S. A. DEPUTATION'S SUBMISSION

Extracts from the South African Indian Deputation's submission to H. E. the Viceroy. The Deputation was led by H. H. the Aga Khan.

\* \* \*

"3. The present intention of the Government of the Union of South Africa will, if carried out, degrade us to a status of inferiority against which we have put up a fight more definitely since 1893, the year in which an attempt was made to disfranchise the Indian community as such in Natal. We then looked upon it as a slur not only on the Indians in Natal but also on the Mother Country. Then there was no Union of South Africa. The Cape had practically no Indian question worth the name. Orange Free State had banished the few Indian traders it had and prided itself on its thorough anti-Asiatic policy. The Transvaal had a sprinkling of Indian traders, hawkers and others. The "location" system, later known as segregation, had its rise there. The Whites in Natal had deliberately and for their own sake invited the large number of indentured Indians for their sugar and tea plantations and other industries. In their wake followed the trader and others, and the Indian population today is therefore a composite one.

"4. One would have thought that the advent of Union would mean the Union of all the races of South Africa, i. e. the African (the Bantu), the European and the Asiatics (primarily and principally Indians). What a noble tradition such a union would have been for the world! But it was not to be. On the contrary, the Union became an anti-African and -Asiatic combine. Every year of the progress of the Union has definitely marked the progress of this combine, and the strenuous opposition to it by the Indian settlers and their descendants, as will be clearly seen by reference to the appendix "A" hereto attached.

"5. We ask Your Excellency to approach the question from that standpoint and no other. The threatened legislation adumbrated by Field Marshal Smuts, which has hastily brought the delegation from South Africa, is a very large step, perhaps the largest yet made in the process of consigning the Asiatics to permanent inferiority. The wedge has now extended into all round inequality and inferiority. Thus, there are zones of segregation, one of which the Whites are reserving for themselves in order to force by legal compulsion the segregation of the other races. God has made man "one great human family". The White races of South Africa would make of it three separate parts based on colour.

"6. Bad enough as the threatened land legislation is, the prospective franchise legislation is worse. It is a mockery of franchise and a poignant reminder of the low status to be accorded to us, so low that we

are not to be deemed even fit enough to choose one of our own as our representative.

"7. We have come all the way from South Africa, not to seek protection of individual or property rights, dear as both are, but we have come definitely to ask Your Excellency and the people of the Mother Country to appreciate the fight for equality of status, which is theirs as much as ours, and to give us as much help as possible for you and them to give. What is attempted to be done in South Africa is a denial of the brave declarations made by the British and even the Field Marshal himself.

"8. It has given us much pleasure to learn that the withdrawal of the British power in India in favour of elected Indian representatives is imminent. Then, may we ask whether it is not Your Excellency's double and special duty to enunciate your stand in favour of equality and, so far as possible, enforce it in no uncertain terms?

\* \* \*

"10. We would, therefore, ask Your Excellency to use your influence to secure the holding of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to settle, in the words of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, "all matters affecting Indians in South Africa". But should your efforts in this connection unhappily fail, then, we ask, in terms of our Resolution herein-before embodied, to withdraw the office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa and to enforce economic and political sanctions. We are not unaware that they may mean very little material loss to South Africa. We know that counter measures will cause us hardship. But our loss we would count as nothing compared to the moral value of the enforcement of the sanctions."

### APPENDIX "A"

Before 1893 Indians enjoyed in Natal both parliamentary and municipal franchise equally with the Europeans. They were first deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1893, with the exception of those who were already on the voters' roll. But Indian protest was heeded and it (the Franchise Act) was vetoed by London.

Indians were successfully deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1896 on the ostensible ground that they did not enjoy the privilege in India. They were deprived of the Municipal franchise in 1942 with the result that they ceased to influence Central, Provincial or the Municipal Administrations. Indian residential localities in Durban and elsewhere have consequently been grossly neglected by the local authorities.

Separate schools are maintained for Indians and in a few places separate hospitals for Indians and Africans. No Indians are admitted to the Natal University College.

In Railway trains Indians can generally only occupy special coaches reserved for them with non-Europeans, and in Government offices such as the Posts and Telegraph Offices, and Railway Booking Offices there are separate counters for non-Europeans. This method of discrimination is applied in Courts of Justice also.

Indians are almost completely debarred from employment in Government and Municipal services, except in

a menial capacity. There are, however, Indian teachers in schools etc. exclusively intended for Indians and so are employed Indian Interpreters in some law courts.

One of the few privileges which Indians enjoyed until recently in Natal was the freedom to purchase and occupy landed property in urban and rural areas, but the "Pegging Act" of 1943 has severely restricted the exercise of this privilege. Field Marshal Smuts has now made an announcement in Parliament that he would introduce new measures affecting Indians in Natal and in the Transvaal.

(a) In Natal the new legislation, which is to replace the "Pegging Act" lapsing on the 31st day of March 1946, will prohibit the acquisition or occupation of properties by Indians, except in certain specified areas.

(b) Whilst the "Pegging Act" is limited in its operation to Durban only and restricts transactions of fixed property between European and Indian only, the new legislation is to apply to the whole Province of Natal, both in urban and rural areas, and totally prohibits such transactions not only between European and Indian, but goes further than the present "Pegging Act" by making it unlawful for any such transactions between Indian on the one hand and non-Indian on the other, i. e. European, Coloured, Bantu, Chinese, Malay and other non-Indian races.

(c) In the Transvaal under the new legislation areas are to be set apart for Indians both for residence and trade in cities, towns, and villages, the effect of which will be to restrict, if not totally confine, trading activities of Indians to the areas assigned to them. Thus being removed some distance away from commercial centres and being out of touch with all other sections of the population with whom they have hitherto been transacting business, the Indian traders will face ruination.

Moreover, in regard to trade the Licensing Laws in the Transvaal operate very harshly against Indians, in that the Licensing Boards have absolute power to refuse license to Indians without assigning reasons therefor. The same is applicable in the case of transfer of Licenses from one person to another.

In Natal, as well, administration of Licensing Laws operates harshly against Indians, all based upon racial considerations.

(d) Indians in Natal and Transvaal are to be allowed representation in the Union Legislature on a "racial" basis, similar to that applicable to the Bantus and other natives of South Africa. The Indian community is to be represented by *three European members* elected by them in a House of more than One Hundred and Fifty (150) members.

These proposed measures will, if they become law, constitute a breach of the Capetown Agreement of 1927 between the Union Government and the Government of India, and will be a violation of assurances and pledges given from time to time.

Note: The Appendix takes note of some of the legal disabilities, both in Natal and in the Transvaal and by no means exhausts the catalogue of our disabilities, grievances and hardships. The other disabilities reflected in the conduct of the Europeans in various walks of life, though galling, have been purposely avoided,

## GANDHIJ'S PRESS STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the Press:

Shri Shriramulu is an unknown poor Congressman and servant of humanity working in Nellore. He has been labouring single-handed for the cause of the Harijans of that place. There was a time when high hope was entertained about removal of untouchability and other social work in Nellore. An *ashram* was built near Nellore but for a variety of causes the activity received a set-back. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya was and still is, though very old, the moving spirit in connection with these activities. It is in this place that Shri Shriramulu has been quietly and persistently working for the removal root and branch of untouchability. He has been trying to have a temple opened to Harijans. He asked me the other day whether in order to awaken public conscience in favour of such opening he could, if all other effort failed, undertake a fast. I sent him my approval. Now the place is astir. But some persons have asked me to advise Shri Shriramulu to suspend his fast for removing legal difficulties of which I have no knowledge. I have been unable to give such advice. As I am anxious that an unobtrusive servant of humanity may not die for want of public knowledge and support I bespeak the interest of the journalists of the South, if not of all India, to find out for themselves the truth of the matter and, if what I say is borne out by facts, shame by public exposure the opposing parties into doing the right and save a precious life.

Bombay, 16-3-'46

[The foregoing statement was issued on the 16th instant. A wire was received today from Shri Shriramulu to the effect that he yielded to public pressure and broke his fast. I can be glad only if the ending of the fast means that the public has taken over the responsibility of having the temple opened without delay. Prof. Ramchandra Rao's letter received by me shows that there is a real legal difficulty about the opening and the principal trustee is pledged to have the formality gone through and the temple opened. It is to be hoped that the temple would be opened with the willing consent of the temple-going people. That can be the only meaning put upon the universal sympathy evoked by the fast. M. K. G.]

Poona, 17-3-'46

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## RAMANAM, THE INFALLIBLE REMEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Ganesh Shastri Joshi, *Vaidya*, tells me after reading my article on Nature Cure in 'Harijan' of 3rd March 1946, that in *Ayurved* too there is ample testimony to the efficacy of *Ramanam* as a cure for all disease. Nature Cure occupies the place of honour and in it *Ramanam* is the most important. When Charak, Vagbhat and other giants of medicine in ancient India wrote, the popular name for God was not Rama but Vishnu. I myself have been a devotee of Tulsidas from my childhood and have, therefore, always worshipped God as Rama. But I know that if, beginning with *Omkar*, one goes through the entire gamut of God's names current in all climes, all countries and all languages, the result is the same. His and His law are one. To observe His law is, therefore, the best form of worship. A man who becomes one with the law does not stand in need of vocal recitation of the name. In other words, an individual with whom contemplation on God has become as natural as breathing is so filled with God's spirit that knowledge or observance of the law becomes second nature, as it were, with him. Such an one needs no other treatment.

The question then arises as to why, in spite of having this prince of remedies at hand, we know so little about it and why even those who know, do not remember Him or remember Him only by lip service, not from the heart. Parrot-like repetition of God's name signifies failure to recognize Him as the panacea for all ills.

How can they? This sovereign remedy is not administered by doctors, *vaidyas*, *hakims* or any other medicinal practitioners. These have no faith in it. If they were to admit that the spring of the Holy Ganges could be found in every home their very occupation or means of livelihood would go. Therefore, they must perforce rely on their powders and potions as infallible remedies. Not only do these provide bread for the doctor but the patient too seems to feel immediate relief. If a medical practitioner can get a few persons to say "so and so gave me a powder and I was cured", his business is established.

Nor, it must be borne in mind, would it really be of any use for doctors to prescribe God's name to patients unless they themselves were conscious of its miraculous powers. *Ramanam* is no copy book maxim. It is something that has to be realized through experience. One who has had personal experience alone can prescribe it, not any other.

The *Vaidyaraj* has copied out for me four verses. Out of these Charak's is the simplest and most apt. It means that if one were to obtain mastery over even one out of the thousand names of Vishnu, all ailments would vanish:

विष्णु सद्गुणैर्वाच्यं चराचरपतिं विभुम् ।

स्तुवन्नामसहस्रेण ज्वरान् सर्वान् व्योहति ॥

•Poona, 10-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## CONVENIENCE Vs. NECESSITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

One whom many Congressmen know writes:

"As I was talking with you I realized how greatly you were worried about the condition of the masses today. Their capacity to express themselves violently is no doubt very disturbing and at times one is liable to feel, 'To what purpose non-violence all these years?'

"When I search into myself (and that is, I feel, the only way to know about the people) I find that during the last 5-6 years conflicting experiences have only strengthened my faith in non-violence. I, and so many others, perhaps for the first time peeped over the precipice — intellectually even travelled in the dark valleys below — and I am convinced that that way salvation does not lie. And do you know, Bapuji, that there are thousands like me who have had that experience and reached the same conclusions? Up till now your voice used to be but a soothing balm to our frayed nerves and refreshed our souls; but non-violence was only a matter that we had to put up with in order to retain you as our general in battle.

"But now to thousands like me non-violence has become the Life Force that alone is capable of creating democracy and humanity. Our non-violence now is a matter of conviction and not a matter of convenience or cowardice.

"But then there are others who have not had the capacity to understand the fundamentals. They are still thinking in terms of power and organization for power. I personally feel that that is a phase in their development and that the experience and urgency of those that have learnt their lesson will count greatly in making even these see reason.

"There are also many that are confused with this game of politics and find it difficult to square it with the non-violent way or are rather confused by the spectacle of many attempting to square non-violence with the game of politics. This all leads me, personally, to the conclusion that Voltaire reached at the end of *Candide*: "It faut cultiver notre jardin" (It is best to cultivate one's own garden).

"I feel that we are fighting a war for humanity and that we have many a battle to fight — this being only the beginning of the first one — that we have far to go, that only with rugged fearless experience and perhaps a few stumblings shall we be able to grow into non-violence.

"Perhaps there are many who experience my difficulties."

Bombay, 14-3-'46

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# HARIJAN

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MARCH 31, 1946

[TWO ANNAS

## WHY BHANGI QUARTERS ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Friends are puzzled over my keen desire to reside in Bhangi quarters in the cities or towns I may visit. To ask why I have not entertained that desire all these years would be more pertinent. To answer why I did not have the desire long ago must be reserved for a future occasion. Just now I must answer why the desire has come upon me at all.

I have for some time been saying that we must all be *bhangis* or untouchables. But it has worried me that I have not accorded the statement with corresponding action. It may not be possible to establish complete accordance with the wish. But it ought to be done so far as possible. Whilst this thought was agitating me, I got the news which I have already shared with the readers that in Gujarat only one well and one temple is shared with Harijans and this in Karadi. Whether the news is true or not is immaterial here. The material thing is the reaction produced on my mind by the news. To be angry was madness. The news quickened the desire for residence in untouchable quarters. I said to myself: 'If I lived apart from Harijans, what right had I to question the action of others who went further in their adherence to untouchability? But whether the others changed their mode or not was not for me to judge. If it was my duty to reside in Harijan quarters I must perform it irrespective of the reaction of the step on the others.' This is the thought which is possessing me and goading me to the adumbrated action.

Consequently I have asked Sheth R. D. Birla to arrange, if at all possible, for my residence in untouchable quarters when I happen to be in Bombay. I have also wired to Sheth G. D. Birla to arrange likewise for Delhi and Shri Brijkishen Chandiwalla has already asked for my approval of some arrangement he has made. It goes without saying that I must not impose myself on Harijans anywhere. I must not wound their feelings, if they will not tolerate my presence in their midst. But I fear no such thing.

Incidentally, I notice that some critics rejoice that I shall no longer reside in the Birla House. They do not know that I have been accepting their hospitality for years. I have accepted donations from them for my many constructive activities. The critics do not know of the changes they have imperceptibly made in their life; nor need they or the public in general know these. Such changes are never made for show. At the same

time it is perfectly true that there are wide differences between them and me in outlook. This is no cause for sorrow or wonder. All true change comes from within. Any change brought about by pressure is worthless. I am neither so vain nor so foolish as to hope that all would follow me. And who can say whether I am right or others in what we are doing? It is enough if all of us abide by what we consider to be right. We are all His creatures to do His will, not ours. Doing so, we should all be friends to one another.

Uruli, 25-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## WHY ONE MORE BURDEN ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

'Why have I got involved in Nature Cure in the evening of my life?'—this question is being asked me by several people. Had I not enough work on my hands already? Was I not too old to take up new things? Could any one expect me to add to my existing burdens? All these are pertinent questions demanding my careful consideration. But they do not evoke any echo within me. The still small voice within me whispers: 'Why bother about what others say? I have given you a colleague like Dr. Dinshah who understands you and whom you understand. You have confidence in your capacity, having followed Nature Cure as a hobby for over half a century. If you hide this talent and do not make use of it you will be as a thief. It will ill become you. Remember the teaching of the first verse of *Ishopanishad* and surrender all you have to Me. There is nothing that really belongs to you. Only you fancied that something was yours. It is all Mine. Give it also to My creatures like the rest. It will not in any way jeopardize your other work provided only that you have cultivated perfect detachment. You have entertained the desire to live up to 125 years. Its fulfilment or otherwise should not be your concern. Yours is only to understand and do your duty and be careful for nothing.' These are the thoughts that haunt me. It is my third day in this village. The number of patients who come for help is daily increasing. They feel happy and I feel happy in serving them. I am receiving the co-operation of the local people. I know that if I can enter the hearts of the people here, illness will be banished and this village will become a model of cleanliness and health. But if this does not happen, what is that to me? I have only to do the behest of the Master.

Uruli, 25-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## HOW TO MAKE IT DYNAMIC?

"Violence is bad, I agree with you too that the only substitute for it is constructive activity as symbolized by the Charkha. But the dynamic quality seems to have gone out of it. What should be done to bring out its revolutionary significance?" so asked a friend the other day in the course of a discussion with Gandhiji about the R. I. N. ratings' mutiny. Gandhiji's reply was as brief as it was significant. In one word it was: "Through *tapashcharya*." By *tapashcharya* he meant the *tapashcharya* of knowledge which must be coupled with action for its full expression. The conversation did not proceed further and I doubt whether the friend gave a second thought to the question afterwards. It is however an oft repeated question. It was put to Gandhiji at Calcutta by the Khadi workers of Barkamta. Gandhiji replying said:

### FROM PLENTY TO POVERTY

"Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji in one of his books has quoted Colebrooke as saying that in India, the home of chronic poverty, the spinning wheel is the provider of butter to bread for the poor. The late R. C. Dutt has shown how the prosperity of the East India Company was founded on their trade in Indian textiles. No part of the world, neither China nor Japan, could produce fabrics to equal them. In the early phase the East India Company batted on the exploitation of its monopoly in Indian textiles. Not only did it bring them immense trade profits, it also gave an impetus to British shipping. Later, Lancashire developed its own textile industry following upon a series of mechanical inventions. This brought it into competition with the Indian textile manufactures. The policy of exploitation of the Indian artisans then gave way to that of destruction of their craft.

"An English writer has observed that the history of cotton is the history of civilization. Politics is the handmaid of commerce. Indian history provides an apt illustration of it. In the heyday of our cotton manufactures we used to grow all the cotton for our needs. The cotton seed was fed to the cattle which provided the health giving milk to the people. Agriculture flourished. The lint was turned into beautiful fabrics of which the *Jamdanis* of Dacca were a specimen. As an off-shoot we had the world-famed dyeing and printing art of Masulipatam. Connoisseurs say that our old indigenous dyes could not be matched by any in the world for their permanence, as well as brightness and beauty. All that is gone now. India is today naked. We have to cover her nakedness. If anybody could suggest a better substitute than the spinning wheel for the purpose I would discard the spinning wheel today. But none has been found so far and I dare say none is likely to be found.

### TO END SLAVERY

"The question may however be asked: 'How can the Charkha bring India freedom when it could not prevent its loss?' The reply is that in the past Charkha was not linked with the idea of freedom. Nor did it then symbolize the power of non-violence.

In olden days it symbolized our slavery. We had not realized that our progress, prosperity and even freedom depended on the Charkha or else we should have put up a fight and resorted to Satyagraha to save it from destruction. What was lost through our ignorance and apathy has now to be won back through intelligence and knowledge. We have today ceased to think for ourselves. The Government says that Bengal is a pauper province and we mechanically accept the statement. To call a province which boasts of 6½ crores of population as pauper is only to proclaim our own intellectual bankruptcy. Did not the Governor of Bengal observe in a broadcast talk the other day that the cultivator in Bengal remains unemployed for six months in the year? Can any population in the world subsist while remaining idle for half the year? Even if all the water that the rains bring were captured and harnessed to irrigation it would not keep the masses alive if their enforced unemployment for the better part of the year were not removed. Our real malady is not destitution but laziness, apathy and inertia. You may achieve marvels of irrigational engineering. But well-filled granaries alone cannot and will not end our slavery. To end slavery you must overcome the mental and physical inertia of the masses and quicken their intelligence and creative faculty. It is my claim that the universalization of hand-spinning with a full knowledge of all that it stands for alone can bring that about in a sub-continent so vast and varied as India. I have compared spinning to the central sun and the other village crafts to the various constellations in the solar system. The former gives light and warmth to the latter and sustains them. Without it they would not be able to exist."

### HAS IT FAILED?

Q. "If Swaraj hangs on the thread of hand-spun yarn, as you say, why have we failed to attain it up till now after a quarter of a century of Khadi work?"

A. "Because our labour was not quickened by knowledge. The peace of the grave makes the latter the house of death. But the peace in the soul makes it the seat of divine intelligence. Similarly, soulless labour symbolizes serfdom. Labour illumined with knowledge symbolizes the will to freedom. There is a world of difference between the two. Khadi workers should understand that Khadi work without the mastery of the science of Khadi will be love's labour lost in terms of Swaraj."

### THE ALCHEMY OF KNOWLEDGE

Q. "What do you mean by the science of spinning? What things are included in it?"

A. "I have often said that I can do without food but not without sacrificial spinning. I have also claimed that no one in India has perhaps done his spinning with such unfailing regularity and conscientious diligence as I. And yet I will say that all that by itself cannot take the place of scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge requires constant probing into the why and wherefore of every little process that you perform. Mere affirmation that in

Charkha there is Swaraj and peace is not enough. A scientific mind will not be satisfied with having things scientific just on faith. He will insist on finding a basis in reason. Faith becomes lame when it ventures into matters pertaining to reason. Its field begins where reason's ends. Conclusions based on faith are unshakable whereas those based on reason are liable to be unstable and vulnerable to superior logic. To state the limitation of science is not to belittle it. We cannot do without either—each in its own place.

#### SCIENTIFIC MIND AND KHADI WORK

"When I first discovered the spinning wheel it was purely through intuition. It was not backed by knowledge so much so that I confused Charkha with Kargha i. e. handloom. Later on, however, I tried to work out its possibilities with the help of the late Maganlal Gandhi. For instance, the question arose: Why should the spindle be made of iron, not brass? Should it be thin or thick? What would be the proper thickness? We began with mill spindles. Then, spindle holders used to be bamboo and wood. Later we came to leather and gut bearings. It was found that spindles got easily bent and were difficult to straighten. So we tried to make them out of knitting needles and ultimately of umbrella wires. All this called for the exercise of the inventive faculty and scientific research.

"A Khadi worker with a scientific mind will not stop there. 'Why Charkha, why not the spinning mill?' he will ask himself. The reply will be that everybody cannot own a spinning mill. If people depend on spinning mills for their clothing, whoever controls the spinning mills will control them and thus there will be an end to individual liberty. Today anyone can reduce the whole of London and New York to submission within 24 hours by cutting off their electric and water supply. Individual liberty and inter-dependence are both essential for life in society. Only a Robinson Crusoe can afford to be all self-sufficient. When a man has done all he can for the satisfaction of his essential requirements he will seek the co-operation of his neighbours for the rest. That will be true co-operation. Thus a scientific study of the spinning wheel will lead on to sociology. The spinning wheel will not become a power for the liberation of India in our hands unless we have made a deep study of the various sciences related to it. It will then not only make India free but point the way to the whole world.

#### DETACHMENT AND COURAGE

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has very aptly remarked that at one time India was not lacking in the inventive spirit but today it has become dormant. Once one gets the scientific outlook it will be reflected in every act of his, in his eating, drinking, rest, sleep—everything will be scientifically regulated and with a full appreciation of its why and wherefore. Finally, a scientific mind must have detachment or else it will land itself into the lunatic asylum. The Upanishad says that whatever there is in this universe is from Him. It belongs to Him and must be surrendered to Him and then enjoyed. Enjoy-

ment and sorrow, success and failure will then be the same to you."

"One thing more," concluded Gandhiji, "Supposing the tyrant wants to destroy the spinning wheel itself. What then? My reply is that in that event we should ourselves perish with the spinning wheel and not live to witness its destruction. For every Khadi worker who thus sacrifices himself thousands will arise to take his place. That act of his will set the final seal of victory on the cause he represents."

Poona, 6-3-'46

PYARELAL

#### HAND-WEAVING AND HAND-SPINNING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jajuji writes to say that whilst on the one hand, hand-spun yarn is piling up, on the other, handloom weavers are day by day giving up hand-spun yarn in preference to mill yarn. An appeal to the weavers through the columns of 'Harijan', whether in English or any of the Indian languages, will be good for nothing. Hardly any weaver reads 'Harijan' and if an attempt is made to read it out to him, he will not take interest in it. Hence the task of speaking to the weavers on the suicidal effect of abandoning hand-spun yarn devolves upon the devoted heads of Charkha Sangh workers. They have to reason out to the weavers how they will be ultimately responsible for killing their own occupation by excluding hand-spun yarn. As soon as the mill-owners can do so profitably, they will certainly stop selling mill yarn and will weave it themselves. They are not philanthropists. They have set up mills in order to make money. They will stop selling their yarn to handloom weavers, if they find weaving it more profitable. Therefore, it is a question of time when handloom weavers will be starved. These are really fed by hand-spinners ever as they in their turn are fed by handloom weavers. They are twins complementary of each other. This fact should be brought home to the weavers by the Charkha Sangh. With loving patience and knowledge they should try to appreciate the difficulties of the weavers and learn how to remove them. Acharya Vinoba has pointed out one remedy namely to double and twist the yarn at the same time that the cones are unwound. If this practice becomes universal, there would be no untwisted hand-spun yarn available for weaving. It is found by experience that twisted hand-spun yarn is any day as weavable as mill-spun yarn, if indeed it is not more so. Since the time of my discharge from my last imprisonment, I have been proclaiming as vehemently as I can that the workers should master the art of weaving as well as they have mastered the art of spinning. Had they not taken to spinning themselves they would not have solved the many difficulties of spinners. They have now to make up for past neglect, however unconscious it may have been, by learning the art of weaving and by practising it assiduously. Then and then only will they understand the difficulties that professional weavers experience in weaving hand-spun yarn and be able to solve them. Uruli, 24-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

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#### HAND-WEAVING AND HAND-SPINNING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jajuji writes to say that whilst on the one hand, hand-spun yarn is piling up, on the other, handloom weavers are day by day giving up hand-spun yarn in preference to mill yarn. An appeal to the weavers through the columns of 'Harijan', whether in English or any of the Indian languages, will be good for nothing. Hardly any weaver reads 'Harijan' and if an attempt is made to read it out to him, he will not take interest in it. Hence the task of speaking to the weavers on the suicidal effect of abandoning hand-spun yarn devolves upon the devoted heads of Charkha Sangh workers. They have to reason out to the weavers how they will be ultimately responsible for killing their own occupation by excluding hand-spun yarn. As soon as the mill-owners can do so profitably, they will certainly stop selling mill yarn and will weave it themselves. They are not philanthropists. They have set up mills in order to make money. They will stop selling their yarn to handloom weavers, if they find weaving it more profitable. Therefore, it is a question of time when handloom weavers will be starved. These are really fed by hand-spinners ever as they in their turn are fed by handloom weavers. They are twins complementary of each other. This fact should be brought home to the weavers by the Charkha Sangh. With loving patience and knowledge they should try to appreciate the difficulties of the weavers and learn how to remove them. Acharya Vinoba has pointed out one remedy namely to double and twist the yarn at the same time that the cones are unwound. If this practice becomes universal, there would be no untwisted hand-spun yarn available for weaving. It is found by experience that twisted hand-spun yarn is any day as weavable as mill-spun yarn, if indeed it is not more so. Since the time of my discharge from my last imprisonment, I have been proclaiming as vehemently as I can that the workers should master the art of weaving as well as they have mastered the art of spinning. Had they not taken to spinning themselves they would not have solved the many difficulties of spinners. They have now to make up for past neglect, however unconscious it may have been, by learning the art of weaving and by practising it assiduously. Then and then only will they understand the difficulties that professional weavers experience in weaving hand-spun yarn and be able to solve them. Uruli, 24-3-'46

(From Harijanbandhu)



# HARIJAN

March 31

1946

## CAPITALISM AND STRIKES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

How should capital behave when labour strikes? This question is in the air and has great importance at the present moment. One way is that of suppression named or nicknamed 'American'. It consists in suppression of labour through organized goondaism. Everybody would consider this as wrong and destructive. The other way, right and honourable, consists in considering every strike on its merits and giving labour its due—not what capital considers as due but what labour itself would so consider and enlightened public opinion acclaim as just.

One preliminary question will justly arise: why should there be a strike at all in any well-regulated concern? Strikes ought to be impossible when there is perfect understanding between capital and labour, mutual respect and recognition of equality. And since differences there would be sometimes between employers and employed even in the best-regulated concerns, why should there not be a system of arbitration between the parties so that they will always readily carry out in perfect good faith awards of arbitrators?

But we have to consider things not as they should be but as they are. As time progresses, the labour world is getting more insistent in its demands which are daily increasing, and it does not hesitate to resort to violence in its impatient enforcement of those demands. New methods of enforcing them are being employed. Workers do not hesitate to injure the property of the employers, dislocate machinery, harass old men and women who would not join the strike and forcibly keep out blacklegs. In these circumstances, how are the employers to behave?

In my opinion, employers and employed are equal partners even if employees are not considered superior. But what we see today is the reverse. The reason is that the employers harness intelligence on their side. They have the superior advantage which concentration of capital brings with it and they know how to make use of it. One individual rupee has very little potency but when money combines as capital, the combine derives a power different from and far in excess of the mere sum total of the individual rupees. A million drops individually are negligible. But in combination they make the ocean carrying on its bosom a fleet of ocean hounds. Whilst capital in India is fairly organized, labour is still in a more or less disorganized condition in spite of unions and their federation. Therefore, it lacks the power that true combination gives.

Moreover, it lacks intelligence, so much so that individuals fight against individuals, unions against

unions. Lack of intelligence leads to its exploitation by selfish and unscrupulous men even to the point of creating and promoting mischief. They know no better, being ignorant of the secret of non-violence. The net result is that the workers suffer. If labour were to understand the working of non-violence, the power generated by combination would any day exceed the power of dead metal in the hands of a few capitalists.

Hence my advice to the employers would be that they should willingly regard workers as the real owners of the concerns which they fancy they have created. They should further regard it as their duty to equip the employees with sound education that would draw out the intelligence dormant in them and gladly promote and welcome the power that this combination of the workers gives them.

This noble work cannot be done in a day by the employers. Meanwhile, what should those do who have to face the destruction wrought by strikers in their concerns? I would unhesitatingly advise such employers that they should at once offer the strikers full control of the concern which is as much the strikers' as theirs. They will vacate their premises not in a huff but because it is right, and to show their goodwill they would offer the employees the assistance of their engineers and other skilled staff. The employers will find in the end that they will lose nothing. Indeed their right action will disarm opposition and they will earn the blessings of their men. They will have made proper use of their capital. I would not consider such action as benevolent. It would be an intelligent use by the capitalists of their resources and honest dealing in regard to the employees whom they would have converted into honourable partners.

Uruli, 23-3-'46

## AN ENGLISHMAN'S DIFFICULTY

"However much we may want to be friendly the past tradition clings round your necks and drives you to desperation," said another member of the F. A. U. who met Gandhiji at Calcutta. "It seems to me," he added, "that there is hardly any hope of giving to a young Bengali student an idea of the better side of Englishmen unless perhaps he is transferred to England." The atmosphere in India was so poisoned that he wondered if it would not be better for Englishmen not to attempt to come to work in India just now but to wait for better times.

"Any friend, who is a real friend," replied Gandhiji, "and who comes in a spirit of service, not as a superior, is bound to be welcome. India, when she has come into her own will need all such assistance. The distrust of Englishmen, as you say, is there. It won't disappear even by transporting Indian students to England. You have got to understand it and live it down. It has its roots in history. The late Charlie Andrews and I were bed fellows. There was scarcely a thought in our mind which we did not share. He even adopted Indian dress though sometimes with grotesque results. But even



he could not escape suspicion. He was even dubbed "a spy". His was a very sensitive spirit. He suffered unspeakable anguish under these unmerited attacks and I was hard put to it to dispel the baseless distrust. 'If he is a spy, I am a spy,' I said to these critics. In the end C. F. A.'s spirit triumphed.

"Pearson was C. F. Andrews' disciple and friend. He too came in for his share of distrust. Then there is Stokes. "If I am to serve India I must become an Indian," he said to himself and married a Christian Rajput. He was boycotted by the Rajputs. The Government distrusted him too in the beginning. But he has lived down the distrust of both the Government and Indians."

"If then," observed Gandhiji, "even a C. F. Andrews and a Stokes and others had to labour under distrust, for you to be distrusted may not be wondered at. So far Indians have known Englishmen only as members of the ruling race—supercilious when they were not patronizing. The man in the street makes no distinction between such an Englishman and a good, humble European, between the Empire-builder Englishman of the old type that he has known and the new type that is now coming into being, burning to make reparation for what his forefathers did. Therefore, if one has not got the fire of sacrifice in him I would say to him: 'Do not come to India just now.' But if you are cast in a heroic mould there will be no difficulty. You will in the end be taken at your worth if you persevere. Anyway those of you who are here have no reason for going back."

The same friend was able to elicit from Gandhiji what he considered to be the weak spots in the Indusco Plan of Chinese Co-operatives. Firstly, the Indusco was a product of abnormal times. Its production was war time and war purposes production stimulated by the Japanese blockade. Secondly, it was organized by foreign missionary enterprise and their work was tainted by the proselytization motive. "If you try to merely copy the Chinese Co-operatives in India you will end in miserable failure. Here you have to work among Indian Christians. The temperament is different, the character is different, and the circumstances are different. Co-operation which is rooted in the soil always works. You have therefore to find out for yourself what type of co-operative is best suited to the Indian temperament and soil. Even those who have become converts to orthodox Christianity are today veering round."

"By 'veering round' you mean going back?"

"Yes, I mean going back to real Christianity, to Christ, not Western Christianity. They are beginning to realize that Jesus was an Asiatic. Having seen this they are reading their Bible through Indian eyes. You should study the meaning of Indian Christianity through J. C. Kumarappa's book 'Practice and Precepts of Jesus'."

Uruli, 23-3-'46

PYARELAL

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. What to do when the local Congress machinery refuses to act or work in a way which is effective?

A. A person who is a real Congressman will in such circumstances himself act singly or in co-operation with others purely in a spirit of service and give all the credit to the Congress organization. Supposing that many persons acted thus, Congress would rise from day to day. Ineffective workers would be shamed into becoming effective, the Congress machinery always remaining clean and intact. "In a spirit of service" is here the operative phrase. If the spirit is that of aggrandizement, although the work done may be effective, credit will probably go to the aggressor and the Congress will lose. That the aggressor will lose in the end need not be stressed.

Q. What should a Congress worker do when he faces a situation at a place which is outside his area of work?

A. Areas are prescribed for workers for their weakness, not for their strength. For a strong Congress worker all India is the area of his work and he will be found every time in the area where he is wanted most. Naturally he will be never regarded as an intruder or as an officious man. Appreciation of the service will be uppermost in the minds of all. It would be ludicrous and a sign of impotence, if a Congressman passing through an area not his own and finding a battle royal between two factions does not interpose himself between them, even at the cost of his life, on the untenable plea that the trouble was outside his area.

Q. Can the same person take up parliamentary work, constructive work as distinguished from the parliamentary and the organization work of the Congress, in addition to working for his own livelihood?

A. He must be a modern Hercules who can effectively do these things at the same time. I can conceive the possibility of the same person managing all these departments with a staff of efficient secretaries and clerks working under him. The point of the question, however, is wholly different. Division of labour is a necessity. One-man-show is always undesirable and is a positive hindrance to a system of organization. An organization like the British kingship is not personal. "The king is dead. Long live the king." Hence the saying, 'the king can do no wrong'. A king as an individual may be a rascal but personified as an organization he is perfect in the sense the word 'perfection' is understood in a given society. The moral is that however inefficient the persons in charge may be in the beginning stages, in a progressive organization persons taking charge should be above board and should put the organization first, themselves last. If an attempt is made to organize work through rascals, the organization will always have rascals at its head.

Q. August 1942 has brought a psychological change in the public mind. They do not await orders from

the Congress for observance of days, etc. Other parties often take advantage of this spontaneous effort and associate their programme with it, while official local Congress either keeps mum or inactive. It also often happens that programmes and policies as laid down by the Working Committee are not automatically adopted by the Provincial Congress Committees or are sometimes worked out half-heartedly. Some also refuse to create a machinery for it, till they are officially called upon to do so. In such circumstances, what is expected of Congressmen?

A. This is a good question. If Congressmen have really learnt to act for themselves since 1942 August, it is a great thing. But I do not believe it. Those only act for themselves who think for themselves. It does not matter whether in doing so they make mistakes. A child often stumbles before it begins to walk. Therefore the effort ceases to be spontaneous or individual when one associates with any programme that comes his way. The secret of the August resolution was that when the Congress as an organization ceased to function every Congressman became his own master, which is wholly different from becoming a pawn in any other person's or group's or party's game.

The second part of the question shows also that 1942 did not teach Congressmen to think and act independently. If they had learnt that lesson truly and well, any programme laid down by the Working Committee would be followed by Congressmen wholeheartedly and the response from Provincial Committees and all constituent elements would be spontaneous, such that the whole organization would move like one man. Such was my expectation in 1942. That it was not so fulfilled is a matter of history. That the people acted somehow without being paralysed by the wholesale onslaught of the Government stands to their credit. How much more creditable it would have been if they had fully carried out the policy of non-violence explicitly laid down in that resolution? If my argument is correct, it follows that Congressmen with understanding would follow implicitly the Working Committee's resolutions without reference to the action of their neighbours. When organizational effort stops or is neutralized or becomes ineffective, every individual belonging to it holds himself responsible for the activity of his organization and then gradually builds it up.

Q. When sporadic strikes are such as cannot be supported by the Congress, what should Congressmen and the public do to put an end to them?

A. In the first place, if the Congress organization were complete there would be no sporadic strikes and any other strike would be unjustified for the simple reason that a people's organization must shoulder the burden of every justifiable strike within the sphere of that organization. But today unhappily the Congress, powerful as it is, has not attained that supreme position. Hence every sporadic strike has to be judged on merits irrespective of the party that has made itself responsible for it.

And when a strike is indefensible on merits the Congress and the public should unequivocally condemn it. The natural result would be that the men on strike would go back to work. If the strike is justified the institution against which it has been declared would be likewise condemned if it employs blacklegs or other questionable means to force strikers into submission.

Uruli, 23-3-'46

## Notes

### Wastefulness

Correspondence continues to pour in saying that stored food material being declared unfit for human consumption is thrown away. Skimmed milk also is thrown away for want of custom and condensed milk is lying idle owing to ignorance. Accumulation of food material at the ports will not mitigate distress unless it is promptly taken to the places where it is immediately required. Worse than this however is the triple waste going on now side by side with ever growing famine conditions. All such waste takes place for lack of a living contact between the people and the rulers.

Uruli, 24-3-'46

M. K. G.

### A. I. V. I. A. News

1. Up to 31st December 1945, members of the A. I. V. I. A. used to get the "Gram Udyog Patrika" free of charge. But as expenses have gone up, it is proposed to charge all members except those who are on actual field work half rates.

2. The following books have been published since the Board last met:

1. Palm Gur
2. Views of Maganwadi
3. Soap Making
4. Dhotijama

3. Shri Bharatan Kumarappa has asked to be relieved of his duties as Assistant Secretary. The Board has accepted his resignation with much regret. His loss after ten years of valuable work will be greatly felt by the A. I. V. I. A.

4. It is proposed to run a rural health centre in Sindhi village either under the aegis of the Kasturba Fund or independently.

[From the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Management]

A. K.

### Economics of Khadi

By M. K. Gandhi

Price Rs. 4, Postage 13 Annas

### Constructive Programme

Its Meaning and Place

(Revised & Enlarged Edition)

By M. K. Gandhi

Price 0-6-0 Postage 2 Annas

### Cent Per Cent Swadeshi

By M. K. Gandhi

Price Rs. 2, Postage 5 Annas

### Constructive Programme

— Some Suggestions —

By Babu Rajendra Prasad

Price 0-8-0, Postage 2 Annas

## GANDHIJI'S COMMUNISM

Gandhiji has often claimed in the course of his discussions with Communist and Socialist friends that he is a better Communist or a Socialist than they. Their goal is identical. The difference in regard to the means and the technique employed is however fundamental. Changing the structure of society through violence and untruth has no attraction for him because he knows that it will not benefit the dumb millions of India. During the period of his detention in the Aga Khan palace, he studied Communist literature. He has a scientific mind and the knowledge of Communism and Socialism picked up from his talks with friends and casual reading did not satisfy him. He read *Das Capital* and went through some of the other writings of Marx as also of Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He read some books about the Reds in China too and at the end of it was convinced more than ever that Communism of his conception was the only thing that could bring relief to the suffering humanity. In his Ashram and the institutions that are being run under his guidance and inspiration, the ruling principle is: "To each according to his need, from each according to his capacity." His Ashrams are thus themselves experiments in Communism based on non-violence and Indian village conditions. In Sevagram Ashram the dictum is followed that the inmates are there only on the sufferance of the village people. A cantankerous fellow felled some Ashram trees for his use as fuel though he had no title to them. Another encroached upon the right of way through his field although he had accepted compensation for it. No legal redress was applied for. An announcement was made that the Ashram people were there only for the service of the village folk and that they would go away elsewhere if the latter did not want them. Ultimately the trouble makers were persuaded by their fellow villagers to behave reasonably. In Sabarmati Ashram the women inmates not only merged their domestic kitchens into the communal kitchen and continued to run it but were even persuaded not only to take children other than their own into their families and to look after them like their own but also to let their children be looked after by others. Here was an experiment of pulling down of the walls and emancipation of women without the disintegration of family life—a veritable revolution less the anarchy. But as a friend humorously remarked after dining in the common kitchen of the Talimi Sangh, which feeds more than a hundred individuals, "Gandhiji calls it a *rasoda* (kitchen) and it sounds commonplace; the Communists would call it a 'Commune' and everybody would be impressed by it." Did not the good old knight of Addison wonder how a certain play could be a tragedy since there was not a line in it but he could understand?

### MEANING OF ECONOMIC EQUALITY

"What exactly do you mean by economic equality," Gandhiji was asked at the Constructive Workers' Conference during his recent tour of

Madras, "and what is statutory trusteeship as conceived by you?"

Gandhiji's reply was that economic equality of his conception did not mean that everyone would literally have the same amount. It simply meant that everybody should have enough for his or her needs. For instance, he required two *shawls* in winter whereas his grand nephew Kanu Gandhi who stayed with him and was like his own son did not require any warm clothing whatsoever. Gandhiji required goat's milk, oranges and other fruit. Kanu could do with ordinary food. He envied Kanu but there was no point in it. Kanu was a young man whereas he was an old man of 76. The monthly expense of his food was far more than that of Kanu but that did not mean that there was economic inequality between them. The elephant needs a thousand times more food than the ant, but that is not an indication of inequality. So the real meaning of economic equality was: "To each according to his need." That was the definition of Marx. If a single man demanded as much as a man with wife and four children that would be a violation of economic equality.

"Let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper, by saying that the former need more. That will be idle sophistry and a travesty of my argument," he continued. "The contrast between the rich and the poor today is a painful sight. The poor villagers are exploited by the foreign government and also by their own countrymen—the city-dwellers. They produce the food and go hungry. They produce milk and their children have to go without it. It is disgraceful. Everyone must have balanced diet, a decent house to live in, facilities for the education of one's children and adequate medical relief." That constituted his picture of economic equality. He did not want to taboo everything above and beyond the bare necessities but they must come after the essential needs of the poor are satisfied. First things must come first.

### STATUTORY TRUSTEESHIP

As for the present owners of wealth they would have to make their choice between class war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth. They would be allowed to retain the stewardship of their possessions and to use their talent to increase the wealth, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the nation and therefore without exploitation. The state would regulate the rate of commission which they would get commensurate with the service rendered and its value to society. Their children would inherit the stewardship only if they proved their fitness for it.

"Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow," he concluded, "all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees." But such a statute will not be imposed from above. It will have to come from below. When the people understand the implications of trusteeship and the atmosphere is ripe for it, the people themselves,

beginning with *gram panchayats*, will begin to introduce such statutes. Such a thing coming from below is easy to swallow. Coming from above, it is liable to prove a dead weight.

#### HIS QUARREL WITH THE SOCIALISTS

Q. "What is the difference between your technique and that of the Communists or Socialists for realizing the goal of economic equality?"

A. "The Socialists and Communists say they can do nothing to bring about economic equality today. They will just carry on propaganda in its favour and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, 'When they get control over the State they will enforce equality.' Under my plan the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view but will straightaway make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception, if I am the owner of fifty motor cars or even of ten *bighas* of land. For that I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost Communist although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich. They have no hold on me and I can shed them at a moment's notice, if the interests of the masses demand it."

#### THE NON-VIOLENT SANCTION

Q. "What is the place of Satyagraha in making the rich realize their duty towards the poor?"

A. "The same as against the foreign power. Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be extended to every other circle. Supposing a land-owner exploits his tenants and mulcts them of the fruit of their toil by appropriating it to his own use. When they expostulate with him he does not listen and raises objections that he requires so much for his wife, so much for his children and so on. The tenants or those who have espoused their cause and have influence will make an appeal to his wife to expostulate with her husband. She would probably say that for herself she does not need his exploited money. The children will say likewise that they would earn for themselves what they need.

"Supposing further that he listens to nobody or that his wife and children combine against the tenants, they will not submit. They will quit if asked to do so but they will make it clear that the land belongs to him who tills it. The owner cannot till all the land himself and he will have to give in to their just demands. It may, however, be that the tenants are replaced by others. Agitation short of violence will then continue till the replacing tenants see their error and make common cause with the evicted tenants. Thus Satyagraha is a process of educating public opinion, such that it covers all the

elements of society and in the end makes itself irresistible. Violence interrupts the process and prolongs the real revolution of the whole social structure."

The conditions necessary for the success of Satyagraha are: (1) The Satyagrahi should not have any hatred in his heart against the opponent. (2) The issue must be true and substantial. (3) The Satyagrahi must be prepared to suffer till the end for his cause.

Poona, 4-3-46

PYARELAL

#### COMMUNAL UNITY AND NON-UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE I. N. A.

The Azad Hind movement in East Asia solved many problems. And one of them was the major and intricate problem of communal unity. Although efforts towards this direction were made ever since the inception of the movement in 1942, it became a reality only after the arrival of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. There was another question and that was of untouchability, though on a minor scale. In East Asia, the question of untouchability did not confront us so much as it did or does in India. Anyhow, this ill too was remedied as a result of universal training of Indians in the I. N. A. camps and offices after Netaji's arrival.

What were the ways and means adopted to achieve these objects may be a long story. But the achievement can be attributed to three main factors: Firstly, absence of the third power; secondly, Netaji's direct approach to the problems and thirdly, Netaji's apparent ignoring of the problems.

Now, what the people may be interested in, is how this achievement of communal unity and eradication of untouchability was evident. For that, I may pen the following, covering both the combatant and non-combatant sections of the militant organization of Azad Hind.

With the elimination of the British power from East Asia, the communal differences among Indians also started fading away. The first scene of communal harmony was observed in Bangkok in June 1942, when about 120 representatives of the Indian community in East Asia gathered there for Conference. There were among them Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others. They stayed together, ate together, and resolved together to organize the Indian community into one body and under one banner.

Then came February 1943, and Gandhiji's historic fast. Throughout East Asia, rallies were held where all Indians belonging to different religions and of different castes and creeds gathered and demanded release of the Mahatma. Prayers were held in temples, mosques, *gurudwaras* and churches for the long life of Gandhiji. That presented an admirable and thrilling scene of communal unity.

Then came the advent of Netaji, and along with that a revolutionary change in society and in the organization. Netaji had asked for 'Total Mobilization' for the coming armed struggle for India's freedom. To this call of Netaji, the response was universal from all sections of the community—from Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others. They offered their services as combatant and non-combatant volunteers.



Some of these volunteers were absorbed in the Azad Hind Sangh, the Party behind the Azad Hind Fauj and the Azad Hind Government. Others — a majority of the volunteers — joined the ranks of the Fauj. The Sangh had a network of branches throughout East Asia. In every branch workers consisting of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians worked together. Wherever there were large numbers of workers, as was the case in places like Bangkok, Singapore, Rangoon, Saigon, Hongkong, they used to live in messes. These were joint. There was no separate Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian mess. There used to be one kitchen for all members of all religions. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians lived together, ate at the same table and worked together.

Same was the case in the I. N. A. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians used to live in the same barracks. There were Brahmins, as well as Harijans, there were Maulvis as well as Ahirs; there were caste-Hindus as well as the so-called untouchables in the same barracks. There were no separate *langars*. All the soldiers ate together. The same rations were supplied to the soldiers and officers. Beef and pork were prohibited in the messes of the Azad Hind Sangh and the Azad Hind Fauj. There was no problem of *jhatka* and *halal*.

RAMSINGH RAWAL

[Note: Except for repetitions, the foregoing is published as it was received. The information is revealing. The natural question is: now that these soldiers have returned, will the same comradeship persist? It ought to. M. K. G.]

Bombay, 14-3-'46

### IDEALS FOR THE I. N. A.

Major General Shah Nawaz and Col. Sehgal took occasion during Gandhiji's stay in Bombay to discuss with him at length the question of the future of the discharged I. N. A. men. The men were anxious, they said, to distinguish themselves in national service along non-violent lines, but unless they were suitably absorbed in civil activities and properly guided they might be exploited and led into devious ways by unscrupulous agencies. What ideal should they follow, they asked. Gandhiji repeated to them the advice he had previously given to some discharged I. N. A. men who had met him in Madras. He had told them that it should be derogatory to the dignity and self-respect of a soldier to live upon charity. The ideal which they should set before themselves was to earn their bread by honest industry. The I. N. A. Relief Fund was there but it would be wrong to use it for providing doles. He described to them how in South Africa he had provided relief to dependents of Satyagraha prisoners by settling them on Tolstoy Farm where they had to labour according to capacity. The merit of this method was that it could be multiplied to any degree without proving costly and burdensome. The real test of the I. N. A., he told them, was to come only now. In the fighting line there was the romance and incitement, not so in civil life. The country was today faced with the spectre of famine. Would they help the people to

fight it with the same courage, cohesion, doggedness and resourcefulness which they had shown on the battlefield? Would they show the same diligence, mastery and skill in handling the spade, the pickaxe and the hoe as they did in shouldering the rifle? Digging of wells and breaking stony ground to grow food and plying the wheel and the shuttle to clothe the naked was the nation's need today. Would they respond to the call? They had physical stamina, discipline and, what was more, a feeling of solidarity and oneness, untainted by narrow communalism. All that ought to put them in a singular position of vantage for introducing non-violent discipline and organization among the masses.

Constructive activity could absorb every one of the I. N. A. men who was willing and worthy of his name. If they took up that work, not one of them need or would remain unemployed.

As one listened while Gandhiji outlined the ideals for the I. N. A. men one was irresistibly reminded of the following description by a distinguished English historian of another national army that has left its mark on history. The reference is to Cromwell's Ironsides:

"These persons, sober, moral, diligent and accustomed to reflect had been induced to take up arms, not by the pressure of want, not by the love of novelty and license, not by the arts of the recruiting officers, but by religious and political zeal, mingled with the desire of distinction and promotion. The boast of the soldiers was . . . that they were no janissaries but freeborn Englishmen who had of their own accord put their lives in jeopardy for the liberties and religion of England and whose right and duty was to watch over the welfare of the nation which they had saved.

\* \* \*

"In war this strange force was irresistible . . . Other leaders have maintained order as strict, other leaders have inspired their followers with zeal as ardent, but in his (Cromwell's) camp alone the most rigid discipline was found in company with the fiercest enthusiasm. His troops moved to victory with the precision of machines, while burning with the wildest fanaticism of crusaders.

"But that which chiefly distinguished the armies of Cromwell from other armies was the austere morality and the fear of God which pervaded all ranks . . . In that singular camp no oath was heard, no drunkenness or gambling was seen, and during the long dominion of the soldiery, the property of the peaceable citizen and the honour of women were held sacred. . . ."

But their greatest victory, records the same historian, was won not in fighting but when they had ceased to fight.

"The troops were now to be disbanded. Fifty thousand men, accustomed to the profession of arms, were at once thrown on the world; and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime, that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or that they would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace indicating that the most



formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community. The Royalists themselves confessed that, in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alms, or that if a baker, a mason, or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers."

Poona, 20-3-'46

PYARELAL

## FAMINES AND BIRTH RATE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Major Gen. Sir John McGaw, President, India Office Medical Board. is reported by a correspondent to have said :

"Famines in India will recur; in fact India is today facing perpetual famine. Unless something is done to decrease the birth rate in India, the country will be leading straight for a calamity."

The correspondent asks what I have to say on this grave issue.

For me, this and some other ways of explaining away famines in India is to divert the attention from the only cause of recurring famines in this benighted land. I have stated and repeat here that famines of India are not a calamity descended upon us from nature but is a calamity created by the rulers — whether through ignorant indifference or whether consciously or otherwise does not matter. Prevention against drought is not beyond human effort and ingenuity. Such effort has not proved ineffective in other countries. In India a sustained intelligent effort has never been made.

The bogey of increasing birth rate is not a new thing. It has been often trotted out. Increase in population is not and ought not to be regarded as a calamity to be avoided. Its regulation or restriction by artificial methods is a calamity of the first grade whether we know it or not. It is bound to degrade the race, if it becomes universal which, thank God, it is never likely to be. Pestilence, wars and famines are cursed antidotes against cursed lust which is responsible for unwanted children. If we would avoid this three-fold curse we would avoid too the curse of unwanted children by the sovereign remedy of self-control. The evil consequences of artificial methods are being seen by discerning men even now. Without however encroaching upon the moral domain, let me say that propagation of the race rabbit-wise must undoubtedly be stopped; but not so as to bring greater evils in its train. It should be stopped by methods which in themselves ennoble the race. In other words, it is all a matter of proper education which would embrace every department of life; and dealing with one curse will take in its orbit all the others. A way is not to be avoided because it is upward and therefore uphill. Man's upward progress necessarily means ever increasing difficulty, which is to be welcomed.

Poona, 19-3-'46

## CONGRESSMEN APATHETIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. "I am glad that you have expressed yourself in the matter of opening a temple to Harijans in Nellore. It should open the eyes of many Congressmen. The reason given for unwillingness to open the temple was that it might adversely affect the chances of Congress success in the elections."

A. If this represents the general sentiment, it augurs ill for Congress. Even a popular democratic India-wide organization like the Congress cannot afford to be untrue to its policy (if it may not be called creed) of removing untouchability root and branch. Throughout my close contact with the Congress, ever since my return to India in 1915, I have found that the more the Congress has held to its main purpose, the more popular it has become. A democratic organization has to dare to do the right at all cost. He who panders to the weaknesses of a people degrades both himself and the people and leads them not to democratic but mob rule. The line of demarcation between democracy and mobocracy is often thin but rigid and stronger than steel unbreakable. The one leads to life and progress, the other is death pure and simple. In the ultimate analysis, the cause of our fall is to be sought from within and not from without. All the empires of the world could not have bent us, if as a people we had been above suspicion and temptation. This may not be regarded as a mere truism. If we recognize the fundamental facts, we would be true and patient and able to deal with whatever difficulty that may face us whether from within or without. Preparedness to lose all elections rather than sacrifice a principle, is the surest way to success at every election. The results prove that the policy laid down by the Congress in 1920 has led to success from stage to stage, but only to the extent that the Congress has been true to the fundamentals of the policy it accepted during that eventful year. Untouchability is to go, if India is to live and thrive as a nation.

Poona, 21-3-'46

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# HARIJAN

10 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 9]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 7, 1946

[TWO ANNAS

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. Horse racing is going on in many important cities. It is alike a lure for high and low, rich and poor, and it leads to moral degradation and in some cases penury. Many Princes spend lakhs of their people's money on buying race horses. What steps should our new governments take to check this evil?

A. There is no doubt whatsoever about the evil. The good it is supposed to do is extremely doubtful. And at this time of growing distress in the country it is criminal. The new national governments can do a great deal to check the evil. But let us recognize their limitations. Being popular, i. e. people's governments, they will never be able to go far in advance of popular opinion. That is specially a function belonging to reformers. But these governments can certainly, by their own example, rob the evil of the stamp of fashion that the bureaucracy has set upon it even to the point of wasting public money on the luxury. The Princes will copy the example of good manners that the national governments may set.

Q. We find that the Congress is reluctant to select women representatives on a large scale for elective bodies. It is surely just and necessary that more women are taken into the various bodies. How would you deal with the question?

A. I am not enamoured of equality or any other proportion in such matters. Merit should be the only test. Seeing however that it has been the custom to decry women, the contrary custom should be to prefer women, merit being equal, to men even if the preference should result in men being entirely displaced by women. It would be a dangerous thing to insist on membership on the ground merely of sex. Women and for that matter any group should disdain patronage. They should seek justice, never favours. Therefore, the proper thing is for women as indeed for men to advance the spread not of English or Western education among them but such education on general lines through their provincial languages as will fit them for the numerous duties of citizenship. For men to take a lead in this much needed reform would be not a matter of favour but a simple act of belated justice due to women.

Uruli; 30-3-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER—I FIVE DAYS IN BOMBAY

### WHAT IS BEAUTIFUL?

"Won't you ask people to grow flowers on a small piece of land? Colour and beauty is necessary to the soul as food is to the body," asked Agatha Harrison twitting Gandhiji on his suggestion to Seth Rameshwar-das Birla to dig up the flower beds in his terrace garden in Birla House, Bombay, and grow vegetables instead. "No," replied Gandhiji. "I won't. Why can't you see the beauty of colour in vegetables? And then, there is beauty in the speckless sky. But no, you want the colours of the rainbow which is a mere optical illusion. We have been taught to believe that what is beautiful need not be useful and what is useful cannot be beautiful. I want to show that what is useful can also be beautiful." And so the vegetables were planted where flowers grew and I do not think that anybody's aesthetic sense has suffered any loss as a result.

### A MOMENTOUS STEP

The same passion for essentials and utter indifference to the outward trappings was reflected in his insistence on drafting the resolutions for the Working Committee this time in Hindustani, an English translation being provided alongside for the convenience of those members who did not know Hindustani well enough. The Congress President was enthusiastic over the change. He took a momentous step when he decided that hereafter all the resolutions, of the Working Committee shall be in Hindustani in the first instance and the original Hindustani text would be made available to the Press. The chief difficulty is about transmission over the wires. For the time being it can only be overcome by putting Hindustani messages into Roman script. It is a pity and a shame that our news services are not equipped for transmission of news in Hindustani. Any news service agency that sets up an inland telegraphic news service in Hindustani will steal a big march over its rivals. One news agency, I understand, intends doing so.

### IN THE EVENING OF HIS LIFE

Although the bulk of his time during his five days' stay in Bombay was taken up with work in connection with the Working Committee's meetings, he found time to introduce to the Bombay public his latest born, i. e., the project of establishing a Nature Cure Centre for the poor. "What has been a hobby with me for the last fifty years has now become a passion," he remarked in a letter to the Sardar recently. "If I find that I have a talent for the service of the poor and do not make full use of it I shall be set down as a fool," he remarked to another friend. And so at seventysix in the evening of his life, he has decided to add one more to his many activities.

### WHAT IS NATURE CURE ?

And why has it gripped him like this ? He explained the difference between the Nature Cure system of his conception and the other systems of cure to a casual visitor who saw him at Birla House. "In the case of the ordinary method of treatment the patient comes to the doctor to take drugs that would cure him. The doctors prescribe the drug. With the relief of abnormal symptoms in the patient his function ends and with that his interest in the patient. The Nature Cure man does not 'sell a cure' to the patient. He teaches him the right way of living in his home which would not only cure him of his particular ailment but also save him from falling ill in future. The ordinary doctor or *vaidya* is interested mostly in the study of disease. The nature curist is interested more in the study of health. His real interest begins where that of the ordinary doctor ends; the eradication of the patient's ailment under Nature Cure marks only the beginning of a way of life in which there is no room for illness or disease. Nature Cure is thus a way of life, not a course of 'treatment'."

"It is not claimed," he explained to the prayer gathering audience at Rungta House, "that Nature Cure can cure all disease. No system of medicine can do that or else we should all be immortals. But it enables one to face and bear down with unperturbed equanimity and peace of mind an illness which it cannot cure. If once we decide that what cannot be shared by the millions should be taboo for us, we are driven to nature as the only cure — all for the rich and the poor alike."

### THE MOST POTENT WEAPON

In the armoury of the Nature Curist *Ramanam* is the most potent weapon. "Let no one wonder at it," he remarked. "A noted Ayurvedic physician told me the other day, 'All my life I have been administering drugs. But since you have prescribed *Ramanam* as a cure for physical ailments, it has occurred to me that what you say has too the authority of Vagbhata and Charaka.' The recitation of *Ramanam* as a remedy for spiritual ailments is as old as the hills. But the greater includes the less. And my claim is that the recitation of *Ramanam* is a sovereign remedy for our physical ailments also. A Nature Cure man won't tell the patient: 'Invite me and I shall cure you of your ailment.' He will only tell about the all-healing principle that is in every being and how one can cure oneself by evoking it and making it an active force in his life. If India could realize the power of that principle not only would we be free, but we would be a land of healthy individuals too — not the land of epidemics and ill health that we are today."

### ITS USE AND LIMITATION

"The potency of *Ramanam* is however subject to certain conditions and limitations," he proceeded, "*Ramanam* is not like black magic. If some one suffers from surfeit and wants to be cured of its after effects so that he can again indulge himself at the table, *Ramanam* is not for him. *Ramanam* can be used only for a good, never for an evil end, or else thieves and robbers would be the greatest devotees. *Ramanam* is for the pure in heart and for those who want to attain purity and remain pure. It can never be a means for self-indulgence. The remedy for surfeit is fasting, not prayer. Prayer can come in only when fasting has

done its work. It can make fasting easy and bearable. Similarly the taking of *Ramanam* will be a meaningless farce when at the same time you are drugging your system with medicines. A doctor who uses his talent to pander to the vices of his patient degrades himself and his patient. What worse degradation can there be for man than that instead of regarding his body as an instrument of worshipping his Maker he should make it the object of adoration and waste money like water to keep it going anyhow. *Ramanam*, on the other hand, purifies while it cures, and therefore it elevates. Therein lies its use as well as its limitation."

### THE DISTURBANCES

The embers of the recent disturbances were still hot under the feet when Gandhiji visited Bombay. His first utterance before the evening prayer gathering at Rungta House therefore naturally referred to those events. It was a scathing denunciation of the policy of taking refuge in the "ambiguous middle" when the occasion required boldly speaking out and effective action.

The long deferred Shivaji Park meeting which he was to have addressed on the 9th of August 1942, but could not owing to his arrest at the dawn of the 8th, was a much bigger affair. The audience numbered over two lakhs. But such was the excellence of the arrangements and the discipline of the crowd that Gandhiji's speech was heard amid pin-drop silence. Its theme was 'Satyagraha as the art of living and dying' and its relation to prayer. The text of both the addresses will be found reproduced elsewhere in these columns.

### AT URULI KANCHAN

Gandhiji did not stay for many days in the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona on his return from Bombay. Uruli Kanchan into which Gandhiji moved on the afternoon of the 22nd inst. is a small station on the Sholapur-Poona line with a population of about 3,000. It has a railway telegraph office and a post office but no telephone. The mail and the express trains do not stop here. The climate is good, the air bracing. There is a plentiful supply of filtered water from the military camp water works nearby. The locality grows fruits like the grape, orange and *papaiya* in profusion.

A few days back a deputation of nearly all the leading men of the place had waited on Gandhiji at the Nature Cure Clinic, Poona, to request him to establish his proposed Nature Cure Centre for the poor there. They promised to provide enough land for the purpose and their full co-operation besides donating Rs. 10,000/- to the Nature Cure Trust for the experiment at Uruli. Shri Datar, a retired railway contractor, vacated his bungalow and offered it for Gandhiji's temporary residence.

Congregational prayer was held on the very first day at the outskirts of the village, the mass singing of *Ramadhun* being introduced here as in other places. Taking as his text the hymn that had been sung Gandhiji presented *Ramanam* to the village folk assembled there as a natural therapeutic No. 1 for the cure of bodily ailments: "In the song that we have just sung the devotee says :

'O Hari, You are the reliever of the people's distress.' The promise here is universal. It is not qualified or restricted to any particular kind of ailment." He told them of the conditions of success. The efficacy of *Ramanam* would depend on whether it was or was not

backed by a living faith. "If you are subject to anger, eat and sleep for indulgence, not solely for sustenance, you do not know the meaning of *Ramanam*. Your recitation of it is mere lip service. *Ramanam* to be efficacious must absorb your entire being during its recitation and express itself in your whole life."

#### FIRST PATIENTS

Patients began to come in from the next morning. There were about thirty of them. Gandhiji examined five or six of them and prescribed to them all more or less the same treatment with slight variations, according to the nature of each case, i. e. recitation of *Ramanam*, sun bath, friction and hip baths, a simple eliminative diet of milk, buttermilk, fruit and fruit juices with plenty of clean fresh water to drink. "It has truly been observed," he explained at the evening prayer gathering, "that all mental and physical ailments are due to one common cause. It is therefore but natural that there should be a common remedy for them too. There is a unity of cure as there is in disease. The *Shastras* say so. Therefore, I prescribed *Ramanam* and almost the same treatment to all the patients who came to me this morning. But we have a knack of explaining away the *Shastras* in life when they do not suit our convenience. We have deluded ourselves into the belief that the *Shastras* are meant only for the benefit of the soul in the life to come, that the end of *Dharma* is to acquire merit after death. I do not share that view. If *Dharma* has no practical use in this life, it has none for me in the next.

"There is hardly anyone in this world who is completely free from ailment whether bodily or mental. For some of these there is no earthly cure. For instance, *Ramanam* cannot perform the miracle of restoring to you a lost limb. But it can perform the still greater miracle of helping you to enjoy an ineffable peace in spite of the loss while you live and rob death of its sting and the grave its victory at the journey's end. Since death must come soon or late to everyone, why should one worry over the time."

#### THIS IS MY INDIA

The number of patients increased from 30 to 43 on the third day. "This is good," remarked Gandhiji, "because it shows that those who need Nature Cure treatment are coming forward to avail themselves of it." If the work proceeded according to plan, he explained at the evening prayer gathering, he intended to stay for at least four months in the year in their midst. During his absence his colleagues would continue to direct and guide them according to his instructions. "The practice of nature cures does not require high academic qualifications or much erudition. Simplicity is the essence of universality. Nothing that is meant for the benefit of the millions requires much erudition. The latter can be acquired only by the few and therefore can benefit the rich only. But India lives in her seven lakhs of villages—obscure, tiny, out-of-the-way villages, where the population in some cases hardly exceeds a few hundred, very often not even a few score. I would like to go and settle down in some such village. That is real India, my India, for which I live. You cannot take to these humble people the paraphernalia of highly qualified doctors and hospital equipment. In simple natural remedies and *Ramanam* lies their only hope."

He had been told that there was hardly any disease in Uruli. Probably what was meant was that no epidemic was prevalent, that being the popular conception of disease. But from the cases that had come to him during the last two days it was clear that ill health there was in plenty in Uruli. "If you do as I ask you to," he told the villagers, "Uruli will become an ideal village, to see which people will come from far."

He then proceeded to give them his first discourse on Nature Cure principles. The following is its gist.

#### NATURE CURE EXPOUNDED

"Man's physical body is composed of five natural elements, i. e. air, water, earth, fire or *tejas* (the energizing principle) and ether (space). The soul quickens it.

"The most essential of these is air. Man can live without food for several weeks, without water for some time, but without air he cannot live for more than a few minutes. God has therefore made air universally available. Shortages of food or water there may be at times but of air never. In spite of it we foolishly deprive ourselves of God's blessing of fresh and pure air by sleeping within doors with doors and windows shut. One may shut the doors and windows if he is afraid of thieves at night. But why should one shut oneself up?

"To get fresh air, one must sleep in the open. But it is no good sleeping in the open only to breathe dust and dirt-laden air. The place where you sleep must be free from both. Some people cover their faces as a protection against dust and cold. It is a remedy worse than the disease. Then there is the evil habit of breathing through the mouth. Mouth is the organ of ingestion. It is not the organ of breathing. The air passing through the nasal passages is filtered and purified and at the same time warmed up before it enters the lungs.

"Anyone who fouls the air by spitting about carelessly, throwing refuse and rubbish or otherwise dirtying the ground, sins against man and nature. Man's body is the temple of God. Anyone who fouls the air that is to enter that temple desecrates it. He takes the name of *Rama* in vain."

In the end he warned them that they should be prepared to find in him a hard taskmaster. If he stayed in their midst he would neither spare himself nor them. He would visit their homes, inspect their streets, their drains, their kitchens, their latrines. He would tolerate neither dust nor dirt anywhere.

Uruli, 23-3-'46

PYARELAL

By M. K. Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

April 7

1946

## IMPLICATIONS OF 'QUIT INDIA'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In terms of non-violence 'Quit India' is a healthy, potent cry of the soul. It is not a slogan. It means the end, through means purely truthful and non-violent, of foreign rule and domination. It does not mean the foreigner's destruction but his willing conversion to Indian life. In this scheme there is no room for hatred of the foreigner. He is a man, even as we are. It is fear of him that gives rise to hatred. Fear gone, there can be no hatred.

Thus his conversion implies our conversion too. If we cease to be inferiors, he cannot be our superior. His arsenals and his weapons, typified in their extreme in the atom bomb, should have no terror for us. It follows that we may not covet them. We often make the mistake of thinking that we must first have things before we cease to covet them. This tempting argument leads to the prolongation of the agony. Must I do all the evil I can, before I learn to shun it? Is it not enough to know the evil to shun it? If not, we should be sincere enough to admit that we love evil too well to give it up.

Let us assume that foreign rule is ended. What should the foreigner do? He could hardly be considered free when he was protected by British arms. As a free man, he will discover that it was wrong to possess privileges which the millions of India could not enjoy. He will live doing his duty as behoves a son of India. He will no longer live at India's expense. On the contrary, he will give India all his talents and by his services render himself indispensable to the land of his adoption.

If this is true of the European, how much more true must it be for those Anglo-Indians and others who have adopted European manners and customs in order to be classed as Europeans demanding preferential treatment? All such people will find themselves ill at ease, if they expect continuation of the favoured treatment hitherto enjoyed by them. They should rather feel thankful that they will be disburdened of preferential treatment to which they had no right by any known canon of reasoning and which was derogatory to their dignity.

We have all—rulers and ruled—been living so long in a stifling unnatural atmosphere that we might well feel in the beginning that we have lost the lungs for breathing the invigorating ozone of freedom. If the reality comes in an orderly, that is a non-violent manner because the parties feel that it is right, it will be a revealing lesson for the world.

Uruli, 29-3-'46

## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have no doubt in my mind that Hindustani, i. e. a correct mixture of Hindi and Urdu, is the National language. But I have not yet been able to prove this in my own writings or speech. Let not readers of 'Harijansevak', however, be irritated. Perhaps it is as well that the attempt to create a national language has come into the hands of an inept. After all the general mass of people come in this category. It will be through the efforts of all such that linguistic *pandits* will be enabled to create the proper mixture, easily understood by all. If readers of 'Harijansevak' will keep on pointing out mistakes in language, it will help the journal to create and maintain a proper style. It will be the aim of 'Harijansevak' to make its language sweet to the ear and easily understandable to every Indian. A language which is not generally understood is useless. It is unreal if it cannot serve its purpose. All attempts at having a forced language have proved futile.

Uruli, 30-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## IS NETAJI ALIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some years ago it was announced in the newspapers that Subhas Chandra Bose had died. I believed the report. Later the news was proved to have been incorrect. Since then I have had a feeling that Netaji could not leave us until his dream of Swaraj had been fulfilled. To lend strength to this feeling was the knowledge of Netaji's great ability to hoodwink his enemies and even the world for the sake of his cherished goal. These were the only reasons for my belief that he was alive.

I have not the ability for foretelling the future. I have no strength except what comes from insistence on truth. Non-violence too springs from the same insistence. God alone knows absolute truth. Therefore, I have often said, Truth is God. It follows that man, a finite being, cannot know absolute truth. Therefore, I had nothing but my instinct to tell me that Netaji was alive. No reliance can be placed on such unsupported feeling.

On the other hand, there is strong evidence to counteract the feeling. The British Government is party to that evidence. Capt. Habibur Rahman has said he was present at the time of Netaji's death and has brought back his charred wrist watch. Another of his companions Shri Iyer met and told me that my instinct was wrong and I should abandon the feeling that Subhas Chandra was alive. In the face of these proofs I appeal to everyone to forget what I have said and believing in the evidence before them reconcile themselves to the fact that Netaji has left us. All man's ingenuity is as nothing before the might of the One God. He alone is Truth and nothing else stands.

Uruli, 30-3-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)



## WITH AN ENGLISH FRIEND

An English friend who visited Gandhiji during his stay at Sodepur dropped a remark which set Gandhiji off to describe some of his experiences of the disability attaching to colour in South Africa. The question deeply interested the friend. He thought that it was perhaps at its worst in South Africa. Gandhiji, however, was doubtful. He feared it was probably as bad in America. The friend who had actually gone down to Richmond "to have a flavour of the South" could not gainsay the force of Gandhiji's remark but contended that the extraordinary conditions there presented a peculiar problem. "I can understand the American prejudice against the Negro," he added.

RACE PREJUDICE IN SOUTH AFRICA  
AND INDIA

"Arguing on those lines," replied Gandhiji, "you will be able to understand the prejudice in South Africa too. The root cause—a false notion of preservation of the race and economic status—is common to both. The difference is only one of degree. If you apply concrete facts to individual cases it is half a dozen of one and six of the other. It is on a par with the racial prejudice here."

"Oh, no. Here it is much less."

Gandhiji: "Yes, owing to the vast disparity in numbers. But take the case of the individual who actually suffers. His experience does not differ from that of the coloured man in South Africa or America."

The friend agreed. "We, Englishmen are apt to forget that side of the question," he remarked.

"Habit becomes second nature. There may be no deliberate intention either," replied Gandhiji.

"In the Punjab and Delhi," resumed the friend, "races mix much more freely than elsewhere." Was that due to the fact that the disparity in numbers was comparatively less there?

Gandhiji was of opinion that the contrast presented by Bengal in this respect was perhaps due to the violent spirit having manifested itself there on a much larger scale than in Delhi or in the Punjab. The Punjab did show the violent spirit in some measure. But it was not a patch upon Bengal. The daring of the Chittagong Armoury Raid was neither attempted nor duplicated anywhere else.

"I have often thought over it," remarked the friend, "and it has always baffled me how these Bengali youngmen, so gentle by nature, have drifted into violence."

## THE SPECTRE OF VIOLENCE

"I have solved it for myself," replied Gandhiji. "They feel they have been unjustly libelled in the past. Lord Curzon harped upon their softness. It soured them. So they say, 'We may not be wealthy, but surely we are not effeminate.' So they adopted this devious method and surpassed every other province in daring. They defied death, defied poverty and even public opinion. I have discussed this question of violence threadbare with so many terrorists and anarchists. It is terrible

whether the Arab does it or the Jew. It is a bad outlook for the world, if this spirit of violence takes hold of the mass mind. Ultimately in destroying itself it destroys the race."

"And it has spread all over the world for the last two or three years," interpolated the friend.

Gandhiji resumed: "Look at the latest ukase of Gen. MacArthur. He has divided the entire Japanese nation into two categories, those whom he calls war criminals and those who do not come under that label. As I read it, it struck me that this was not the best way to introduce democracy among the Japanese—a race so proud, so sensitive, so highly organized along western lines. They will do what the Italians did in Garibaldi's time on a much larger scale. You cannot deal with the human race on these lines. Whatever happens in one part of the world will affect the other parts. The world has so shrunk."

## IS THE WORLD GOING BACK?

This evoked from the friend the observation that he did not think that the world had deteriorated so much theoretically as it might have during the last three years. Gandhiji agreed with him though his grounds, he remarked, were different.

"My reason for that belief," continued the friend, "is that in spite of the fact that suffering, for instance, in Indonesia and elsewhere has been appalling during the last three years, the human mind has not been equally warped."

Gandhiji: "My hope is based on a detached view of the situation. Whilst in detention in the Aga Khan Palace I had leisure to read and think. What struck me was that whilst practice showed deterioration the mind of men had very much progressed. Practice has not been able to keep pace with the mind. Man has begun to say, 'This is wrong, that is wrong.' Whereas previously he justified his conduct, he now no longer justifies his own or his neighbour's. He wants to set right the wrong but does not know that his own practice fails him. The contradiction between his thought and conduct fetters him. His conduct is not governed by logic. Then, of course, there is my standing prediction in favour of non-violence that it will prevail—whatever man may or may not do. That keeps my optimism alive. Extensive personal experience too confirms my belief that non-violence is self-acting. It will have its way and overcome all obstacles irrespective of the shortcomings of the instruments. "It makes no difference," he concluded, "how we arrive at our conclusion, but it keeps us fresh and green."

## LIVING UP TO 125 YEARS

The conversation next turned upon Gandhiji's pet theme of living up to 125 years. Gandhiji's visitor wanted to know how he managed to keep physically fit. Gandhiji replied that outwardly he owed his physical fitness to strict adherence to regular habits in eating, drinking and sleeping and to his partiality for nature cure principles which he had adopted strictly in life since 1901. Reminiscently he described how up till 1901 he used the medicine bottle but had almost thrown it away,

and for fortyfive years he had lived more or less according to nature cure principles.

"But in a still greater measure," emphasized Gandhiji, "it is due to the practice of detachment of mind. By detachment I mean that one must not worry whether the desired result follows from your action or not, so long as your motive is pure, your means correct. Really, it means that things will come right in the end if you take care of the means and leave the rest to Him." He based his belief on the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita* which he had called his "dictionary of action".

The friend remarked on the close analogy between the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the thesis presented in Aldous Huxley's "Ends and Means". The mention of Aldous Huxley's name revived in Gandhiji's mind memories of old days about Aldous Huxley's father whose writings he used to read during his student days in London in 1889.

"But there is a physical side all the same?" questioned the friend.

Gandhiji: "Yes, only I attach greater importance to the mental. What you think you become. Thought is never complete unless it finds expression in action and action limits your thought. It is only when there is a perfect accord between the two, that there is full, natural life."

#### ALCHEMY OF DETACHMENT

"But what about the legacy of one's past life? It cannot be written off the balance sheet."

"I have my answer for that," replied Gandhiji. "If my past conduct does not warrant the full span of life, no matter how correct my present life may be, I can still counteract the effect of past mistakes by attaining complete detachment between the mind and the body. Detachment enables one to overcome the effects of past faulty practice as well as handicaps of heredity and environment. Normally speaking, every deviation from the rule of nature, whether ignorant or wilful, e. g. anger, ill temper, impatience, errors in conjugal life, exacts its toll. But there is this promise that if you have arrived at complete detachment you can rub out all these. 'Except ye be born again, ye cannot have everlasting life.' Conversely, you can have everlasting life if you are 'born again'. There is no hurdle placed before death. You can turn over a new leaf and begin life anew here and now; the past will not disturb its tenor provided you have completely severed yourself from it and its legacy by the axe of detachment."

#### LIFE AS SACRAMENT

As I listened to the argument I was reminded of a passage in the Upanishads which Pandit Malaviyaji had recited to Gandhiji when they last met at Benares on the occasion of the convocation ceremony of the Kashi Vishvavidyalaya. In that passage the various periods in man's life are likened to the various sacrificial rituals enjoined in the different periods of the day on the householder. If a person eats, drinks, laughs and lives, not for the satisfaction of the senses but for service only and

to glorify God, his life becomes a veritable cycle of sacrifice which disease or death dare not interrupt. Hunger, thirst and self-denial of such a person will correspond to the *Diksha* (initiation) of the sacrificer; eating, drinking and recreation to *Upasada*, i. e. the nourishment taken at the time of the breaking of the fast to prevent the vital air from going out; laughter and enjoyment to the hymn of praise to the Lord of Sacrifice which the sacrificer chants.

On the previous occasion when this friend had visited Gandhiji, Gandhiji had done all the talking and the friend had listened. This time Gandhiji had intended that he would only speak in answer to questions and let the friend do the talking but the friend again had the better of his resolve.

"I admit defeat. After all you are a practised journalist," Gandhiji remarked, discomfited, at the end of their talk.

"I am only human," replied the friend as he took leave with a warm handshake.

Poona, 2-3-'46

PYARELAL

#### CONSTRUCTIVE NON-VIOLENCE

The Friends Ambulance Unit is a war time organization which first came into being in 1914. In 1939 its scope was extended and it was organized again "to give men and women holding pacifist views the opportunity to serve during war time by relieving suffering and distress".

Akin to F. A. U. is the American Friends Service Committee. It represents the Meetings of the Society of Friends in North America. It was organized in 1917. Since then it has been attempting "through practical service in relief and reconstruction, to demonstrate the Quaker belief in the power of love and goodwill to develop kinship and understanding between peoples". It was the late Pierre Ceresole who tried to work out on an international scale the idea of combating war through constructive non-violence by organizing the International Voluntary Service for Peace. His work in pursuance of this ideal in Bihar after the great earthquake in 1934 is well known. Following his trail, members of the F. A. U. came to India from England in June 1942 and devoted themselves to the alleviation of destruction caused by the Midnapore cyclone of 1942 and the Bengal Famine of 1943. They were joined by members of the American Friends Service Committee in May 1944. Since then the two have been working as a single agency. Their activity included operating food canteens and orphanages for children, organizing and supervizing milk canteens, providing medical relief, setting up industrial centres in devastated areas to provide employment to the destitute and forming fishermens', weavers' and agricultural co-operatives. Their general plan is to "work through Indian organizations as much as possible", it being their belief that "they will have achieved success in any project only when they have made themselves unnecessary to its continuance".

With the threat of an India-wide famine in the offing, the Friends Ambulance Unit has again begun to organize for action. "As outsiders we hope we can play a useful part by providing a link between

the people and the Government," said Horace Alexander to Gandhiji, whom he accompanied to Poona to renew contact with him after a period of nearly four years. "The Government is not suspicious of us and they have the reassurance that we won't suspect their motives. What is more, we are not regarded with suspicion by the people as the Government is. If you think that we should go ahead you might say something which would encourage and help us and also strengthen the hands of our agents in America in obtaining an adequate quota of food supplies." Gandhiji in reply commended the example of Ruey Alley the New Zealander and his companion George Hogg in connection with the organization of Indusco in China. Although they were foreigners they inspired the Chinese with self-confidence. There was, of course, the other side of the picture too. As for F. A. U.'s plan of work for the prevention of famine, while generally approving of it, Gandhiji did not like the idea of what he called "begging for food from outside". "If food comes it would be welcome. But we should not depend on it. India is the granary of the East and now she has to go a-begging for food to America and other countries. I do not like this. Somehow or other, if we rely on self-help, strength comes, we do not know from where. Probably it comes from the original source and people feel they need not die. Moreover, arrival of food in the ports by itself would not solve the problem unless it is made available where it is most needed. Distribution is the real problem. Unless it is tackled there is danger that the food will rot in the ports while people are dying in the interior. At present it seems almost a hopeless task through the present corruption. A Government official sent a note the other day showing how it would be at least two months between the arrival of the food ships in the ports and the food actually reaching the affected areas. In the meantime what are the people to do? I have, therefore, suggested that they should utilize the subsoil water to grow whatever they can by their own effort. If crores take up the cue, they can do much to save themselves even before the food arrives from outside."

Horace next told Gandhiji that the F. A. U. are developing work of a more permanent nature for the upliftment of Bengal villages. For instance, they are trying to attack the problem of poverty from four or five different angles simultaneously. They had discussed the question with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who had approved of the idea for two reasons. "With the coming of freedom, he felt, we might help in post war economic rehabilitation so that the high expectations entertained by the people of the national government might not be belied. Besides, a body of people from the West serving the people here would act as an antidote to racial feeling which might otherwise oversweep the country in the first flush of freedom." Gandhiji agreed entirely with Pandit Nehru. "Any person who does such work is worth his weight in gold," he said. He shared Pandit

Nehru's fear too. "Pandit Nehru has done well to point to the danger signal," he added. But he felt that the danger was even deeper. The face of the picture as he viewed it seemed horrifying. The feeling towards Europeans was rising all through the East. There were so many complex forces working on the mass mind. If the maelstrom broke out the F. A. U. might have to bear the brunt of it. They must be prepared for that sacrifice. But whilst they should be prepared for the worst he wanted them to share with him the hope that all would be well in the end. "To see the danger clearly and yet to remain unperturbed in the face of it, trusting to God's goodness, is true wisdom," he concluded.

Uruli, Saturday, 23-3-'46

PYARELAL

### SATYAGRAHA—THE ART OF LIVING AND DYING

At the mammoth gathering numbering over two lakhs in Shivaji Park on 14-3-'46, Gandhiji delivered an important address in Hindustani, of which the following is the gist :

"The singing of *Ramadhun* is the most important part of congregational prayer. The millions may find it difficult to correctly recite and understand the Gita verses and the Arabic and *Zend Avesta* prayers, but everybody can join in chanting *Ramanam* or God's name. It is as simple as it is effective. Only it must proceed from the heart. In its simplicity lies its greatness and the secret of its universality. Anything that millions can do together becomes charged with a unique power.

"I congratulate you on your success in the mass singing of *Ramadhun* without any previous training. But it is capable of further improvement. You should practise it in your homes. I am here to testify that when it is sung in tune to the accompaniment of *tal*, the triple accord of the voice, the accompaniment and thought creates an atmosphere of ineffable sweetness and strength which no words can describe.

"I introduced the practice of having congregational prayer some time before the commencement of the South African Satyagraha struggle. The Indian community there was faced with a grave peril. We did all that was humanly possible. All methods of seeking redress, agitation through the press and the platform, petitions and deputations, were tried but proved of no avail. What was the Indian community consisting of a mere handful of illiterate indentured labourers mostly, with a sprinkling of free merchants, hawkers etc. to do in the midst of an overwhelming majority of Negroes and Whites? The Whites were fully armed. It was clear that if the Indians were to come into their own, they must forge a weapon which would be different from and infinitely superior to the force which the White settlers commanded in such ample measure. It was then that I introduced congregational prayer in Phoenix and Tolstoy Farm as a means for a training in the use of the weapon of Satyagraha or soul force.

"The root of Satyagraha is in prayer. A Satyagrahi relies upon God for protection against the tyranny of brute force. Why should you then be always afraid of

the British or anybody playing you false? If someone deceives you, he will be the loser. The fight of Satyagraha is for the strong in spirit, not the doubter or the timid. Satyagraha teaches us the art of living as well as dying. Birth and death are inevitable among mortals. What distinguishes the man from the brute is his conscious striving to realize the spirit within. The last eighteen verses of the second chapter of the *Gita* which are recited at the prayer give in a nutshell the secret of the art of living. It is given there in the form of a description of a *sthitaprajna* or the man of steady wisdom i.e. a Satyagrahi, in reply to Arjun's query to Lord Krishna.

"The art of dying follows as a corollary from the art of living. Death must come to all. A man may die of a lightning stroke or as a result of heart failure or failure of respiration. But that is not the death that a Satyagrahi can wish for or pray for himself. The art of dying for a Satyagrahi consists in facing death cheerfully in the performance of one's duty. That is an art which the people of Bombay apparently have not yet learnt. It is not enough not to want to hurt or take the life of your enemy. You are no Satyagrahis if you remain silent or passive spectators while your enemy is being done to death. You must protect him even at the cost of your life. If thousands in India learnt that art, the face of India would be changed and no one would be able to point his finger of scorn at her non-violence as being a cloak for weakness. We would not then try to shift blame for ugly happenings on the hooligan elements. We would convert and control the hooligan elements too.

"We are passing through a crisis in our history. Danger besets us on all sides. But we shall convert it into our opportunity if we realize the power of Satyagraha than which there is nothing more potent on earth."

Uruli, 24-3-'46

PYARELAL

### FOR SHAME !

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech at Rungta House prayer gathering in Bombay on the evening of 11-3-'46.

"The news of the recent events in Bombay has filled me with shame and humiliation as it must have you too. Let me hope that none of those who are here took part in these disgraceful happenings. But that alone would not entitle you to my congratulations. We have reached a stage when nobody can afford to sit on the fence or take refuge in the 'ambiguous middle'. One has to speak out and stand up for one's convictions. Inaction at a time of conflagration is inexcusable. Is it too difficult an ideal to follow? Let me tell you, however, that this is the only course that will take us safely through the present difficult times.

### NO MORAL ALIBIS

"It has become the fashion these days to ascribe all such ugly manifestations to the activities of hooligans. It hardly becomes us to take refuge in that moral alibi. Who are the hooligans after all? They are our own countrymen and so long as any countryman of ours indulges in such acts we cannot disown responsibility for them consistently with our claim that we are one people. It matters little whether those who were responsible for the happenings are denounced as *goondas* or praised as patriots — praise and blame

must equally belong to us all. The only manly and becoming course for those who are aspiring to be free is to accept either whilst doing our duty.

### "THE WAY OF THE LORD"

"In eating, sleeping and in the performance of other physical functions, man is not different from the brute. What distinguishes him from the brute is his ceaseless striving to rise above the brute on the moral plane. Mankind is at the cross roads. It has to make its choice between the law of the jungle and the law of humanity. We in India deliberately adopted the latter twentyfive years back but I am afraid that whilst we profess to follow the higher way our practice has not always conformed to our profession. We have always proclaimed from the housetops that non-violence is the way of the brave but there are some amongst us who have brought *ahimsa* into disrepute by using it as a weapon of the weak. In my opinion, to remain a passive spectator of the kind of crimes that Bombay has witnessed of late is cowardice. Let me say in all humility that *ahimsa* belongs to the brave. Pritam has sung: "The way of the Lord is for the Brave, not for the Coward." By the way of the Lord is here meant the way of non-violence and truth. I have said before that I do not envisage God other than truth and non-violence. If you have accepted the doctrine of *ahimsa* without a full realization of its implications you are at liberty to repudiate it. I believe in confessing one's mistakes and correcting them. Such confession strengthens one and purifies the soul. *Ahimsa* calls for the strength and courage to suffer without retaliation, to receive blows without returning any. But that does not exhaust its meaning. Silence becomes cowardice when occasion demands speaking out the whole truth and acting accordingly. We have to cultivate that courage, if we are to win India's independence through truth and non-violence as proclaimed by the Congress. It is an ideal worth living for and dying for. Every one of you who has accepted that ideal should feel that inasmuch as a single English woman or child is assaulted it is a challenge to your creed of non-violence and you should protect the threatened victim even at the cost of your life. Then alone you will have the right to sing "The way of the Lord is for the Brave, not for the Coward." To attack defenceless English women and children because one has a grievance against the present Government hardly becomes a human being.

### TO SUSPECT IS UNMANLY

"The British Cabinet Ministers' Delegation will soon be in our midst. To suspect their *bona fides* in advance would also be a variety of weakness. As brave people it is our duty to take at its face value the declaration of the British Ministers that they are coming to restore to India what is her due. If a debtor came to your house in contrition to repay his debt, would it not be your duty to welcome him? On the other hand, would it not be unmanly to treat him with insult and humiliation in remembrance of past injustice? Let the British Government prove for the final time that they do not mean to act according to their professions. It will be time to act, if they do so. Till then the only manly course is to maintain dignified silence."

PYARELAL



## WEEKLY LETTER—II

## NO LONGER MERCENARY

In Uruli there is a big military camp. Hardly a day passed after Gandhiji's arrival in Uruli when a group of Indian military men did not contact him. They met him during his morning walks, they were at his evening prayer gatherings, but particularly interesting were the two batches who saw him at his residence.

"We are soldiers," they said apologetically and added, "but we are soldiers of Indian freedom."

"I am glad to hear that," replied Gandhiji. "For, so far you have mostly been instrumental in the suppression of Indian freedom. Have you heard of Jallianwala Bagh?"

"Oh, yes. But those days are past. We were in those days like the proverbial frog-in-the-well. We have now seen the world, our eyes have been opened."

"We admit we are mercenaries," interpolated another. "But our hearts are no longer so." The reference was to the use by Gandhiji five or six years ago of the expression 'mercenary', to describe Indian troops.

"I am glad to hear that," answered Gandhiji. "But, let me tell you my use of that expression was not intended to cast any reflection upon you. It was only descriptive of a soldiery that serves a foreign government for a living. My use of that expression at the time brought a hornet's nest round my ears. But I could not withdraw it; I said our present army system should go."

## WHEN INDIA IS INDEPENDENT

"What would be our position when India is independent," asked still another soldier.

"Why, you will fully share that independence and breathe the air of freedom with your countrymen," replied Gandhiji. But that was not the point of his question. Gandhiji proceeded: "Independent India will have need of you. You have had military training. You will give India the benefit of that training. You have learnt the lesson of camaraderie under common danger. It would be a bad day if the moment that peril is lifted, the lesson is lost."

"But in Free India you won't be pampered as you are today," he continued. "You won't have these lavish privileges with which a foreign government bribes you at the expense of India's poor. India is destitute. You cannot serve her unless you are prepared to share her destitution. I told Captain Shah Nawaz that if the I. N. A. people succumb to the lionization of an India pining for freedom and forget her destitution, they will earn not the blessings but the silent execration of their countrymen. The same applies to you. Unless you are prepared to forego your privileges you will feel sorry when independence comes and sigh for the return of old times and old masters."

## A NEW FERMENT

"There was a time," remarked one of them, "when we were not allowed to read any civil newspaper. And now we go and tell our officers that we are going to see our greatest leader, and no one dares to stop us."

"I know," replied Gandhiji, "there is a new ferment and a new awakening among all the army ranks today. Not a little of the credit for this happy change belongs to Netaji Bose. I disapprove of his method but he has rendered a signal service to India by giving the Indian soldier a new vision and a new ideal."

"How anybody can think of dividing India into two, three or more parts, we army men are at a loss to understand. We know only one India for which we have fought and shed our blood," remarked a senior ranker among them.

"Well, it requires all sorts to make the world," replied Gandhiji. And they all laughed.

"May we shout slogans?" they finally asked in a chorus with the naivete and eclat of children.

"Well, you may," replied Gandhiji and there was a deafening roar as they shouted 'Jai Hind', 'Netaji Jai', and so on repeatedly.

The next day a special train carried about eight hundred of them to another camp. As it passed in front of Gandhiji's residence, from the patriotic exuberance of their slogans, it might as well have been a congress special carrying delegates to an extraordinary session.

## IN HARIJAN QUARTERS

Gandhiji has given the reasons for his deciding to stay in Harijan quarters during his forthcoming visits to Bombay and Delhi. The news from Gujarat had set him furiously thinking. "Your day dawns, they say, from the moment you wake up. Having woken up I cannot now rest. . . ." He wrote to Thakkar Bapa on the nineteenth: "You know, I used to stay in the East End even during the Round Table Conference. East End might be described as the Harijan quarters of London. In the room I occupied there was hardly accommodation enough for two. A chest of drawers was the only furniture—no table, no chairs. One slept on the floor. All around were the slums. And yet Kingsley Hall itself would be called a model of cleanliness." Thakkar Bapa's reply—the inveterate Harijan that he is like Gandhiji himself—was characteristic. He would himself hereafter stay with him in the Harijan quarters!

The Sardar's reaction was equally characteristic. "It will be as you wish," he wrote in reply to Gandhiji's letter. "But at present one cannot get enough room in Bombay to bury one's dead and you want fresh accommodation to be improvised for the living!" Wired Devdas Gandhi from New Delhi: Would not Gandhiji, in view of the specific nature of his mission this time, agree to stay with the Birlas as before? But Gandhiji was adamant. The iron had entered into his soul. Even his present mission would be better served from Harijan quarters, he replied. India's slavery under the British rule is hardly two centuries old. Yet we are impatient to see it ended here and now. How dare we, now that India is on the threshold of the promised land, ask Harijans to subsist on the promise of a distant Utopia? Gandhiji's decision dramatizes his reply to this challenge. The emancipation of Harijans cannot wait. It must be 'now or never'. If in Free India the Harijans still continue to be the underdog his place will be with them.

## TEST OF BONA FIDES

Gandhiji was discussing some time back with an English friend the difficult task ahead of the Cabinet Mission. There was an unprecedented upsurge for independence among the masses on the one hand and on the other what he had called "the unholy combination" at bottom among the Hindus and Mussalmans for a joint violent purpose. "I could have understood it if they had combined from top to bottom. That would, of course, have meant delivering India over to the rabble. I would not want to live up to 125 to witness that consummation. I would rather perish in the flames."

"The Mission are coming fresh after a bloody victory," he continued. "They have now an opportunity to add to it the laurels of a bloodless peace. It will be a glorious thing for them and the world if they rise to the occasion and do justice to India even though it might mean reducing themselves (it won't be so in fact) to insignificance. That would be the height of non-violence. But miracles have happened in the world."

"So you believe in miracles?" twitted the friend.

"I do and I do not," replied Gandhiji. "God does not work through miracles. But the divine mind is



revealed in a flash and it appears like a miracle to man. We do not know God, we know Him only through the working of His law. He and His law are one. There is nothing outside His law. Even earthquakes and tempests do not occur without His will—not a blade of grass grows but He wills it. Satan is here only on His sufferance, not independently of Him.”

“By justice do you mean that they should agree to withdraw the British army without stipulating any conditions?” asked the friend.

SINISTER ?

“I do,” unhesitatingly replied Gandhiji. “Freedom will be truly won only when the British army is withdrawn from the whole of India, not excluding Indian States.”

“Otherwise, it would be sinister,” remarked the friend.

This raises the question of the status of the States in an independent India. There has been of late some loose talk of their claiming independence with the termination of British suzerainty and being free to enter into fresh, independent treaty relations with Great Britain. All this is moonshine. It has been pointed out by eminent jurists that although in *law* the relations of the Indian States are with the Crown, the British Constitution and its Indian auxiliary are so built that the *theory* of Crown relations has no other way of expressing itself than in the *practice* of Government of India relations. In the natural course of events the would-be Free Government of India must inherit and exercise *all* the prerogatives and functions that the Government of India exercises either in its own right or under delegated authority of the Crown, just as the Government of India exercised all the Company's powers when it succeeded the latter in 1858. The theory of “independent treaty States” bearing direct personal allegiance to the British Crown is an exploded myth not worthy of a moment's consideration. To quote from the Butler Committee's report:

“It is not in accordance with historical facts that when the States came into contact with British Power they were independent. Some were rescued, others were created by the British.”

It was Sir Samuel Hoare who outspokenly told the Princes in the House of Commons that paramountcy must remain paramount. The only way in which they could lighten the paramountcy for themselves was by exchanging it with the control of the Federal Government. If they had the most of Federation, they would be under the least of paramountcy. Any attempt to retain the States as pockets of British influence and power or, as Lord Canning—referring to the anxious days of 1857-58—put it in his famous dispatch, as “breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave”, would be looked upon by the people of India with the gravest suspicion and render all British *bona fides* unacceptable.

Lastly, the ante-diluvian classification of States into Hindu, Muslim and Shikh States must go by the board. The future complexion of the administration of a State shall be determined only by the composition of its population, not by any vested interest within or outside it. The Princes can retain their present title only as constitutional symbols of sovereignty which must ultimately vest in their subjects. In no other capacity can they claim a place in the councils of an Independent India. To quote the late Prof. Keith:

“There is in fact no answer to Mr. Gandhi's claim that the princes are bound to follow the Crown in the transfer of authority to the people.”

On the train to Delhi, 31-3-'46

PYARELAL

## KASTURBA SMARAK TRUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There were two meetings at Uruli Kanchan on the 28th, 29th and 30th March; one of the Agents of this Trust and the other of the Executive. The meeting of the Agents was the first of its kind. The Agents had many interesting questions. Why could not the Agents be members of the legislatures? The obvious answer is that if they are to do justice to their work, they should have no time for legislative duties. The decisive reason is that the villagers will have a wrong example set to them, if they have members of legislatures to look up to.

Whatever the sphere of work they choose they should not be nonentities. It should be remembered that the Agents have displaced the committees that were appointed for the last year. If they cover the whole province, they have their work cut out for them. If they cannot cope with it, they have to run model *shibirs* in one or more places to prepare women workers for villages. These may be teachers, nurses, spinners, weavers, sanitarians, etc. Work by women among women in the villages of India is an unbeaten track. Men are hardly fit for it. But the women have so long remained without experience of such work that it is difficult, especially in the initial stages. If the Agents attempt at intensity and confine their activity to certain centres, they will find the work to be simple and instructive.

Then they have their advisers. They are not meant to be ornamental. Their advice should always be at the disposal of the Agents. If they are well-chosen, they must prove towers of strength to the Agents in their difficult task.

The experiment of having women only as Agents is new. It can only succeed if they are wisely guided by the Centre and ably advised by the advisers. Much as it is to be wished that they too were women, the fear is that in the beginning they will be mostly men. The advisers should never aspire to be more than such and never be less. It should be their proud privilege to give the Agents their advice whenever it is sought. The members of the defunct committees, it is hoped, will never feel that they have been displaced for any other reason save the patent and potent one of manning the organization with women from top to bottom. The secret of success in this as in any other organization lies in the spirit of service actuating its every limb and self being subordinated to the organization.

On the train to Delhi, 31-3-'46

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

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[ THREE ANNAS

## WHAT IS IN A NAME?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. From the psychological point of view, I think, the name 'Harijan' instils into the minds of the people to whom it is applied a feeling of inferiority, however sacred that name may be. This feeling is very difficult to wipe out from them — to whatever extent they are advanced — if they are always called 'Harijan'. Similarly, if a man in the street is asked about a 'Harijan' the first thing he will speak of is 'untouchability and the depressed class'. Would it not be possible to save the 'Harijan' from involuntarily acquiring such an inferiority feeling and other people from thinking about them without the 'qualification' usually ascribed to them? Would it not be preferable to choose a name which could also bring in its fold people from other sects?

A. This subject was years ago dealt with in the pages of "Young India". The name 'Harijan' has sacred associations. It was suggested by a Harijan as a substitute for *Asprishya* (untouchable), *Dalita* (depressed), or for the different categories of 'untouchables' such as *bhangis*, *mehtars*, *chamars*, *pariahs*, etc. The Government officers put them in a schedule and therefore called them the Scheduled Classes, thus making confusion worse confounded. Those who were not untouchables were classed among the scheduled and the ones who could be so called were excluded. We have now arrived at a stage, thanks to the Government policy, when to be included among the Scheduled Classes is to be coveted. The Government have created a separate electorate agitating for seats in all elective institutions. I do not mind such ambition, if it carries honest merit with it. But it becomes positively mischievous, when seats are coveted irrespective of merit. The wish to be so educated as to be qualified for the highest post is to be appreciated and encouraged, the wish to be appointed to such a post on the basis of belonging to a caste or a class is essentially to be deprecated and discouraged.

The real remedy has been suggested by me. The feeling of inferiority must go. It is going, but too slowly. The process can be accelerated, if every Hindu would deliberately shed his superiority and in practice become a Harijan or, if you like, a *mehtar*, the lowest class among Harijans. Then we will all become true children of God as the word 'Harijan' means. Until this is done, no matter which word signifies 'Untouchables', it will smell of inferiority. The process has to be carried out thoroughly in

every walk of life till the last trace of untouchability is removed. When that happy day arrives, every quarter will be a Harijan quarter and cleanliness of the heart and the home will be the order of the day.

New Delhi, 5-4-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### FIRST STEP NOT THE LAST

As in Bombay so at New Delhi Gandhiji has put up in Harijan quarters. Two small tents and a *shamiana* have been put up on the precincts of the Valmiki Mandir to improvise extra accommodation for his party. Years ago he had sent the late Shri Mahadev Desai to visit these quarters and in reporting the fine work among the Harijans that was being done by some philanthropic *Savarna* Hindus, the late Shri Desai had expressed the wish that Gandhiji might some day be able to go and stay in those quarters. It therefore gave him supreme satisfaction to be able to do so. "I have of late been saying," he remarked in his first public utterance after the evening public prayer on the day of his arrival in Delhi "that the Hindus have to become *atishudras* not merely in name but in thought, word and deed. For that token scavenging is not enough. I have therefore decided that I must go and actually live among Harijans in Harijan quarters."

"I however do not delude myself with the belief," he continued, "that by staying here I am sharing the actual life with the Harijans. I have seen some Harijan quarters and the squalor, the dirt and the filth in the midst of which the Harijans live. I know too that this place has been brightened up. Indeed, I feel embarrassed by the amenities that have been provided here by Sheth Birla for me and my party. My coming to stay here, I hope, is my first step, not the last. It is my constant prayer and I look forward to the day when I would actually go and stay in a Harijan hut, and partake of the food they may provide me there. In the meantime, it gives me some satisfaction to be able to live in this *dharmashala* surrounded by Harijan dwellings on all sides."

Referring next to a hostile demonstration which a certain section of the Harijans had tried to stage on his arrival, he observed: "How can I feel angry with them? I can quite understand their pent up resentment at the way in which they have been treated by the so-called *Savarnas*. They might even want to wreak vengeance. There is such a glaring contradiction between our profession and practice. They have a right to feel impatient. I can only

plead with them to bear with the Hindu society. An age-old evil cannot be eradicated in a day. I know it has to go or Hinduism must perish. In the meantime the least expiation that we can make is to share with the Harijans their disabilities and to deny ourselves the privileges which the latter cannot share. The present conditions under which they live should be intolerable even for a day to a decent-minded person. I pray for the time when the condition of life, as regards sanitation, cleanliness etc. in Harijan quarters will be such that even a person like myself might be able to go and stay there without any compunction."

Public prayer which in the beginning used to be held on the precincts of the Valmiki Mandir had soon to be shifted to the spacious maidan outside Ajmeri Gate for lack of sufficient accommodation. He had appealed on the first day that no one should come to the prayer gatherings merely for the sake of *darshana*. Only those should come who were earnest about prayer. But the crowd continued to swell daily and necessitated the change.

#### ZERO HOUR

The mission which brought Gandhiji here has been keeping him wholly occupied from early in the morning till night. To the strain of work is added the concern as to how the people will behave when the zero hour of India's independence arrives after the long servitude under the British rule full of bitter memories which are hard to forget. He is aware of the deep hatred of the British rule that is in the people's breast. What if it should break out in a conflagration? To forestall and prevent such a tragedy all his energies are bent. On Saturday last it kept him awake for the better part of the night. "I have been praying to God to give me the right word," he remarked to one of his companions in describing the night's vigil, "so that it will induce those to whom it is addressed to act with the courage and wisdom which the occasion demands."

During the week he accepted an invitation to attend a silent prayer service of the Friends and paid a visit to the I. N. A. camp and hospital. He summed up his reactions to the latter in a speech which will be found reproduced elsewhere.

New Delhi, 9-4-46

PYARELAL

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#### THE MESSAGE OF THE I. N. A.

The day after his visit to the I. N. A. prisoners Gandhiji said at the evening public prayer:

"Let me share with you the thoughts that have been crowding in my mind since yesterday. India has accorded to the released I. N. A. men a right royal welcome. They have been acclaimed as national heroes. Everybody seems to have been swept off his feet before the rising tide of popular sentiment. I must, however, frankly confess to you that I do

not share this indiscriminate hero worship. I admire the ability, sacrifice and patriotism of the I. N. A. and Netaji Bose. But I cannot subscribe to the method which they adopted and which is incompatible with the one followed by the Congress for the last twenty-five years for the attainment of independence. Yesterday I spoke to you of a *Sthita-prajna* (स्थितप्रज्ञ) i. e. "the man of steady wisdom", i. e. a Satyagrahi. If we accept that ideal we would not regard anybody as our enemy; we must shed all enmity and ill will. That ideal is not meant for the select few—the saint or the seer only; it is meant for all. I have described myself as a scavenger having become one, not only in name but in fact, while I was in Phoenix. It was there that I took up the bucket and the broom, impelled by the inner urge to identify myself with the lowest of the low. As a humble fellow toiler, then, let me bear witness that anyone, even a simple-minded villager who wants to and tries, can attain the state of mental equipoise described in the Gita verses which are recited at the prayer. We all lose our sanity at times, though we may not care to admit it or be even aware of it. A man with a steady mind will never lose patience, even with a child, or indulge in anger or abuse. Religion as taught in the Gita is a thing to be practised in this life. It is not a means for attaining merit in the next irrespective of what you may do here. That would be a negation of religion.

"For me the visit to the I. N. A. men in detention was a matter of pure duty. It gave me supreme satisfaction to be able to meet them, and they on their part received me with a warmth of affection which I shall always treasure. I have interpreted their welcome as a token of their recognition in me of a devoted servant of the country.

Netaji was like a son to me. I came to know him as a lieutenant full of promise under the late Deshabandhu Das. His last message to the I. N. A. was that whilst on foreign soil they had fought with arms, on their return to India they would have to serve the country as soldiers of non-violence under the guidance and leadership of the Congress. The message which the I. N. A. has for India is not adoption of the method of appeal to arms for settling disputes (it has been tried and found wanting), but of cultivating non-violence, unity, cohesion and organization.

"Though the I. N. A. failed in their immediate objective they have a lot to their credit of which they might well be proud. Greatest among these was to gather together under one banner men from all religions and races of India and to infuse into

Animal and human diseases no less than crop diseases are caused by artificials. £6 a year is the amount of money spent in England per head on medicines, and the cost of animal disease is estimated at one tenth of the farmer's total return from stock.

Foot and mouth disease is prevalent in England and the infected animals are sent to the slaughter house, stock movements being prohibited within a radius of fifteen miles from the parts affected by the disease. But Howard testifies that his oxen in India fed on compost-grown food failed to contract the disease, even when 'rubbing noses' with infected animals.

Balfour quotes from a correspondent who wrote :

"Cabbages . . . grown too fast with nitrate and phosphate are a curious 'wrong' colour. If over 50 p. c. of the green stuff given to rabbits is of this sort the rabbits die. If the phosphate goes beyond a certain point the field takes on an unnatural green and is deserted by wild rabbits." Salesmen use this as a recommendation: 'Use our soluble phosphate fertilizer and keep the rabbits away', or 'Use enough nitro-chalk, and you will get big greens that rabbits will scarcely touch; if they do, they die'.

It was found that cattle refused to graze in a field dressed with artificials.

Balfour also cites the case of a school which at first raised its vegetables with artificials and then with the Indore compost. The Head Master said that at first cold, measles and scarlet fever used to run through the school, but afterwards they tended to be confined to single cases imported from outside. There was also definite improvement in the taste and the quality of the vegetables.

McCarrison, when in charge of the Deficiency Diseases Inquiry in India, found that when wheat was grown on soil treated with farm-yard manure, its nutritive value was 17 per cent higher than when grown on soil treated with complete chemical manure. Wheat grown under the latter condition contained a smaller amount of vitamin A, which is essential in maintaining the resistance of man and his domestic animals to infectious diseases.

McCarrison also found that 'if the vitamin B value of cattle manure millet be taken as 1, that of chemical manure millet is approximately .66'.

## II

Another item in these plans is the mechanization of agriculture. But as Lord Northbourne warns us in his *Look to the Land* (Dent), "mechanization can be a terrible snare, as it makes possible the kind of soil exploitation which has led to desert making on a scale hitherto unparalleled."

British farmers who have mechanized their agricultural operations have many lessons to teach us, and it is up to us to profit by what they themselves admit to be their mistakes.

For one thing the machines are too heavy for the maintenance of soil health. Lawns deteriorate when a motor lawn-mower is used.

The many-shared plough works too fast. With a single-share ox or horse-driven plough it took quite

a number of days to finish a big farm. Flocks of birds alert for grubs and worms followed the plough. But what took quite a week before is now done in a single day, so that birds have no time to clean the soil. British farmers therefore complain of serious increase in wireworm.

But the loss in soil cleanliness is only half the story. The loss in humus is still more disquieting. The horse or the ox never moved over a field without enriching the soil. The motor tractor moves over the field but gives nothing. Five lakhs of horses have been eliminated from the British army and from British towns during the last twenty years with the result that a million acres of land in Britain get no dung and there is a corresponding loss of soil fertility.

The plant-animal-man cycle has been broken in England in a variety of ways, and the consequences have been always bad. As Michael Graham points out in *Soil and Sense* (Faber) the British housewife limits the size of her family, thus throwing shepherds out of work and reducing farmers to bankruptcy. The number of sheep is down by one million a year, so that although Britain badly needs wheat, there are not enough sheep to tread and manure the soil.

In fact, so-called scientific farming is too exhaustive and therefore ultimately destructive all over the world, as for instance in Egypt, where "the soils have steadily deteriorated with the introduction of a more efficient technique" (*Rape of the Earth*).

Mechanized farming in England also called for the wholesale destruction of hedges which according to E. B. Balfour is responsible for the increase in insect pests, for "with the hedge has gone the shelter for the small birds who prey on insects." Fields in England were formerly small. There was an abundance of hedge-rows and frequent trees which did much in the windy climate of Britain to "maintain the soil in position and to increase its productivity." But the size of the fields is now enlarged in order to accommodate modern farming machinery.

Such being the experience of British farmers, may it not be that the failure of the United States to supply us with even 500 tractors while she is delivering 50,000 tractors to Russia and 20,000 more to France is only a blessing in disguise?

Two years before A. E. died, the Government of the United States invited him to come and see what was wrong with agriculture. The apparatus had been perfected, but workers were refusing to carry on. A. E. found excessive organization had destroyed the soul of the thing; machinery so intruded between man, soil and beast that man could not bear work any longer.

Let us bear in mind these wise words of Lord Northbourne:

"The very best in farming as in all other crafts can only be produced by hand, and less than the best will not do."

V. G. D.



## GLEANINGS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

The Soya Bean has already been mentioned in these columns. A friend from Bareilly writes:

"I have grown Soya Beans in my fields in this district. As a *kharif* crop it has proved very successful and some friends who have tasted its different preparations like it much. A friend of mine has been using Soya Bean milk during all these war days of milk scarcity.

"In the coming rainy season it can be grown widely in all fields where rain water does not stand for long. It will be specifically a very suitable crop for sowing in any vacant land attached to bungalows. People in Western U.P. and the Punjab cannot take much rice without detriment to their health. *Bajra* and maize do not suit many persons. Wheat is scarce. Soya Bean may be a useful substitute in some if not many cases."

\* \* \*

Shrimati Lilavati Munshi threw out some useful suggestions to the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the general public when presiding the other day over the annual general meeting of the Agri-Horticultural Society.

(a) To convert the Malabar Hill Slopes, with the exception of the hanging gardens at the top, from the Bombay Garage to Kemp's Corner, into vegetable gardens. This space could easily supply vegetables to a thousand persons,

(b) to use all house terraces with the help of modern methods for small scale cultivation of vegetables like tomatoes and greens,

(c) to convert by chemical means the City's refuse into manure,

(d) to encourage in children the healthy pastime of cultivating fruit plants, vegetables and cereals, both in school and at home, and thus early instil into them a sense of social service.

She rightly says that a vegetable garden, if laid out properly, can be a thing of beauty. The society is willing to give expert advice if needed.

\* \* \*

A correspondent welcomes Gandhiji's suggestion of more raw vegetables and occasional complete or partial fasts. Simple diet plus *yogic* exercises will make many people lose their superfluous fat and improve their digestion. Most of the well-to-do man's maladies are due to wrong diet or overeating, both of which handicaps can easily be overcome by wise restriction in these difficult times.

\* \* \*

Goat's milk can be produced very cheaply. In several large families there is enough food material thrown away daily, like peelings and the coarser parts of vegetables etc. to feed at least one goat.

In a country like ours where pasture lands today are unavailable and a very small percentage of farmers is able to keep milch cattle, it is the milk goat that must become the poor man's cow.

Clean milking and boiling helps to eliminate the odour and flavour objected to by some people in goat's milk.

Uruli, 28-3-'46

A. K.

## AFTER NEARLY FOUR YEARS

It was a joy to return to Sevagram after the best part of four years and receive a warm welcome from the family here. Change is the one unchanging law of life. Small wonder, then, that I was greeted by many new faces and new landmarks.

Of the old, familiar landmarks Ba's and Mahadev's cottages are desolate without those loved figures. It is difficult to get used to their absence or not to be reminded of them daily, for they were more a part of Bapu's life than anyone else. But "why should we mourn for the blest?"

My time here has been very full and too short for me to take everything in or see all that I would like to see more closely and at greater leisure.

The Mahadev Mandir is a fine structure and a worthy memorial to him. It is used for meetings, for collective spinning and lectures. The acoustics are good and there is room to seat 400 persons. It is intended, in its vicinity or in a portion of it, to have a permanent museum for Khadi and all its implements as well as maps and charts showing progress etc. of our constructive work all over India.

The Khadi Vidyalaya has grown beyond recognition and now includes an all-round training course for village workers. There is a fine boarding hostel for boys. Accommodation can be provided for 80, but it is big enough for 100 students. The hostel is simple with large dormitories in which each student has a wooden bed, a stool, a small mat and a locker. All the processes of Khadi are taught and apart from improvements made so far, constant research is going on all the time. There are 36 looms, also housed in new buildings, all of them pit except four, which are "frame" looms. These latter are removable and therefore useful for schools. The equipment for the institution is made in the workshop and the buildings have all been put up with local material and village labour. The all-round village worker is trained, in addition to the science of Khadi, in sanitation, hygiene, cooking, dietetics, village economics, elementary history of India, history of the Congress and general knowledge. For Khadi training the qualification is VII Vernacular (or full primary). For all-round workers the equivalent of the matriculation is requisite. There are 60 students at the moment undergoing training which lasts two years. There is room for ten women but no girls, alas! have been so far forthcoming. This is a pity, for women village workers are just as much, if not really more, needed than men.

The Talimi Sangh has added a kitchen and dining room and a hall to their buildings since I was last there. They have taken over the buildings that used to belong to the Khadi Vidyalaya and utilize them for hostels for their boarders. Co-education exists. At the moment there are 60 children from the ages of seven upwards out of which number ten are girls. More girls would like to come but there is no room for them. A plot of land is available for a girls' hostel but owing to the high cost of labour and material as little as possible in the shape of new buildings is being undertaken. The children seem happy and contented. They come from neighbouring

villages and have improved in every way. Spinning continues to be the main craft through which education is imparted but in addition, there are numerous activities for the children. They have a small plot of land, where they grow flowers in beds allotted to groups. It was good to see sweet peas, hollyhocks, nasturtiums and larkspur making a colourful frontage to the building. Now, however, with the necessity for growing more food I imagine this plot of land too will grow carrots and cabbages instead of flowers! Not so joyous to look at but definitely joyous if it means so many more vegetables for some hungry mouths.

The kitchen proves an excellent training ground for the little ones. They do all the cooking under supervision of a member of the staff. They work out food values daily, weigh out the ingredients themselves and thus get practical lessons in arithmetic. The daily menu has been planned on a system of vitamins. The following account is educative. It has been given to me by the daughter of the Principal of the school who is receiving her education with the village children. She is eleven years old.

"Today, 7-1-'46, it was our turn for kitchen work. We were twelve boys and girls. Two boys were suffering from itch, so they were sent for work in the garden. We first went in a line to the well and washed our faces, hands, feet and nails. The captain then asked us to stand in a line in front of the kitchen and inspected our hands, our nails, our hair and our clothes. He sent back boys whose nails were dirty to cut them. He then distributed our work. One for the cooking of *Khichadi*, one girl for the cooking of vegetables, one to cut and prepare raw vegetables, one to arrange for clean linen and vessels, one for recording and the rest for making *bhakris*, i. e. *Jowari rotis*.

Today's meal consisted of *Khichadi*, Brinjal curry, *bhakris* (*Jowari rotis*), salt, lemons, green chillies, water and milk 4 ozs."

More milk daily per head is aimed at but has not yet been attained. The cost of food per head is Rs. 10/- p. m..

The children do all the washing up of vessels and cleaning of their rooms. They have the care of two bullocks with whom they are on the friendliest terms. A *ghani* (oil press) has recently been purchased. I saw a boy of ten, presumably, in charge the day I visited. He was responsible for recording how much oil had been pressed in an hour and for putting it carefully away in the proper tin where it is stored. Physical exercises are compulsory in the morning. Games, folk dances and gardening provide outdoor relaxation in the afternoons. On the food provided it has been noted that children put on weight in the winter months.

The following gives an account in detail of the yarn produced:

**Yarn produced during July 1944 to February 1945 (8 months) Grades I to V.**

Grades	Average attend- ance	Weight.		Ave. count.	Equivalent of cloth	Wages		
		Hanks	srs. ch.			Rs.	As.	Ps.
I & II	21	294½	15 1½	9	90	32	1	8
III	10	690½	28 12½	12	197	82	10	8
IV	5	499	20 12½	12	142	62	12	9
V	17	1300½	46 7	14	342	164	8	6
Total	53	2784	111 1¾	...	771	Rs. 342	1	7

53 children spun 2784 hanks of yarn in 8 months which can produce 771 sq. yds. of cloth from July 1944 to February 1945. During the period of July 1945 to February 1946 the students themselves wove 443 sq. yds. of cloth in the school.

It would be well for those who are prejudiced against spinning to see the children enjoying this portion of their studies. They are able, without knowing as it were, to produce enough cloth to clothe themselves. When one sees what can be achieved in a comparatively short time against heavy odds one longs more than ever for a government of the people which would give to this life-giving scheme the money and encouragement of which it stands in need. Here, as elsewhere, the need for teachers who will look upon their task as a calling and not a profession, and training centres for them in every province, is very urgent.

There is a pre-basic school in Sevagram village itself run by Shantabai Nerulkar. She works for adult education also. Nursery schools and adult education are very necessary items in our curriculum of education. I was unable to see the school in action. But in a brief visit to the village I was struck by the improvement in cleanliness and a kind of aliveness in the inhabitants.

The training school is one of the main activities of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. There are 36 students being trained at the moment from various provinces, barring Madras, where a training centre is already being carried on. The training lasts one year. Andhra has sent a strong contingent of women which is all to the good.

The hospital stands out, apart from its great utility, by the only colourful building in the neighbourhood. Why its walls were coloured a deep terra cotta is not known but it is a happy accident. Neatness and colour add to the charm of life and may not be disregarded when we start building model villages. There is no doubt as to the need for medical relief in all areas. Sevagram Hospital serves all the neighbouring villages in addition to Sevagram. The building is simple and cleanly kept. 16 in-door patients can be accommodated. There is a room for minor operations, a dispensary and examination room. For the hundreds of out-patients a thatched *shamiana* has been put up in the compound. The staff consists of a lady doctor, a *vaidya*, a fully trained dispenser with three helpers and three nurses who have been trained here. They are all heavily worked, because, in addition to this hospital there is an antenatal clinic in Sevagram village and two dispensaries in neighbouring villages which have to be visited at least twice a week. The need for qualified nurses and midwives for village service is very great. The surgeon performs the operation, the physician prescribes, but the burden of constant care and carrying out of orders is the nurse's task, without which no success can attend the work of doctors. Sevagram medical relief shows how much can be done by the right type of worker and is worthy of emulation. In all maiden effort, such as everything in Sevagram is, workers have to make shift and accommodate and adjust themselves as best they can. Those who are able to do so are true servants who count no cost too great for the cause they have espoused. I feel that Sevagram is not belying the name the ashramites chose for it themselves in the early years.

Sevagram, 15-2-'46

A. K.

## INSPIRING FOR WOMEN

It is a far cry from Assam to Kerala and yet Uruli village, unknown to anyone except its residents until Gandhiji took up his abode there the other day, was the meeting place of all the women agents so far appointed by the Kasturba Trust to organize and supervise work in the different provinces.

We of the towns have no idea of the uphill task that lies before village workers. When Thakkar Bapa suggested to Gandhiji that an Agents' meeting would be advisable, Gandhiji welcomed the idea. Fears and doubts are natural when one is faced with difficulties and these sisters had many things to ask. As Agents they had been asked why Gandhiji who talked of democracy should have been party to the appointment of single persons to run the work of Provinces instead of the originally formed committees? Tracing his line of thought Gandhiji explained how it was women's work and how he had felt he must make women shoulder the responsibility of it. In no other organization, not even in the Congress, had such a tremendous responsibility been thrown on women. The Agent's post throws all the burden of work on her in her area. It is immense but given industry and intelligence not only will the work grow but the Agent herself will grow in stature. She is there to serve and to give, not to possess. By this giving she will become the people's trusted servant. This is the royal road to democracy.

Gandhiji gave them a clear answer in respect to political work such as volunteering at polling booths. They were not there for that purpose. It was perfectly possible for them not to be in the Congress and yet be of it as he was himself. The work before them was to make women fit to take their place in society. If they succeeded in teaching them the correct way of life they taught them all they needed. Today they were steeped in the Stygian darkness of ignorance and superstition. With the removal of that, women would make freedom worth while.

He cited the good example of Kanu Gandhi who had said that in his camp soon to be started it would be his aim to teach the students how to battle against famine by tilling the ground, scavenging, cooking, bringing their own expenses with them, so that they need not be a liability on any one. Women have to work in famine areas with this ideal. It is ours to mitigate, not to aggravate the burden.

Asked as to what work he would lay most emphasis on so far as women were concerned, Gandhiji felt that sanitation and hygiene, owing to the lack of knowledge of which our people suffered so greatly, should take first place. Then there were evil customs which had to go, the useless expenditure on jewellery, and he made everyone laugh by his graphic description of a much bejewelled woman patient with a huge nose ring, earrings, necklace, bracelets and anklets complete who had visited him as a patient that very morning! It was hard

to know what should come first. "Really all work in its own place is of equal importance." There is the very great necessity of teaching women the care and upbringing of children, discipline in their own lives in every department including eating. He placed maternity almost last in comparison with the above-mentioned. But nothing could be achieved without friendship with the women. That was the first and basic desideratum.

The pay of workers had caused much discussion. For Gandhiji it was the spirit of the worker that meant everything. Inasmuch as the labourer was worthy of his hire a decent living wage must be paid, but it was the work and not the pay that should attract.

Were the women to be given the wheel as a revolutionary weapon as he had said it was in the hands of a Jawaharlal? The answer was 'no'. How could it be such in the hands of an ignorant woman? But if every woman in India span then a silent revolution would certainly be created of which a Jawaharlal could make full use. Unless steam generated was put to proper use the engine would not run and the person generating the steam might himself be scalded by it even unto death.

Amongst the members were some staunch feminists who are anxious for women alone to run the show. To them Gandhiji said that the men who were there were serving the memory of one who was instinctively a village woman. Long before he himself had taken to village life as being the ideal life for service, Kasturba had shown her preference for it. Her heart was in Phoenix even in the far off South African days when he himself worked in a town. The men who were honouring her memory were only serving until such time as women were ready to take their place. "I am the only one whom you may find it hard to get rid of for I have always counted myself as a woman. I believe I know your sex and your needs better than you do yourselves."

He said the Kasturba Trust would have even a bigger place in national service when freedom was ours than it had today. For all would go to the winds if women were not properly trained. He hoped that every worker in the Trust would have a great deal to give to the new government. But we have got to generate that strength within us. We may not be frightened of making mistakes. Man is born to make mistakes but the great thing is to see our mistakes and learn from them. We should magnify our own errors so as to be deterred from falling into them again. Those who imagine that they never make mistakes are to be feared. He agreed with one of the members when she said that it was a great tragedy that the uplift of women has to be an item on the constructive programme. "Have we yet to find ourselves?" she asked. "Yes, indeed," was the reply. "And where better can you find yourselves than by being true to the highest traditions of Indian women by serving your unhappy sisters today?"

On the train to Delhi,  
31-3-46

A. K.

them the spirit of solidarity and oneness to the utter exclusion of all communal or parochial sentiment. It is an example which we should all emulate. If they did this under the glamour and romance of fighting, it was not much. It must persist in peace. It is a higher and more difficult work. We have to die performing our duty and without killing. For that we shall need to cultivate the attributes of a *Shitagrains* as set forth in the Gita.

"Far more potent than the strength of the sword is the strength of Satyagraha. I said so to the I.N.A. men and they were happy to tell me, as I was to hear, that they had realized this and would hereafter strive to serve India as true soldiers of non-violence under the Congress flag."

New Delhi, 8-4-46 PYARELAL

### VANASPATI AND GHEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sardar Sir Datar-Singh has been putting up a fight on behalf of the cow in India. The cow includes the buffalo. In that case both can live. If the buffalo includes the cow then both die. The cow is the mother of prosperity. To understand how this is so, the reader should see Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta's two instructive volumes.\* Here I want to confine myself to ghee which is in danger of being swamped by *Vanaspatti*, as the so-called vegetable ghee is called. In reality ghee is pure animal product. One thoughtlessly uses the expression vegetable ghee or *Vanaspatti*, but it is a contradiction in terms. Sardar Datar-Singh has shown in a considered note that the sale of *Vanaspatti* has risen from 26,000 tons in 1937 to 137,000 tons in 1945, i.e., it has increased more than 400 per cent. during seven years. *Pari passu* the ghee industry has declined. Those who would study the whole note should procure a copy from Sardar Datar-Singh or the Goseva Sangh in Wardha. I condense below the Sardar's conclusions:

1. *Vanaspatti* as an article of diet is a very poor substitute for ghee. It not only lacks absorption by the human system, but has no vitamin potency.

2. Due to its similarity with ghee in texture and flavour, most of it is being used as an adulterant or is passed off as genuine ghee and is therefore a great menace to ghee.

3. Due to great margin of profit in this industry, it has developed from 26 thousand tons per annum in 1937 to 105 thousand tons in 1943 and there are proposals afoot to at least double this production in the near future.

4. The ghee industry is India's greatest cottage industry involving production of 23,000,000 maunds of ghee per annum at a cost of one hundred crores of rupees.

5. The destruction of the ghee industry will not only adversely affect the welfare of the cultivators, but it will have a very deleterious effect on the cattle industry upon which the prosperity of the whole nation directly depends.

\* 'The Cow in India' vol. I. Rs. 10/-, vol. II. Rs. 7/-; both together Rs. 16/-. Postage Rs. 1-9-0. Can be had from the office of this paper, or Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur, Calcutta.

In order to overcome the difficulties explained above, the following remedial measures are suggested:

1. If due to some reasons the Government cannot actually ban the manufacture altogether of *Vanaspatti*, it must at least be brought under strict control immediately.

2. All manufacturers, and wholesale and retail dealers of *Vanaspatti* should be licensed. Such persons should not be permitted to trade in or stock ghee on their premises.

3. It should be made compulsory to colour all *Vanaspatti* at the source of its manufacture in India and to colour all such imported product immediately on its landing at an Indian port. Manufacturers must mix ten per cent. of *til* oil with *Vanaspatti*. The advantage of this would be that if pure ghee is adulterated with *Vanaspatti* containing 10% *til* oil, the detection will become extremely simple. The presence of *til* oil can be most easily detected by well-known chemical reactions.

4. The addition of synthetic essences to give *Vanaspatti* a semblance of ghee should be prohibited.

5. Persons selling food products in the preparation of which they use *Vanaspatti* should be required, under marketing law, to display a sign to that effect. The presence of *Vanaspatti* on the premises not displaying the sign should be made an offence under law. This will eradicate the evil of *Halwais* and confectioners using *Vanaspatti* for their preparations and passing them off as made from genuine ghee.

6. *Vanaspatti* should not be allowed to go in the market under names such as 'Vegetable ghee' or '*Vanaspatti* ghee' or any other name which is apt to deceive the customers as to its real origin or composition.

7. *Vanaspatti* should not be allowed to be marketed in packages of the same pattern as used for packing ghee and all packages containing *Vanaspatti* should be distinctly labelled.

It is clear that the mischief arises principally from the greed of the very persons who worship the cow. *Vanaspatti* is wholly superfluous. Oils may be refined of injurious property, but they do not need to be solidified nor need they be made to look like ghee. An honest manufacturer will not stoop to counterfeits. The market is flooded with them. Counterfeit coins are heavily punishable. Why not counterfeit ghee, since the genuine article is much more precious than coins? But the sovereign remedy lies in all round honesty among dealers who are in a hurry to become rich even at the cost of the health of the nation.

New Delhi, 8-4-46

### TO AGENTS

Permission for issuing sixteen pages of the three Harijan weeklies on special occasions has been granted. In view of this we have decided to price copies of the weeklies with 12 or more pages at annas three. Agents will please take note of this and add necessary amount to their deposit.

MANAGER



# HARIJAN

April 14

1946

## LET US PRAY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is little doubt that India is about to reach her cherished goal of political independence. Let the entrance be prayerful. Prayer is not an old woman's idle amusement. Properly understood and applied, it is the most potent instrument of action.

Let us then pray and find out what we have meant by non-violence and how we shall retain the freedom gained by its use. If our non-violence is of the weak, it follows that we shall never be able, by such non-violence, to retain freedom. But it follows also that we shall not, for some length of time at any rate, be able to defend ourselves by force of arms if only because we have neither them nor the knowledge of their use. We have not even the requisite discipline. The result is that we shall have to rely upon another nation's help, not as equals but as pupils upon their teachers, if the word 'inferiors' jars upon our ears.

Hence there is nothing but non-violence to fall back upon for retaining our freedom even as we had to do for gaining it. This means exercise of non-violence against all those who call themselves our opponents. This should not mean much for a man who has used himself to non-violence for nearly three decades. It is summed up in "die for your honour and freedom" instead of "kill if necessary and be killed in the act". What does a brave soldier do? He kills only if necessary and risks his life in the act. Non-violence demands greater courage and sacrifice. Why should it be comparatively easy for a man to risk death in the act of killing and almost superhuman for him to do so in the act of sparing life? It seems to be gross self-deception to think that we can risk death if we learn and practise the art of killing but cannot do so otherwise. But for the hypnotism induced by the repetition of an untruth we should not grossly deceive ourselves.

But the critic or the scoffer will ask, why bring in prayer if the matter is so simple as you put it. The answer is that prayer is the first and the last lesson in learning the noble and brave art of sacrificing self in the various walks of life culminating in the defence of one's nation's liberty and honour.

Undoubtedly prayer requires a living faith in God. Successful Satyagraha is inconceivable without that faith. God may be called by any other name so long as it connotes the living Law of Life—in other words, the Law and the Law-giver rolled into one.

New Delhi, 6-4-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. God is a creation of man's imagination. It is not God who has created man but man who has created God. Is this not true?

A. I have taken this from a correspondent's letter. There is a semblance of truth in what he says. The writer has, however unwittingly, created the illusion by a play upon the two words "creation" and "God".

God Himself is both the Law and the Law-giver. The question of anyone creating Him, therefore, does not arise, least of all by an insignificant creature such as man. Man can build a dam, but he cannot create a river. He can manufacture a chair, but it is beyond him to make the wood. He can, however, picture God in his mind in many ways. But how can man who is unable to create even a river or wood create God? That God has created man is, therefore, the pure truth. The contrary is an illusion. However, anyone may, if he likes, say that God is neither the doer nor the cause. Either is predicable of Him.

New Delhi,

4-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## KASTURBA LEPROSY WORK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

This work has been going on under Prof. T. N. Jagdisan's supervision since 19th May 1945. He has produced a short summary of the work done from day to day. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan is the chairman of the committee specially formed for this work. Dr. V. P. Ramaswami has specially trained himself for the work under Dr. R. G. Cochrane. He is doing out-patient work as well as conducting surveys of villages.

The first survey in Kandachipuram schools of 655 children revealed that apart from leprosy there was a high incidence of scabies and guinea worm. Over 100 children have to be followed up and 30-40 treated for leprosy. In Madavilagam village 18 definite cases of leprosy have been discovered out of 593 inhabitants. Four of these are infective and fourteen neural. Infection is spread by indiscriminate contact of infective cases with children.

In Adukkam village 15 cases have been found out of a population of 323. Five of these are infective. Two other places have 29 and 15 definite cases respectively of which 9 are lepromatons.

Dr. Ramaswami has also surveyed five more villages and has so far detected 300 cases out of which 157 only, being women or children under seven years, can benefit from the Trust.

Prof. T. N. Jagdisan's summary points out that poor men patients though in need of attention cannot get the benefit of the funds. This defect cannot be removed by any departure from the terms of the Trust, but the professor can easily raise a small fund locally and bring them within the scope of his work.

New Delhi,

4-4-'46

## SELF-SUFFICIENCY VERSUS COMMERCIAL KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

We are ourselves responsible for the creation of this problem. We did not know the science of Khadi. We do not know it fully even now. Therefore, like children, we stumble again and again and thereby learn to walk. In order that we may not fall so as never to rise again we made use of a go-cart and are still using it. Having realized this the A. I. S. A. has to make a tremendous effort to vindicate its existence or else be wiped out. By A. I. S. A. is meant all its workers and includes even the spinners. It must be borne in mind that to make the spinners self-reliant and through their activity to achieve India's freedom is and ought to be the Association's goal. That we may not reach that goal should not cause undue worry. It is enough for us to know that it is the correct goal and having started the activity we have to correct our mistakes and go forward. That is the essence of the scientific method. No science has dropped from the skies in a perfect form. All sciences develop and are built up through experience. Perfection is not an attribute of science. Absolute perfection is not possible either for man or for the science that he creates. For example, astronomy is continually progressing. Many mistakes have been made and corrected. The process still continues. The same may be said of the science of Khadi.

If this is intelligently understood and fearlessly acted upon, replies to the questions presented from time to time become easy. The spinner must have full knowledge of all the processes from the beginning to the end, right up to weaving. In this lies the way to Swaraj. Up till now, knowingly or unknowingly, we have been producing Khadi solely for purposes of commerce. But this too has always been linked with the ideal of Swaraj. Had it not been so, even commercial Khadi would have failed and most probably Khadi for Swaraj would have remained a mere dream.

Commercial Khadi has been and still is our go-cart, so to speak. To the spinner to have her cotton carded by others has been and still is an additional prop. Only as we progressively give up these props will we bring into being Khadi for Swaraj. Those branches where commercial Khadi is being produced and carding carried on as an independent activity should, if possible, be closed down. Life is, however, made up of compromises. Therefore, let it be said that the props should be given up as quickly as possible. Those who have faith and knowledge will be the first to do so. Where sincere and earnest efforts are made, the question of competition should not arise.

One aspect of the present situation needs attention. Those who spin for their livelihood will willingly learn the new processes because thereby their earning capacity will increase. Today this section is diminishing because other and easier

sources of income are open to them. For them it is not a moral question. They take what is easiest as, for example, collection of leaves for making *bidis*. It is our duty to impart true knowledge to them and help them up the steep road to Swaraj and make them healthy and hardy in the process of climbing. If we cannot do this we shall deservedly lose our existence. Therefore, we can only have dealings with the man or woman who spins with understanding.

Another thing that has to be remembered is that spinning is now one of the recognized avocations and will, therefore, continue. So we need not worry about the production of commercial Khadi. Whatever difficulties may arise from the above have to be overcome by the workers. To ask whether this or that comes within this framework is a sign of mental laziness and ignorance. He who cannot draw deductions cannot be said to know geometry. The same is true of all sciences.

New Delhi, 3-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WHAT IS THE LAW?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

'Confused' writes:

"I grant that Italy, Germany and Japan have lost their power, but is the loss due to their faith in violence, as you would say, or is it due to their exhaustion brought about by fortunes of war? Will you hold that Britain, Russia and America have been successful because of their non-violence?"

Thus argues a correspondent whom I have paraphrased without diminishing the force of his argument. The questioner has failed to perceive that in the writing quoted by him, I have said nothing about the so-called victorious Powers. But I have said elsewhere that their victory is an empty boast if they do not learn the lesson while there is time and do not shape their life in accordance with the law of non-violence. I believe, wholly in the truth that "those who take the sword will perish by the sword". There is no doubt that the victors employed the same means as the vanquished. There was only a question of degree. The victorious parties already seem to be on the verge of quarrelling among themselves. If another war has not already begun, it is because no one is ready to enter upon it. After all men are not machines. They cannot be continually fighting without being reduced to the state of beasts. One has to hope, for the sake of humanity, that they will do some hard thinking and discover the truth that the common man of whom the world is composed gains nothing by cutting his fellowman's throat and that the fruits of peace are infinitely superior to those of war. Ingenuity employed in devising methods of destruction lowers, whereas when employed in devising ways of building it befits mankind.

New Delhi, 5-4-'46

## GANDHIJI ON NEW SPIRIT

(By H. N. Brailsford)

When last I was in Poona, Gandhi was a prisoner and I was not allowed to meet him. Then, the town, gloomy and angry, was involved in a general strike. Today it is celebrating the spring carnival in a mood of gaiety.

Gandhi in his turn was happy when I met him, for Mr. Attlee's speech in the Indian debate had just opened the road to independence. He looked well and very much less than his age. He talked easily without a trace of tension. His manner was never solemn and often he relaxed in a humorous chuckle. In a way hard to define, one felt that this man was speaking for India. Though his moral stature lifts him high above the average man, he interprets what is typical and enduring in this nation's outlook. He warned me, none the less, that he would be speaking only for himself and not for the Congress.

Our talk took its start from the Prime Minister's recognition of India's right to choose independence. This, Gandhi welcomed, and not only this, but the whole tone of the speech. "But I can't forget," he went on, "that the story of Britain's connection with India is a tragedy of unfulfilled promises and disappointed hopes. We must keep an open mind. A seeker of truth will never begin by discounting his opponent's statement as unworthy of trust. So I am hopeful, and indeed, no responsible Indian feels otherwise. This time I believe that the British mean business. But the offer has come suddenly. Will India be jerked into independence? I feel today like a passenger who has been hoisted in a basket-chair on to a ship's deck in a stormy sea and has not yet found his feet. There should have been some psychological preparation, but even now it is not too late. The tide of bitterness had risen high and that is not good for the soul. The last two months should have been filled with generous gestures. This is a milestone not only in India's history and Britain's, but in the history of the whole world."

Gandhi's meaning was clear. The British Government had done the right thing, but, in its manner of doing it, he missed the big touch. When I asked him for concrete illustrations, he chose two. The release of the political prisoners had been gradual and was still incomplete. "There was no danger to fear. If independence is coming, would these men have opposed it? A complete amnesty would have captured the people's imagination. When you are about to transfer power, you should do it boldly."

He went on to speak of the salt tax. "Its abolition would be a gesture the poorest peasant could understand. It would mean even more to him than independence itself. Salt in this climate is a necessity of life, like air and water. He needs it for himself, his cattle, and his land. This monopoly will go the instant we get independence. Then why not abolish it today? By such acts the Government could have created a feeling among the masses that the new era has already dawned."

\* Reproduced from the 'Hindu', Madras.

## INDEPENDENCE V. DOMINION STATUS

So much for the preparation for independence. I now reminded Gandhi that many Englishmen find it hard to understand why Indians prefer independence to Dominion Status. His answer was startling: "There was a time when I used to swear by Dominion Status and actually preferred it to independence. That was my attitude during the first World War. I even used, in writing to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of those days an expression that has often been quoted against me. I wanted to evoke in the Indian breast the same loyalty to the British Crown that there is in the breast of an Englishman. It was an English footballer who converted me to independence. With a laugh, Gandhi explained that he was referring to C. F. Andrews, who had been a notable athlete at Cambridge, as well as a don. Gandhi added: "Andrews made me understand the significance of the King-Emperor's title. The British King is King also in the Dominions, but he is the Emperor of India. India alone makes the Empire. The Dominions are peopled by your cousins. But we Indians, with our different culture and traditions, can never belong to the British family. We may belong to a world-wide family of nations, but first we must cease to be under-dogs. So, I set myself to win independence. You may object that by so doing I am throwing away the protection of the British army and navy. India would not need them, if she were truly non-violent. If, in the glow of freedom, she could live up to that creed no power on earth would ever cast an evil eye upon her. That would be India's crowning glory and her contribution to the world's progress."

"If only Englishmen could follow this argument of mine, they would make their offer of independence in a different tone altogether. Today, they insist that Dominion Status is the best gift they can possibly bestow; still, if Indians do choose independence, they shall have it. No, that is the wrong attitude. I should like to hear Englishmen saying: 'For the world's sake and for ours as well as your own, you shall have independence today, even as we have it.'"

## ALLIANCE WITH BRITAIN

With some sense of incongruity, for I was descending to a lower level, I now asked Gandhi to face the anxieties of his English listeners, and tell them whether Indian independence would make for Britain's security and the world's. He answered that the British need never fear an independent India. If they leave India as willing friends, she, in her turn, will always remain friendly. But Britain, I told him, might hope for some assurance of friendship. Would an independent India be willing to enter into an alliance with Britain?

Gandhi's answer came promptly: "Supposing India said no, would you make the recognition of India's independence contingent upon her entering into an alliance with Britain? If you did that, it would immediately lower the value of your offer and rob it of all grace. The proper attitude is to meet India's claims as a matter of right, even if she wanted

## GANDHIJI'S IDEAL OF A PRIVATE SECRETARY

(Continued from No. 1)

### II

The late Shri Mahadev Desai was the beau ideal of a secretary of Gandhiji's conception. Gandhiji once described him as son, secretary and lover rolled into one. On another occasion he described the latter's relationship with him as that of a 'Hindu wife'—mutually complementary and indissoluble; it was a "marriage of true souls". It would not be therefore out of place to give here an epitome of his career with Gandhiji.

After his university career and a varied experience, first as a clerk in the Oriental Translator's Office during which he was much in request as a friend in need not only by his colleagues but his superiors also, then as a lawyer and as an Inspector of Co-operative Societies, followed by a short spell of private secretaryship to a well-known Bombay Home-Rule Leaguer. He came to Gandhiji in 1917 at Kochrab Ashram and immediately realized that he had found the master. His first experience here was as a copyist and amanuensis. He not only won Gandhiji's admiration by producing faultless copies in his elegant, print-like hand at an incredible speed but brought to bear his intelligence and critical faculty on his work, suggesting alterations and improvements in the original wherever necessary. When, some time later, he held back from publication, on his own initiative, an article that Gandhiji had sent, as it seemed to contain a statement or an argument of doubtful character, Gandhiji on his part felt that he had found his ideal secretary.

In those early days, before the Mahatmic handicap forced upon Gandhiji the irony of travelling in third-class reserved bogies, he used to travel often in the ordinary third-class all by himself. After Shri Desai joined him he accompanied him on these journeys and acted as his (Gandhiji's) *hammal*. He looked after Gandhiji's travelling kit, made his bed, cooked his food, washed his thick, heavy Khadi clothes and cleaned his commode, besides rendering secretarial assistance. After the successful Champaran Satyagraha campaign, he settled down with Gandhiji in Motihari, where with his wife and other co-workers he taught the three R's to the village children. It was also during this period that he had his real schooling in those values and norms that have come to be associated with Gandhiji's name, e. g. simplicity coupled with elegance, meticulous regard for neatness and cleanliness, capacity for concentration in the midst of turmoil and chaos, preference for manual skill over mechanical perfection and a passionate love of the mother tongue. "He would insist on my writing the most important dispatches on the crudest hand-made paper and that too with a reed pen!", he once told me. "He was proud of my hand-writing, said, it was good enough for any Viceroy, no matter how and on what paper I wrote. Sometimes, he even snatched away the steel pen from my hand and flung it out of the railway carriage window." In the use of Gujarati the disciple

soon learnt to excel the master and in later years often claimed for himself the role of Gandhiji's instructor in Gujarati, a claim which Gandhiji has since often admitted.

Right through the War Conference days (1916) and the Anti-Rowlatt Act Agitation, he followed Gandhiji like a shadow, quietly watching, assimilating, rehearsing. Then came the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements and Gandhiji was sucked into the vortex of the unprecedented storm that overswept the country. That gave Shri Desai his chance; he found himself. He began writing his compendious Boswellian diaries which continued without a break till practically his last day. The last entry, I think, is dated August 14, 1942. On the morning of the 15th he was no more. Wisdom was gleaned and garnered in these tomes straight from the master's lips. So great was his passion for recording that lacking paper, I have actually seen him taking down jottings of important talks on the margin of newspapers, backs of currency notes, sometimes even on thumb and finger nails, to be transferred to the regular note book at the first opportunity. He constituted himself into a living encyclopædia of Gandhiji's thoughts and ideas and a final court of appeal where the authenticity of a particular act or utterance ascribed to Gandhiji could be checked and verified. No one dared to misquote or misrepresent Gandhiji during Shri Desai's lifetime without the Nasmyth hammer of the latter descending upon him with all the weight of the evidence of his contemporary notes.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the varied assignments, some of them of a highly confidential and even unbelievable nature (alas! they cannot be divulged), which he fulfilled for Gandhiji with a D'Artagnanlike unfailing fidelity and success. Throughout his career I do not remember a single occasion when he failed Gandhiji in an emergency or left him in the lurch. As co-editor with the late George Joseph of the 'Independent' of Allahabad and later, on the latter's arrest, as the sole editor of that daily, he won warm encomiums from the fastidious and exacting late Pandit Motilal Nehru by his personal charm and highly specialized knowledge of Gandhiji and his non-cooperation technique, no less than by his trenchant and versatile pen. When security was demanded of that paper he closed it and under Gandhiji's instructions brought it out in manuscript form. Some of his colleagues on the staff, new to Gandhiji's ways, could not appreciate the new venture and felt it to be a bit *infra dig* to cooperate in it. I happened to be there at that time, having been sent by Gandhiji to "keep the flag flying" in the event of Shri Desai's arrest which was considered imminent. Nothing daunted by the non-cooperation of his colleagues, Shri Desai told them that he had not served apprenticeship under Gandhiji in vain and would bring out the paper unassisted, if it came to that; and brought out it was, that very evening, the first copy being all in Shri Desai's own beautiful hand. I think it fetched a fancy price of Rs. 250/-.



After the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 he was sent by Gandhiji to assist Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the collection and marshalling of evidence before the Broomfield Inquiry Committee. Such was the impression he created by his ability and integrity that before the end of the inquiry both Judge Broomfield and Sir Reginald Maxwell claimed him as a 'friend'. That each expressed his 'friendship' in his own typical way, the one by writing him "love letters", the other by issuing orders for his rigorous isolation, almost amounting to solitary confinement in Belgaum prison, is a different story.

By nature Shri Desai was rather of the contemplative and scholarly type. Action was not his forte. Taking orders, rather than issuing them was his chief delight. "I am more accustomed to stand behind a chair than in front of one", he once wittily remarked when called by the chairman to come alongside of him and address a public meeting. But when occasion demanded it he plunged into the fray with the same wholeheartedness and sense of devotion as characterized him in other fields. A typical illustration of this was afforded in 1930 at the time of the Dandi March, when in the absence of the Sardar, he set the whole of Gujarat from one end to the other ablaze with Satyagraha.

As he progressed from apprenticeship to maturity, he showed more and more initiative and capacity for handling important missions all by himself. But to the last he remained like Arjuna, with all his marvellous bowmanship, essentially a virtuoso, a faithful instrument in the hand of the master, the inspirer.

At the time of the Rajkot fast he was at New Delhi undergoing treatment for an illness from which he really never recovered. But as soon as he got the news, he left his sick bed without a moment's thought and set to work contacting the highest officials, including Lord Linlithgow. It was his faithful and able 'presentation of Gandhiji's viewpoint before those concerned that contributed not a little to the settlement in favour of Gandhiji and the Sardar. After the Gwyer Award, he accompanied Gandhiji to Rajkot, where even Darbar Veerawalla found it impossible to resist him after the glowing account he had of him from the cynical, hard-boiled Sir Bertrand Glancy, whom Shri Desai had met at New Delhi as the head of the Political Department of the Government of India.

During the individual Satyagraha of 1940, he denied himself the luxury of jail-going as he did not want to leave Gandhiji short-handed. But soldier-like he set out later to collect the 5 lakhs fund for the Gujarat Flood Relief work in the absence of the Sardar and completed it by working even when he was laid on his back with double pneumonia. Again, he set out to organize peace brigades in Ahmedabad at the time of the Hindu-Muslim riots, leaving his wife on what was believed by the doctors to be her death bed, with the same unfailing devotion to duty as he had shown on a previous occasion, when with streaming eyes, he finished his writing for *Navajivan* before setting

out for his village home on receiving the news of his father's death.

In the intervals there was of course the killing daily grind of office routine which sometimes made him complain of what he humorously used to call his "dog's life". His versatility was equal to his industry. He was equally at home in taking on visitors who came to discuss high politics with Gandhiji as in settling intricate "domestics" of the Ashram. He kept accounts, drew up tour programmes for Gandhiji with the help of railway maps and Bradshaw, kept dates for him, answered letters, looked after guests, often trudged from Maganwadi to Sevagram Ashram and back—a distance of over five miles either way—in the blazing hot sun, day after day and week after week, to take instructions, besides writing for Harijan with a clock-work regularity. This last was a marvel, considering that his work had often to be done in the caravanserai that his office was or in overcrowded third-class railway compartments with undisciplined, shouting crowds struggling at the carriage windows at every station. The wonder of it was that in the midst of it all he was able to do all the encyclopaedic reading, hard thinking and research which went into his writings.

He was not merely an interpreter of Gandhiji's ideas, he was a "fisher of men" and brought scores of enthusiastic, idealistic workers to his fold by the charm of his magnetic personality. Wherever, under whatever circumstances he was, that place became a centre and citadel of the master. And who could go forth on a 'goodwill mission' on behalf of Gandhiji better than Shri Desai? The late Deshabandhu Das doted on him, his sister having constituted herself into his adoptive mother, Dr. Jayakar could not do less than respond to his appeal by raising his subscription to the Tilak Swaraj Fund from Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 25,000/ whilst the Rt. Hon. Shastri welcomed his visits as a 'spiritual exercise'.

In Gandhiji's 'family' of workers he was the cementing bond, the shock absorber, the activizer. He smoothed differences, soothed frayed tempers, solved personal problems, resolved doubts, pulled people out of trouble when they landed themselves in it and negotiated delicate points with Gandhiji when it called for extraordinary tact and his 'masterly manner', for which he had become famous. He was extremely popular owing to his overflowing kindness, goodness of heart, broad sympathy and understanding and his willingness and capacity to serve and lend a helping hand whenever there was a chance, to all and sundry.

For instance, Gandhiji could give only limited time to his visitors who came for consultation. He could speak to them in *sutras* only. But Shri Desai made up for Gandhiji's "Be quick, be brief, be gone" motto that hangs on the wall of his hut above his head, and the visitors as a rule did not feel satisfied unless they could round off their interview with Gandhiji with a good heart-to-heart talk with his secretary. It was also his unpleasant duty to keep off undesirable visitors. And what a

motley crowd he had sometimes to deal with, ranging from dyspeptics and food faddists to dilettantes, literateurs, blue stockings, tourists, pressmen and politicians, seekers after metaphysical knowledge, sometimes even lunatics! All this required a Job's patience. No wonder sometimes when a particularly sticky customer claimed him, even his suavity could not keep down a persecuted and martyred look on his face which was pathetic to behold. Friends discreetly avoided his gaze on such occasions lest they might betray a smile on the wrong side of the face! But he was happy in the knowledge that it meant saving thousands of precious hours of the master for the service of the country and humanity.

Let no one, however, imagine that he was merely a "faithful echo" of the master. When occasion demanded he could also speak up to him, since Gandhiji expects his secretary, and in fact any one who is closely associated with him, to be his conscience keeper too. He was often prized as a tower of strength by those who brought to Gandhiji a different viewpoint from his own, and he himself was able on one occasion to avert an unconditional fast unto death on the part of Gandhiji when every one else had failed. It is the only instance of its kind in Gandhiji's entire life within my knowledge.

On occasions, but very rare occasions, there were brushes. These were invariably of the nature of "lovers' quarrels". Once Shri Desai likened his association with Gandhiji to sitting on the top of a volcano which might erupt at any moment. At Delang the "quarrel" even found its way into the weekly letter when, in a moment of desperation, the devoted secretary exclaimed with Dr. Halliday Sutherland (*Arches of the Years*) that "to live with saints in heaven" was "a bliss and a glory", but "to live with a saint on earth" was "a different story". The article itself was of a piece with the quotation. With characteristic coolness, Gandhiji blue-pencilled portions of the truant disciple's outpourings to "save him against himself", suitably corrected the rest and published the whole in Harijan! On another occasion, when exasperated by the heavy demands made by rules\* of Ashram life, he tendered his resignation, Gandhiji tore it up saying that it did not bear evidence of "coherent thinking" and therefore could not be accepted as an indication of "Mahadev's real mind". The ending was equally characteristic. Before many hours the "blues" had completely worn off and the ardent secretary was explaining to the appreciative master the beauties of a gorgeous sunset. But it reduced the sensitive Shri Desai, to tears when Gandhiji once gently rebuked him (it was reproach more than rebuke) for an inadvertant error in description by remarking, "Is it thus you are going to interpret me after my death?"

It has become the fashion these days to compare the late Shri Desai with Boswell. The comparison might hold good so far as passion for gathering and recording biographical material of their respective masters was concerned. But there the comparison

ends. In moral and intellectual stature they were as poles asunder. Shri Desai was great in his own right. Boswell's attitude towards his master was that of an ardent hero-worshipper and a cheap and vulgar one at that at times. Shri Desai's attitude towards Gandhiji was that of a spiritual devotee to his guru and a lover of the motherland towards the promised deliverer.

Shri Desai's was a consecrated life characterized by a rare singleminded devotion to Gandhiji and his ideals. Gandhiji lived for the world but Shri Desai lived for Gandhiji. In one of Goethe's plays every one who gazes into the face of the heroine sees in it the countenance of his beloved. In the case of the late Shri Desai, it was the reverse; he lived only to read the lineaments of his master in every celebrated character of history or legend that he contemplated whether it was Asquith or William of Orange, Ruskin or Tolstoy, Marx, Lenin or Masaryk, Fenelon or St. Francis of Assisi. In the immortal lines of Moore:

"The moon looks into many brooks .

The brook can see no moon but this."

I have been asked to set down as addenda the experiences of Shri Mahadev Desai's successor in office. The truth of the matter is that the late Shri Mahadev Desai was not a mere occupant of an office, he was an institution. His office began and ended with himself. He left behind him no successor.

9-9-'45

PYARELAL

## CHRISTIANS AND POLITICS

If we hold ourselves to be Christians we have to follow the principles laid down by Jesus in every walk of life. Politics is only one aspect of our social relations but we must carry these principles into that sphere also if we enter politics. Let us therefore analyse Jesus' attitude to such a career.

At the very beginning of His ministry we have a record of the temptations He met with. These will give us the main lines of approach.

He was hungry after a fast of forty days. He was tempted to convert stones into bread. He brushed that idea aside as "man does not live by bread alone". Do we want to enter politics to make a livelihood out of it? This is too base an ideal for those who would follow Jesus.

He was asked to jump down from the steeple as angels would bear Him up. Do we wish to enter the councils to demonstrate our powers of oratory and personal talents? God did not endow us with powers to glorify ourselves.

Satan wanted Jesus to fall down and worship him promising Him the gift of all the kingdoms of the Earth. Is politics a means of getting control over our fellowmen? Do we aspire to becoming ministers to wield power over our neighbours? That is not the way of Jesus.

What is this service of God? "I was an hungered and ye fed me, naked and ye clothed me, sick and ye visited me". "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me". This is then the field for all who would

\* The rule in question was soon after rescinded.

follow Him who went about doing good. His whole life was based not on man's rights but on his duties to his neighbour. Can we under such allegiance form ourselves into a community fighting for its rights and privileges? Is it not a denial of our Lord to seek after these things? Did not Jesus teach us by the parable of the good Samaritan that we should help those in need irrespective of whether the needy belong to our group or not. The priest the Levite passed by on the other side of the one who was wounded and robbed by thieves but the Samaritan, though he was despised, came to the rescue and ministered to him. Shall we not do likewise?

Generally when people talk of communities in relation to politics they mean to secure power for safeguarding their own interests. This is diametrically opposed to the teachings of Jesus and it is definitely unchristian.

A few days ago a small deputation of Indian Christians waited on the M. P. Delegates to represent their case! How far have we drifted from the Master who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not.

Some of the leaders of the community waited on the Viceroy on another occasion begging him to form an Indian Christian Regiment! Do we realize the blasphemy of this? We seek to learn cold-blooded murder as a profession and we call ourselves by the name of the Prince of Peace who taught us not to resist with evil "but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also". Here we are petitioning Government to teach us to kill those whom we have never met and who have never done us any personal harm.

The irony of fate has it that this community has enlisted freely into this murder gang otherwise euphemistically called the military. Even the softer sex has been so tempted by mammon as to join in the auxiliaries forgetting the gentleness of their sex. Does not all this arise out of our illegitimate desire for the things of the world? Let us always remember that the Master we profess to serve had not where to lay His head. Can we expect better treatment or reward than what was meted out to Him? He died on the cross and His crown was a crown of thorns. Are we prepared to drink of the cup He drank or do we think that He drank the bitter cup to procure for us licence for unrestricted indulgence?

Do we seek to get into politics so as to be honoured of men? Worldly ones seek to exercise authority over others. But it should not be so amongst us. Whoever will be chief must be the servant of all. Jesus says He came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many. If we must compete let us compete in serving others. Let us win the love and confidence of others by our dedicated lives. Let us give up this humiliating begging for favours and high seats.

The only community Jesus recognizes is a community of servants. He that doeth the will of the Father the same is my brother, sister and mother.

Let us strive to be numbered within this select family. The Master calls, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." Shall we not pay heed to this invitation?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## BEWARE OF BUREAUCRATIC PLANS

I

In September last, Reuter cabled from Washington that a mission headed by a British knight was visiting the United States, 'after five months' stay in England' in connection with the present irresponsible Government of India's project to set up a factory for the manufacture of 3½ million tons of ammonium sulphate yearly at an expenditure of 40,000,000 dollars or over 13 crores of rupees.

But no greater misfortune could perhaps befall the people of India than that their land should be poisoned with artificial fertilizers, the use of which has been condemned by British authorities on agriculture themselves.

We must replace what we take from the soil. The harvesting of crops leads to the impoverishment of the soil which should be replenished by cattle dung and by ploughing in of grasses (see Joseph James' *Must We Starve?* distributed by F. Muller). But chemical fertilizers affect the soil in much the same way as drugs affect the human body. They produce temporary exhilaration, and then there is a relapse. Bumper crops are obtained but they cause new diseases and deficiencies in the soil. Balfour in *Living Soil* quotes from a circular letter sent by Sir Albert Howard:

"In the South of France grapes are raised very largely by means of artificials: the many diseases are combated by poison sprays.

"In Baluchistan on the other hand the vine is always manured with farm-yard manure; artificials are not used; the crops have no need for fungicides and insecticides, because diseases are practically non-existent."

British writers hold that crop diseases which are on the increase in England are due to artificials. James quotes from Lord Lymington who says:

"Twenty years ago potatoes were sprayed with copper sulphate mixtures once or perhaps twice in a year, but now they are sprayed twelve or fifteen times a season. Nearly all this is due to loss of organic manure for land and proper balance of farming" (*Famine in England*).

Chemical sprays affect the crops adversely and shorten considerably the life of the soil itself.

Lord Lymington is of the opinion that artificial manures are highly dangerous:

"The processes of life depend as much on decay as on growth. Healthy growth can only take place when there has been proper decay of organic matter which becomes humus. This can only be brought about by the working of soil bacteria. Reckless use of sulphate of ammonia, nitro-chalk, potash and other salts kills these bacteria, and so the plant cannot remain healthy when there is no humus in the soil."

to be unfriendly and pay you back in your own coin. No calculations entered into the British mind, when they settled with the Boers at the end of a bloody war, and the Boers have stayed friends ever since.

I replied that Britain has made up her mind to end the coercive connection with India. But living as she does in a perilous world, it is inevitable that she should ask the question whether as an ally in a defensive war she would be entitled to use India's strategic bases and ports against the aggressor. If that question were asked in no bargaining spirit, could India give a reassuring reply?

"Englishmen", Gandhi answered, "must learn to be *Brahmins*, not *Banias*." The *Bania* I should explain is the trader, or as Napoleon put it, the shopkeeper. The *Brahmin* is the man who is intelligent enough to rank the moral above the material values of life.

A Gujarati novelist," Gandhi went on, "has said that Englishmen are soldiers and *Brahmins*, but not *Banias*. That was a generous verdict, but it was mistaken. Englishmen have still to evolve the British *Brahmanical* spirit. Even the British soldier still calculates and bargains like a *Bania*, and fails to reach the highest type of courage. I still cherish the hope that the British will respond to the non-violent spirit of India. As the author of that movement, I know what it has meant for the world. The non-violent spirit is the greatest thing in life. I feel it is my responsibility to help my brothers not to degrade themselves by bargaining. If you and we can rise to this moral height, no danger can alarm us. It is probable that many members of the Congress will not take this view and may be willing to discuss an alliance today. But independence should come free as air; don't let us bargain over it."

In reply to a further question, whether a defensive alliance might be discussed when independence is ratified by treaty, Gandhi replied: "If India feels the glow of independence, she probably would enter into such a treaty of her own free will. The spontaneous friendship between India and Britain would then be extended to other Powers and, among them, they would hold the balance, since they alone would possess moral force. To see that vision realized, I want to live for 125 years."

This was the high moment of our talk. I had heard Gandhi's message. But there are still some details I ought to report. He said that he hoped for a mutually helpful commercial treaty between a friendly Britain and an independent India. For goods that India needed to import, he was even ready to give Britain a preference.

#### PAKISTAN QUESTION

While we talked of Pakistan, Gandhi said that, if no other method of solution succeeded, he was prepared to submit the whole issue to international arbitration. Nor should we forget that expedient, if any insoluble question arose between Britain and India, for example over debts. But he saw no

blank wall of difficulty ahead. His last words were that difficulties make the man.

I came away with the sense that I had been talking to a brave man who has the courage to believe that human society can be built only on moral principles. Amid our preoccupations over military perils he stands aloof and repeats with unshaken faith his creed that safety is attainable only when men learn to treat each other as brothers and equals. No lesser means will avail.

#### THE CASE FOR THE BULLOCK

Now that machinery threatens to overrun our agriculture and transport as a part of so-called planning, it is necessary to sum up the case for the bullock who is doomed to destruction if that threat materializes.

We must have milk, more milk and still more milk. We must therefore have cows, and if we have cows, the bullocks will be always with us, for whom we have to provide and can provide full employment only if we yoke them to the plough, to the cart and to the *ghani*. If we fail to do this, we shall be reduced to the same plight as the Western nations who slaughter all bull calves except a few which are reared as stud bulls.

The tractor is a machine; the bullock also is a machine, though not so powerful as the tractor. But the bullock is a living machine, and contact with such harmless animals has been a potent factor in the onward march of human civilization. I am not sure that the elimination of animal power and the installation of lifeless machinery in the Western countries has not something to do with the brutalization of human nature to which frequent and fierce wars bear witness in common with other evils peculiar to the West.

This is the humanitarian argument, which must be reinforced by the economic argument. We shall now deal with this latter, and in doing so make free use of a chapter in Shri N. G. Apte's *Thoughts and Work about Villages* entitled "Economics of the Bullock" (Publisher: Shri Sardesai, Samarth Bharat Press, Pooha 2).

The bullock is not only a living tractor; it is also a living fertilizer factory and gives us farmyard manure which supplies nitrogen and improves the porosity of the soil, thus helping to increase the moisture content of the soil as well as proper aeration. These three factors are essential to plant growth. No amount of concentrated manure would help if the porosity of the soil and consequent aeration of the soil are not improved.

Artificial manures are an unmitigated curse, as has already been shown in these columns. Then there is green manuring with *sahi* hemp and other leguminous plants, but that too compares unfavourably with farmyard manure. For, the green manure occupies the soil for a season from the time of planting till it is sufficiently decayed, but cannot be fed to the animals. On the other hand if we grow a fodder crop instead of the green manure on the same piece of land, at the end of the season we would get fodder enough for two



animals. These animals would work for us the whole year and give us the fodder back in the form of manure better adapted for assimilation by the soil, with probably some additional nitrogen derived from metabolic processes of the animal body.

Most of the nitrogen taken from the soil will be returned in the dung as the bullock requires only carbohydrates for work. These carbohydrates are no good as a manure as most of the carbohydrate material in the crop is fixed from the atmosphere during the process of metabolism in the plants and is not drawn from the soil. Thus the bullock utilizes the energy which is wasted when a green manure is ploughed into the soil. Then again farmyard manure feeds the soil better than the green manure, having passed through the animal system and thus having been acted upon by decomposing agents present in that system.

The bullock's function as the manufacturer of a first class fertilizer is not the only point where it scores over the machine. For, no machine ever invented can perform the various duties that the bullock discharges. The bullock can work fast as well as slow. It can not only be yoked to the plough, it can be used in crushing the earheads as well as in carting the grain to the market. All this it does, while subsisting on the straw or the cake left after the grain and the oil have been utilized for human consumption. This oil too is extracted by the same animal. A pair of bullocks costs a few hundred rupees, but if it is supplanted by machinery, the farmer must go in for an oil engine, a motor truck, a tractor, small motor-driven harrows and what not, which would cost him goodness knows how many times as much. Then again he must purchase fuel in the shape of oil, which cannot be produced not only on his own field but even in his own country.

The main agricultural operations of ploughing, harrowing, sowing and interculturing keep the bullocks busy for only three or four months in the year. During the rest of the year they can be and should be used for carrying goods as well as passengers, for crushing oilseeds and so on. The bullocks are capable of doing all this, while the specialized machinery would remain idle during the long dull season.

Extraction of oil by machinery is profitable on the face of it, but the profits reappear on the debit side of the cultivator's account, with nothing on the credit side to counterbalance the debit.

We shall close with a final quotation from Shri Apte's valuable study:

'Machinery may be introduced when the existing man and animal power is fully occupied. At present this power is not fully utilized, and therefore there is no occasion for the introduction of machinery.'

V. G. D.

## Notes

### Eating With Harijans

Q. How can a vegetarian caste Hindu sit down to food in the home of a meat-eating Harijan?

A. A vegetarian caste Hindu can eat vegetarian food in the home of a meat-eating Harijan. Interdining does not imply that one should eat everything that is put before one. All that is necessary is that the food, the plates on which it is served, and the hands that have cooked it should be clean. The same applies to water. Nor does interdining mean that people should eat out of the same plate or drink out of the same glass. There should be no breach of hygiene.

### Ramanam

Q. Is it not enough to have *Ramanam* in one's heart or is there something special in its recitation?

A. I believe there is special merit in the recitation of *Ramanam*. If anyone knows that God is in truth residing in his heart, I admit that for him there is no need for recitation. But I have not known such a person. On the contrary, my personal experience tells me that there is something quite extraordinary in the recitation of *Ramanam*. Why or how is not necessary to know.

(From *Harijansevak*)

### Ministerial Salaries

Ministers and members of the provincial assemblies are in their respective places as servants of the people in every sense of the term. The British scale of pay cannot be copied by them except at their cost. Nor need all draw payments because a certain scale is allowed. The scale fixes the limit up to which they may draw. It will be ludicrous for a monied man to draw the full or any payment. The payments are meant for those who cannot easily afford to render free service. They are representatives of the poorest people in the world. What they draw is paid by the poor. Let them remember this salient fact and act and live accordingly.

New Delhi, 6-4-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## FASTING IN THE AIR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Fasting has become a veritable epidemic. The blame lies at your door." So writes a correspondent and adds: "One can understand the efficacy of a fast for purposes of inward purification as also for the outward. But fasts are undertaken nowadays for an increment in one's own pay or in that of one's group, for being selected as a candidate for the Assembly or for various other causes. You encourage one man for fasting for the removal of untouchability and yet you are willing to let another die who is doing the same for a different cause. Is this not injustice? Should you not lay down rules as to when to fast and when not to, what should be its duration, should fruit juices be taken or only water? You talk of the inner voice where you are concerned. Would it not really be best if you were to stop undertaking fasts yourself and stop others too?"

There is force in the above argument. It is, however, impossible to lay down rules. Experience alone can suggest rules. In particular cases it is open to a person to frame his own law or he can refer to me, if he believes me to be an authority. I have had the temerity to claim that fasting is an infallible weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha. I have used it myself, being the author of Satyagraha. Anyone whose fast is related to Satyagraha should seek my permission and obtain it in writing before embarking on it. If this advice is followed, there is no need for framing rules, at any rate, in my lifetime.

One general principle, however, I would like to enunciate. A Satyagrahi should fast only as a last resort when all other avenues of redress have been explored and have failed. There is no room for imitation in fasts. He who has no inner strength should not dream of it, and never with attachment to success. But if a Satyagrahi once undertakes a fast from conviction, he must stick to his resolve whether there is a chance of his action bearing fruit or not. This does not mean that fasting cannot or can bear fruit. He who fasts in the expectation of fruit generally fails. And even if he does not seemingly fail, he loses all the inner joy which a true fast holds.

Whether one should take fruit juices or not depends on one's physical powers of endurance. But no more fruit juice than is absolutely necessary for the body should be taken. He probably has the greatest inner strength who takes only water.

It is wrong to fast for selfish ends, e. g. for increase in one's own salary. Under certain circumstances it is permissible to fast for an increase in wages on behalf of one's group.

Ridiculous fasts spread like plague and are harmful. But when fasting becomes a duty it cannot be given up. Therefore I do fast when I consider it to be necessary and cannot abstain from it on any score. What I do myself I cannot prevent others from doing under similar circumstances. It is common knowledge that the best of good things are often abused. We see this happening every day.

New Delhi, 13-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. On what principle is the question of the salaries of ministers in Congress majority provinces going to be settled this time? Does the Karachi resolution in this regard still hold? If the question is to be settled on the basis of the present high prices is it possible, within the limits of their revenues, for the provincial budgets to increase the pays of all their servants threefold? If not, will it be proper for the ministers to be paid Rs. 1500/- while a *chaprasi* or a teacher is told to make two ends meet on Rs. 15/- and 12/- p. m. and not make a fuss about it because Congress has to run the administration?

A. The question is apt. Why should a minister draw Rs. 1500/- and a *chaprasi* or a teacher Rs. 15/- p. m.? But the question cannot be solved by the mere raising of it. Such differences have existed for ages. Why should an elephant require an enormous quantity of food and a mere grain suffice for the ant? The question carries its own answer. God gives to each one according to his need. If we could as definitely know the variations in the needs of men as those of the elephant and the ant, no doubts would arise. Experience tells us that differences in requirements do exist in society. But we do not know the law governing them. All therefore that is possible today is to try to reduce the differences as far as possible. The reduction can be brought about by peaceful agitation and by the creation of public opinion. It cannot be done by force or by *duragraha* in the name of Satyagraha. The ministers are the people's men. Their wants even before they took office were not those of *chaprasis*. I would love to see a *chaprasi* become worthy of holding the office of a minister and yet not increase his needs. It should also be clearly understood that no ministers need draw up to the maximum of the salary fixed.

It is worth while pondering over one thing that arises out of the questions. Is it possible for the *chaprasi* to support himself and his family on Rs. 15/- p. m. without taking bribes? Should he not be

given enough to keep him above temptation? The remedy for this is that as far as possible we should be our own *chaprasis*. But even so if we need them we must pay them enough for their requirements. In this way the big gulf that exists between minister and *chaprasi* will be bridged.

It is another matter as to why the pay of the ministers has been raised from Rs. 500/- to 1500/- p. m. But this is nothing as compared with, and does not solve, the main problem. With the solution of the latter it will *ipso facto* be solved.

New Delhi, 14-4-'46

(From *Hartiansevak*)

### THE SACRED WEEK

The following is the text of Gandhiji's Hindustani speech at the prayer gathering on the evening of the 6th of April:

"Twentyseven years ago when the late Swami Shraddhanandji was alive, Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act was inaugurated on this day. History was made during the following week. For the first time the entire masses of India from one end to the other rose like one man. It was an entirely spontaneous demonstration.

"That was the time when Hindus and Muslims for the time forgot all their differences. The Ali Brothers and I used to go all over the country together like blood-brothers. We spoke with one voice and delivered the message of Hindu-Muslim unity and Swaraj to the masses. We resolved that thereafter we should address our prayers to God alone instead of the British Government and so Satyagraha was born in India. The Ali Brothers readily fell in with the programme of a national day of fasting and prayer. People fasted on the 6th and 13th of April. They realized that they were all children of the one God, destined to live together and die together in the land of their birth, which was India. They assembled together in their thousands and offered prayers in temples, churches and mosques. The climax was reached when in Delhi a monster gathering consisting of both Hindus and Musalmans was held in the Juma mosque and was addressed by the late Swami Shraddhanand. It was a glorious day in India's history, the memory of which we shall always treasure."

Now they had fallen upon evil times, proceeded Gandhiji. The hearts of Hindus and Musalmans were sundered. The air was poisoned with communal bitterness and rancour. A section of the Musalmans had begun to claim that they are a separate nation. Into the logic of that claim he would not go at present, he said. He confessed that it baffled his understanding.

The speaker added: "We commenced our proceedings today with prayer. If we believe in prayer we cannot fly at one another's throat, or regard anybody as our enemy. At Amritsar people lost their heads. But we promptly confessed our mistake and made expiation for it by fasting and praying to God for forgiveness. To err is human. By confessing we convert our mistakes into stepping stones for advance. On the contrary, a person who tries to hide his mistakes becomes a living fraud and sinks down. Man is neither brute nor God but

a creature of God striving to realize his divinity. Repentance and self-purification are the means. The moment we repent and ask God for forgiveness for our lapse we are purged of our sin and new life begins for us. True repentance is an essential prerequisite of prayer.

"Prayer is not mere lip service. It must express itself through action. How shall we then pray during the Sacred Week? We can pray by purging our hearts of any taint of communal hatred and ill will that might be lurking there, and invoking God's aid for the same. Achievement of communal harmony would thus be one form of prayer. Then we can pray by doing sacrificial spinning for the attainment of non-violent Swaraj. I have a vivid recollection of how in 1919 every home in the Punjab hummed with the music of the spinning wheel. A mountain of yarn was presented to me on one occasion during my tour, which was never equalled before, nor has it been since except recently at Madura during my Madras tour. What are the sisters of Punjab doing today? That is the question which you must ask yourselves during this week of introspection. If the four hundred millions of India took to spinning in earnest, and spun for sacrifice, i. e. not for self, with the name of God in their hearts and with the common purpose of winning India's freedom through non-violence, their united effort would not only bring us freedom assuredly, but also provide us the means for safeguarding it after it is won and enable us to point the way out of darkness to the whole world.

"The other day I was talking to the I. N. A. men in the Red Fort. We were discussing as to what they should do on their release. They assured me that they would on their release serve India as true soldiers of non-violence under the Congress flag. I told them that today a true soldier of India is he who spins to clothe the naked and tills the soil to grow more food to meet the threatening food crisis. The Congress has declared that she would carry on the struggle for India's independence through the method of non-violence. But she has not yet decided whether she would adhere to that method for the protection of that freedom against possible foreign aggression. To me it is a self-evident truth that if freedom is to be shared equally by all—even physically the weakest, the lame and the halt—they must be able to contribute an equal share in its defence. How that can be possible when reliance is placed on armaments my plebeian mind fails to understand. I therefore swear and shall continue to swear by non-violence, i. e. by Satyagraha or soul force. In it physical incapacity is no handicap and even a frail woman or a child can pit herself or himself on equal terms against a giant, armed with the most powerful weapons.

"The eighteen-fold constructive programme with the spinning wheel as its centre is the concrete expression of that spirit in organized society. Let us realize that spirit by devoting ourselves prayerfully to the carrying out of the constructive programme during the National Week."

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

PYARELAL

## WEEKLY LETTER

## THE WAY TO DO IT

The visit to I. N. A. prisoners in Kabul Lines about which I wrote last week was followed by a similar visit by Gandhiji to some thirtyfive I. N. A. prisoners who are detained in the Red Fort. What particularly delighted him during both these visits was to see so many officers and men representing so many different religions and races of India drawn together in a common cause—the cause of India's freedom—and living together like members of one family. It was like a whiff of fresh invigorating air from the free India that is to be. The absence of the third party had enabled them to obliterate all communal distinctions and develop a perfect spirit of camaraderie in exile, but in detention those distinctions were again being brought home to them.

"We never felt any distinction of creed or religion in the I. N. A.," remarked one of them. "But here we are faced with 'Hindu tea' and 'Musalman tea'. What are we to do?"

"Why do you suffer it?" asked Gandhiji, half seriously, half in banter.

"No, we do not," they replied. "We mix 'Hindu tea' and 'Musalman tea' exactly half and half, and then serve. The same with food."

"That is very good," replied Gandhiji laughing, pleased with their ingenuity.

Summing up his reactions of his second visit, Gandhiji in the course of his remarks at the evening prayer narrated how Col. Niranjana Singh, speaking for the I. N. A. prisoners in the Red Fort, had told him that they were finally convinced that India could not win or retain her independence except through non-violence. They had further assured him that after their release they would serve India as true soldiers of non-violence. "We shall disdain to depend on anybody's charity for our support," they had told him. "We would rather dig the ground and till the land than compromise our self-respect by living on subscriptions."

"I told them," said Gandhiji, "that they would be sadly disillusioned if they thought that a free India would be able to provide them all those emoluments, honours and perquisites which a foreign government gave to the army men by the exploitation of the masses, while education, public health and the allied nation-building activities were starved. India was a poor country, her children were born in poverty and grew up in poverty into anaemic, stunted specimens of humanity. If they wanted to become true soldiers of India they must be prepared to share her destitution and try to ameliorate it to the best of their capacity, not expect to be pampered at the cost of the poor. A true soldier would prefer death to charity."

"In reply," continued Gandhiji, "they assured me that Netaji had inculcated upon them the twin lessons of poverty and equality. 'Among us, officer and men live together and dine together without any distinction. There is no high, no low,'"

## A MESSAGE FOR THE I. N. A.

Sardar Ramsing Rawal whose note on "Communal unity and non-untouchability in the I. N. A." has appeared in "Harijan" already saw Gandhiji the other day and asked him what his message for the I. N. A. was. Gandhiji's reply covered not only the I. N. A. but all Indian army men. Although the I. N. A. men had declared open rebellion under Netaji's lead the spirit of rebellion was not confined to them. It had permeated even the Indian Army ranks. Some of the latter had seen him at Poona and sought his advice. Gandhiji had told them that it was open to them to give notice to the authorities that though they were in their pay, their loyalty was mortgaged to India, not to the King of England. Hitherto they had yielded obedience to military orders and been prepared even to shoot down their countrymen to order. But now that the spirit of independence had taken possession of them they would do so no more under a foreign Government's orders.

For the I. N. A. men there were two alternatives. They could serve free India as soldiers-in-arms or they could convert themselves into soldiers of non-violence if they were convinced that non-violence was the higher and the more efficacious way. They should make use of their training and discipline to introduce non-violent organization among the masses, learn spinning and become veteran constructive workers. If they did that, they would set a glorious example to the whole world.

"The I. N. A. men," observed Gandhiji, "have shown great strength, heroism and resourcefulness. But I must confess that their achievements have not dazzled my eyes. To die without killing requires more heroism. There is nothing very wonderful in killing and being killed in the process. But the man who offers his neck to the enemy for execution but refuses to bend to his will shows courage of a far higher type."

"Troublous times lie ahead of us. Our non-violence has brought us to the gate of independence. Shall we renounce it after we have entered that gate? I for one am firmly convinced that non-violence of the brave, such as I have envisaged provides the surest and most efficacious means to face foreign aggression and internal disorder just as it has done for winning independence." The British were going to quit. What place would India have in the comity of nations? Would she be satisfied with being a fifth-rate power like China? China was independent only in name. India would have long to wait before she could become a first class military power. "And for that she would have to go under the tutelage of some Western power. A truly non-violent India will have nothing to fear from any foreign power nor will it look to British navy and air force for her defence. I know that we have not as yet the non-violence of the brave."

New Delhi, 16-4-'46

PYAREL



## HARIJAN

April 21

1946

## SWEEPERS' STRIKE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There are certain matters in which strikes would be wrong. Sweepers' grievances come in this category. I do not want to go into others here. My opinion against sweepers' strikes dates back to about 1897 when I was in Durban. A general strike was mooted there and the question arose as to whether scavengers should join in it. My vote was registered against the proposal. Just as man cannot live without air so too he cannot exist for long if his home and surroundings are not clean. One or other epidemic is bound to break out especially when modern drainage is put out of action.

Therefore I was perturbed when I read about the sweepers' strike in Bombay. Fortunately it has come to an end. I understand, however, that the sweepers, both men and women, refused to submit their case to arbitration.

In spite of my close attachment to sweepers, better because of it, I must denounce the coercive methods they are said to have employed. They will thereby be losers in the long run. City folk will not always be cowed down. If they were, it would mean the collapse of municipal administration. Coercion cannot but result in the end in chaos. An impartial tribunal for settling disputes should always be accepted. Refusal is a sign of weakness. A *bhangi* may not give up his work even for a day. And there are many other ways open to him of securing justice.

Townsppeople should, on the other hand, forget that there is such a thing as untouchability and learn the art of cleaning their own and the city's drains, so that if a similar occasion arises they are not non-plussed and can render the necessary temporary service. They may not be coerced. I go so far as to say that the military who know this work should be used for such emergency. If Swaraj is round the bend, we can now look upon the military as ours and need have no hesitation in taking all the constructive work we can from them. Up till now they have only been employed in indiscriminate firing on us. Today they must plough the land, dig wells, clean latrines and do every other constructive work that they can, and thus turn the people's hatred of them into love.

Now that the *hartal* is at an end, it is the duty of everyone to stretch out the hand of fellowship to the *bhangis*, educate them, see that they are properly housed, permit them, like anyone else, to live wherever they choose, look in the matter of a equitable wage for them and see that justice is meted out to them without their having to demand. If this is done throughout India we shall definitely owe ourselves worthy of Swaraj and be able also to maintain it.

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WHAT ABOUT WOMEN?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am glad to read your reply to the complaint that enough women have not been put up for elections or selected for official posts. You reply that merit should be the only criterion in the choice of candidates. Your dictum is perfectly correct and every thinking man and woman will agree with it. There is a saying that "neither age nor sex but merit alone should be the object of adoration." The reality, however, is far from the truth. You are not unaware that the maxim is everywhere observed in the breach. Neither in the ministries and legislatures, nor in local bodies is merit given first consideration in the matter of selection of candidates. Considerations of caste, community and province come into the picture and are the determining factors. The argument proffered in favour of such action is that none of these interests can be ignored. If the argument holds, what about the interests of women? In view of the maxim does not the basis of selection need clarification?"

The above is from the letter of an esteemed sister. The sister's argument boils down to this, that where everything is on a wrong basis another wrong will not matter. But if we go on thus, the evil will grow and we shall be hopelessly caught in a vicious circle. My appeal to women, therefore, is that they should intelligently become the personification of renunciation and thereby not only adorn but also raise the status of their sex and the nation.

So long as considerations of caste and community continue to weigh with us and rule our choice, women will be well advised to remain aloof and thereby build up their prestige. The question is as to how best this can be done. Today few women take part in politics and most of these do not do independent thinking. They are content to carry out their parents' or their husbands' behests. Realizing their dependence they cry out for women's rights. Instead of doing this, however, women workers should enroll women as voters, impart or have imparted to them practical education, teach them to think independently, release them from the chains of caste that bind them so as to bring about a change in them which will compel men to realize woman's strength and capacity for sacrifice and give her places of honour. If they will do this they will purify the present unclean atmosphere. So much for women.

As to men, they should consider it their duty to come out of the impure atmosphere wherever it exists. They will not be guided by considerations of caste and community if these are banished from their own minds. The best and easiest way to achieve this is for both men and women to stoop to conquer by becoming Harijans and that too of the last class, i. e. *bhangis* or *mehtars*.

Where capable women have been left out men should make amends. It is their duty to give such encouragement to women as will enable them to outshine men. If both parties act as suggested the atmosphere will soon become pure. Whether men do so or not, women's duty is, to my mind, clear.

New Delhi, 12-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## A MINISTER'S WOE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Katju sends the following note :

"Owing to the comparative failure of winter crops in many parts of India, there is a widespread apprehension about serious food shortage in the country. In order to afford equal opportunity to the rich and the poor alike regarding food supplies, rationing has been introduced in many urban areas in the United Provinces. Rationing entails responsibility on the Government to feed the inhabitants in such areas. The apprehended scarcity is so severe that the U. P. rations have been cut down to the barest minimum viz., six *chhataks* of cereals. This includes 2 *chs.* of wheat, 2 *chs.* rice and 2 *chs.* of mixed *atta*. Mixed *atta* is not generally liked by the people and any further reduction in rations is almost impossible. To feed the urban areas, continuous supplies from the villages is an evident necessity. The Government of India has suggested to Provincial Governments, that in order to ensure continuous supplies, it would be desirable to enforce compulsory levies on agricultural produce in surplus districts, i. e. in districts where it is expected that the produce exceeds the requirements of the rural area concerned. This question of a compulsory levy is greatly agitating the public mind. It is said that the control price fixed by the Government is too low and should be raised. The answer to that is, that the price structure is an all-India affair and it is not possible to raise the price in any particular province without affecting the structure as a whole. Furthermore, the control price in the United Provinces has been fixed at Rs. 10-4 per maund of 40 *seers* which is not really a low price. It is sufficiently remunerative and makes due allowance for the rise in costs of cultivation and general living. Formerly in pre-War days wheat used to sell at about 13 *seers* a rupee; the control price is 4 *seers*. Supplies being apprehended to be much less than the demand, there is bound to be a black market where selfish people can buy foodstuffs at higher prices to satisfy their individual needs. No compulsion would be necessary if cultivators realize that it is their social and patriotic duty to do their utmost to feed their brothers and sisters in urban areas, and also landless people living in the rural areas. The cultivator is in every sense of the word the *Anna-data* and I ask you to appeal to him at this critical juncture not to hoard, not to sell in the black market but to supply in the greatest measure possible to the Government stores, so that food may be distributed equitably and equally to all people, rich and poor alike and hunger and destitution may be avoided. Your voice goes far and wide and I therefore appeal to you to take up this work. Very many schemes have been considered for the purpose of ensuring adequate supplies in our urban areas, but whatever the proposals may be, the net result is that in every case the cultivator is asked to part with his grain. Unless the consumers in rural and urban areas are fed, there are bound to be dis-

turbances of every kind. We are doing our very best to encourage the 'Grow More Food' and 'Grow More Vegetables' campaigns in the United Provinces. The various suggestions made by you have all been adopted. Instructions have been issued to plough all Government lands in Government buildings etc. Private owners have also been offered expert advice and are being given facilities by the supply of free seeds and free water from irrigation channels. Assistance in the digging of wells has also been given. After all is said and done, without public co-operation little progress can be made and co-operation must take the form of the *Anna-data* giving the gift of food grains to the utmost of his capacity."

This note from Dr. Katju is worthy of close attention by the Kisan and his guides as also urban people. The impending calamity can be turned to good use. Then it will be a blessing in disguise. Otherwise, curse it is and curse it will remain.

Dr. Katju writes as a responsible minister. Therefore, people can either make or mar him. They can remove him and replace him by a better. But so long as ministers of the people's choice are in office as their servants, the people have to carry out their instructions. Every breach of law or instructions is not *satyagraha*. It can easily be *duragraha* rather than *satyagraha*.

New Delhi, 14-4-'46

## INDIAN PRESSMEN v. EUROPEAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian journalist complains that our great men have a weakness for foreign journalists to the extent of excluding Indians at their press conferences, and wonders whether I am myself free from this weakness. For myself, I can say without fear of contradiction that I have never been guilty of such partiality. Having suffered a good deal for the crime of being an Asiatic, I am not likely to be guilty of such weakness. And I must say that I know of no such example as my friend adverts to, if only because public men can ill afford to face a boycott by Indian Pressmen. What has happened with me and, so far as I am aware, with others too is that they and I have found it necessary at times to give special interviews to foreign journalists when it has been found necessary in the interest of the common cause to get messages across the seas. It is impossible in the present circumstances to do otherwise. It would be as foolish to invite a boycott by foreign journalists as by Indian. Any industrious person will find out that Indian journalists have been more often than not preferred by Indian public men again for the sake of the common cause. As a fellow journalist I would urge journalists, whether Indian or foreign to prefer their particular causes to their own or their employers' pockets or to descending to recriminations or personalities.

New Delhi,  
14-4-'46

## SHELLEY'S PROPHETIC VISION

When Shelley was living in Italy, he received with indignation the news of the Manchester Massacre in which unarmed English weavers stood at bay against the yeomanry and suffered in consequence. 'The great truth that the many, if accordant and resolute, could control the few, . . . made him long to teach his injured countrymen how to resist', as Mrs. Shelley tells us. Shelley therefore wrote the *Mask of Anarchy* in which he unfolded his scheme of non-violent rebellion.

Shelley pictured first the slavery of the common man in England in those days. He had to work hard, but received such low wages that he could barely keep himself alive for the benefit of the 'tyrants'. He had to work at 'loom and plough and sword and spade', but the fruits of his labour were not for him to enjoy and he defended his masters but not himself. His ill-fed and ill-clothed wife and children

' . . . are dying whilst I speak,  
When the winter winds are bleak.'

He cast longing eyes on the food that the rich man in his riot cast to his fat dogs. He was paid in paper currency, 'the ghost of gold' for which he had to toil infinitely harder than people groaning under the tyrannies of old toiled for its substance. 'Paper coin' is characterized by Shelley as

'that forgery  
Of the title-deeds, which ye  
Hold to something of the worth  
Of the inheritance of Earth.'

English people had become slaves in soul, had no wills of their own and were

'All that others make of ye.'

And when, at last the worm turned, and they ventured to complain

'with a murmur weak and vain',  
'the tyrants' crew rode over their wives and them, and blood was on the grass like dew.' Even savage men or 'wild beasts within a den' would not put up with that sort of oppression, to which however they were utter strangers.

After this Shelley gave English people an idea of the promised land of Freedom to which he would lead them, but where was the path to that New Jerusalem? In answer to this question Shelley revealed his splendid vision of mass Satyagraha.

'The blue sky overhead,

The green earth on which ye tread',  
all that was eternal must witness the solemnity. From every nook and corner of England, from every hut, village or town,

'Where those who live and suffer moan

For others' misery or their own',  
let there be a vast assembly of men, and let them declare with 'measured words' that they

'Were, as God had made them, free.'

The tyrants would then pour around them

'Troops of armed emblazonry'.

But the assembly must stand calm and resolute,

'Like a forest close and mute,

With folded arms and looks which are  
Weapons of unvanquished war.'

Panic must pass,

'a disregarded shade,  
Through their phalanx undismayed.'

And if then the tyrants dare

'Let them ride among you there,  
Slash and stab and maim and hew,—  
What they like, that let them do.  
With folded arms and steady eyes,  
And little fear and less surprise,  
Look upon them as they slay

'Till their rage has died away.'

Then they will return with shame to the place from which they came,

'And the blood thus shed will speak  
In hot blushes on their cheek'

Every woman in the land will point the finger of scorn at them as they stand. 'They will hardly dare to greet their acquaintance in the street',

'And the bold, true, warriors  
Who have hugged Danger in wars  
Will turn to those who would be free  
Ashamed of such base company.'

That slaughter shall steam up like inspiration to the Nation, eloquent, oracular: a volcano heard afar. And the doom of oppression will be proclaimed by the following words which will ring through each heart and brain,

Heard again—again—again:  
'Rise, like lions after slumber,  
In unvanquishable number,  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which in sleep had fallen on you.  
Ye are many—they are few.'

Poona, 23-2-'46

V. G. D.

## Notes

### The National Week

The National Week is intended to be observed as a week of introspection and prayer, the latter including service through constructive work. The 6th and 13th of April, marking its opening and close were observed in Gandhiji's camp by fasting and common spinning. In the latter 183 spinners including several members of the Working Committee took part on the last day. Gandhiji delivered the message of the National Week in two discourses at the evening prayer gathering on the 6th and 13th of April respectively. The text of these discourses will be found reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

New Delhi, 16-4-'46

P.

### A Request

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by Tuesday. The subscriber number should be quoted with the intimation.

Please note that change of address cannot be effected within one month.

Subscribers are not enrolled for a period less than six months.

J. DESA

## KHADI IN TAMILNAD, 1944-45

We have received a copy of the Annual Report for 1944-45 of the Tamilnad Branch of the All India Spinners' Association, Tirupur. It is in the fitness of things that it has been printed on hand-made paper manufactured by the Branch itself.

During the year under report Tamilnad produced Khadi worth Rs. 32 lakhs and sold Khadi of the value of Rs. 36 lakhs out of which the province itself consumed Khadi worth Rs. 32 lakhs. It ministered to about 75,000 spinners, about 2,500 weavers and about 500 other artisans in about 3,500 villages among whom it distributed Rs. 21 lakhs as wages, while the total salaries paid to the staff (440 people) amounted to only Rs. 1½ lakhs. In fact when we purchase a rupee worth of Tamilnad Khadi, we spend 2 annas for the cotton, 12 annas as a charge for carding and other processes up to weaving and 2 annas for all overhead charges including freight, packing and establishment. We suggest that when the report for next year is published, it should also supply the corresponding figures for mill cloth. Seventy-five per cent of the Khadi produced by the Branch was made in Coimbatore district alone.

In 1923 Tamilnad produced Khadi worth less than Rs. 5 lakhs, compared with the present figure of Rs. 32 lakhs. Allowing for wartime inflation, it will be safe to say that the province has trebled its output in 22 years. [Khadi production year by year should be shown in square yards as well as in rupees]. In fact Tamilnad at present is the biggest producer of Khadi (30 lakhs of square yards) among all the provinces, the second biggest being Bihar which however produces less than half the Khadi manufactured by Tamilnad, i. e. about 12½ lakhs of square yards. Maharashtra and the United Provinces are the rest of the Big Four.

What a pity that after a quarter of a century of Khadi production under wise and able guidance the Tamilnad Branch has not still succeeded in overcoming what it calls the 'persistent tendency of the weavers to prefer mill yarn when available to hand-spun yarn and to take to the latter when mill yarn is not available'! According to the report this tendency mainly accounts for the rise and fall in production and is a limiting factor in the progress of the Khadi movement.

A chain can never be stronger than its weakest link. If we take care of every single link, the chain will take care of itself. It is high time the workers of the A. I. S. A. took to the method of doubling and twisting yarn even in the process of unwinding the cone on the spindle. This can compete fully with any mill-spun yarn.

As regards sales, we note that out of over Rs. 33 lakhs worth of Khadi sold in 1944, rural areas accounted for less than Rs. 4 lakhs. According to the 'new dispensation', we have to aim at disposing of our entire output in villages, the spinners and weavers themselves being Khadi-clad.

We commend one new feature of Khadi production in Tamilnad to workers in charge of other provinces, viz. that out of 6 lakhs lbs. of cotton consumed in a year, only a third was supplied by the A. I. S. A., the remaining two thirds being the spinners' own. This

enabled the Branch to effect a considerable saving in capital required for stocking cotton.

The Khadi woven for self-sufficient spinners was less than 10,000 square yards in 18 months. Self-spinners' yarn was worse than the yarn spun for wages, so that weavers would not weave it at scheduled rates.

The Branch conducted cheap grain stores and classes in spinning on the Magan Charkha. We would have welcomed more details about the working of these classes.

Gandhiji's *Sayings on the welfare of women* compiled by Shri Shankarlal Banker was distributed to the artisans free of charge.

The Branch collected 75,000 hanks of yarn worth over Rs. 11,000 for the Kasturba Fund.

Exhibitions were organized in connection with fairs and were visited by two lakhs of people. These were so designed as to stress and demonstrate the crafts rather than merely dispose of Khadi stocks.

The Shankarlal Charkha Works at Tirupur produced implements and accessories of the value of about Rs. 1,25,000 in 18 months.

Jamnalal Vidyalaya undertook an experiment in sericulture and produced 18 lbs. of Endi silk cocoons which were also spun and woven at the same institution.

Let us close this notice of the report with a paragraph in it which explains the re-orientation of Khadi in a few words:

"Spinning is not for wages but in order to meet our own clothing requirements. Khadi is not a commodity for sale but for consumption by the spinner himself. Every spinner should wear Khadi and every Khadi wearer should spin. The spinning wheel is a symbol of *ahimsa*, and it aims at creating a non-violent society free from all forms of exploitation."

V. G. D.

## SIGNS OF THE TIME

Addressing the evening prayer gathering on the Jallianwala Bagh day Gandhiji said:

"Today is the last day of the National Week which I have also called the Sacred Week. It was on this day that the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh was enacted. The 6th of April saw the birth of Satyagraha in India. The awakening among the masses resulting from it was so phenomenal that the Government could suppress it only by having recourse to the method of frightfulness. It culminated in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre when Gen. Dyer with a party of fifty sepoy opened fire on an unarmed and peaceful gathering, resulting in the death of at least 500 people and the wounding of thrice that number. There was only one exit and it was held by the firing party so that the innocent men and women who were trapped there had no alternative but to be shot down like rabbits in a hole. It is true some excesses were committed by the mob before the massacre. But they were nothing as compared to the savage reprisals taken by the Government. That is the way of all imperialisms. In no other way could a handful of foreigners maintain their rule over a nation of 400 millions.

"Why have I recalled these incidents? Not to stir up bitter, old memories or to keep alive the



embers of hatred, but only to emphasize the distinction between the old order which they symbolized and the new that is in sight. I have not the slightest doubt as to the *bona fides* of the Cabinet Mission. I am convinced that they have finally made up their mind to withdraw *in toto*. The question which is exercising their minds is how to effect the withdrawal in an orderly manner and to that end their energies are bent. Gentleness requires that if a person is sincerely trying to make amends he should be thanked and congratulated for it, not that his past should be flung in his face.

"You know Shri Jaiprakash Narain and Dr. Lohia. Both of them are daring men of action and scholars. They could easily have become rich. But they chose the way of renunciation and service. To break the chains of their country's slavery was their one passion. Naturally the alien Government regarded them as dangerous to its existence and put them into prison. We, however, have different scales to weigh merit and we regard them as patriots who have sacrificed their all for the love of the country which has given them birth. That they would be found wanting in the scales of non-violence is irrelevant today. What is relevant is that independence of India is today common ground between the British and ourselves. Their freedom, therefore, is no longer considered dangerous by the Government. Viewed in that light, their release as also the release of the I. N. A. men yesterday must be regarded as an earnest of the honesty of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. We must be thankful to them for this earnest, and prayer of thankfulness should ascend to heaven for the wisdom with which God seems to be endowing them.

"The Satyagraha Week which is closing today is devoted always to communal unity and Khaddar. Communal unity is not confined to Hindus and Muslims only, it extends to all including Englishmen. It must not become a menace to anybody or group. That is the message of non-violence.

"The National Week is a week of self-introspection and prayer. Prayer is not for the impure in heart."

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

PYARELAL

## "ROMAN URDU"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If there is Roman Urdu, why not Roman Hindi? The next step will be to romanize the alphabets of all the languages of India. They have done this for Zulu which had no alphabet of its own. The attempt in India would be on a par with the attempt to foist Esperanto on the world. It cannot succeed in the near future. Believers in the Roman script in the place of all the known Indian scripts will have a circle of adherents but the movement cannot permeate the masses. It should not. Crores of people need not become so lazy as not to learn their own respective scripts. A laudable attempt is being made

not to replace the alphabets in vogue in India but to teach Nagari in addition in the hope that in course of time millions may learn to read the Indian languages in the Nagari character. And since Urdu characters cannot for well known reasons be replaced by Nagari, it should be learnt by all the patriots who love their country too well to find the learning of the Urdu alphabet a burden. All these attempts seem to me to be worthy.

With all my readiness to grasp new ideas, I have failed to find a substantial reason for inducing the spread of the Roman alphabet for the purpose of replacing the Nagari or Urdu scripts. It is true that in the Indian Army the Roman alphabet has been largely used. I should hope that the Indian soldier, if he is saturated with the national spirit, will not mind learning both Nagari and Urdu characters. After all, amid the ocean of Indian humanity, the Indian soldier is a mere drop. He must shed the English mode. Probably the reason for romanizing Urdu will be found in the English officer being too lazy to learn to read Urdu or Nagari characters.

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

## HE LIVES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Death has removed not only from us but from the world one of India's best sons. That he loved India passionately, every one who knew him could see. When I saw him last in Madras, he could talk of nothing but India and her culture for which he lived and died. I am sure that he had no thought of himself even when he seemed to be on his deathbed. His Sanskrit learning was as great if not greater than his English. I must not permit myself to say more, save this that though we differed in politics our hearts were one and I could never think that his patriotism was less than that of the tallest patriot. Sastri the man lives though his body is reduced to ashes.

New Delhi, 18-4-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 12]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 1946

[ THREE ANNAS

## THE LESSON OF THE CROSS

Good Friday is, perhaps, the greatest day in the Christian year, inasmuch as it is the day that reminds the followers of Jesus of the supreme sacrifice by means of which he showed the way of life to man. As one reads or dwells afresh on the story of the Cross, the pathos and beauty of it never fail to stir one to the depths. Could man's cruelty to man have gone further, and could man's forbearance with man have been more manly? 2000 years have rolled away but Jesus lives, and the noble example is there to inspire man for all time. For me he is more man than God.

It was fear of the truth which was in Jesus, that made his enemies slay him. It is fear in the hearts of men at all times, that breeds hatred and suspicion, the root cause of strife. The fear that stalks our land to-day cannot but distress everyone. During the recent meeting of the Kasturba Trust Agents in Uruli, one worker asked that while he (Gandhiji) did not advocate their taking any part in politics what would he (Gandhiji) advise them to do in case of violent outbreaks? The reply was quick and clear. "There is no question of any of you keeping aloof from the fiery furnace, should such ever come your way. I shall not shed a tear, I shall rejoice to hear if any or all of you are found to have laid down your lives in trying to quell the disturbance. To be killed but never to kill is the law that governs us, and women should surely excel in this field."

In talking to a friend the other day who was suggesting an expedient to solve the political tangle, contrary to his inner conviction of the wrong of it, Gandhiji told him that it was unworthy for a man of faith ever to believe that anything but evil could be born out of a poisonous germ. The friend replied, "The Cross was poisonous, full of hatred and ill will and yet redemption came out of it." "No," was Gandhiji's reply. "That is not my interpretation of the Cross. There was no poison there, no hatred, no fear. It was the way of self-suffering and therefore of love and hence the story of redemption."

The story of Calvary brings home to one the need for supreme faith in the hour of trial, which sees beyond the veil and gives one the courage to stand by truth at all cost.

New Delhi,

Good Friday, 1946

A. K.

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE LURID BACKGROUND

The labours of the Cabinet Mission are proceeding against a lurid background. The Imperial City has for the last few days become a seething cauldron of wild rumours, with swirling eddies and counter currents. The air is thick with alarms and threats of rioting. Some dealers in daggers and knives and other lethal weapons are even said to be exploiting the panic which they assiduously foster for their own selfish purposes like their ante-type—the merchants of death in Europe and America. Deprecating this tendency in the course of his remarks one evening, Gandhiji said:

"The newspaper man has become a walking plague. In the East as in the West newspapers are fast becoming the people's Bible, Koran, Zend Avesta and the Bhagwad Gita, rolled into one. All that appears in the papers is looked upon as God's truth. For instance, a paper predicts that riots are coming, that all the sticks and knives in Delhi have been sold out and the news throws everybody into a panic. That is bad. Another newspaper reports the occurrence of riots here and there and blames the police with taking sides with the Hindus in one place and Muslims in another. Again, the man in the street is upset. I want you all to shed this craven fear. It is not becoming of men and women, who believe in God and take part in the prayers, to be afraid of anyone.

"What if riots do actually take place and some people get killed? Everyone must die one day. I will expect you to go in the midst of the fracas and tell the rowdies to be sensible. A friend remarked in the course of the conversation the other day that whilst it is poor rowdies that kill and get killed in the riots, the real responsibility lies not with them but with educated people, some of them occupying respectable places in society. It is they who incite others to violence from behind the scenes. It is for these educated and cultured people to stop the riots by laying down their lives in the process if necessary. Even a little girl can go up to the hooligans and tell them to desist. Most probably they will. But supposing they do not and kill her, it will be well with her all the same. She will live through her pure sacrifice. It is always well with those who believe in God and try to do His will to the best of their ability.

"Independence is coming," he concluded. "But our lungs appear to have lost the capacity to breathe the air of freedom. But when freedom actually comes, you will find that the loss of capacity

*Copy sent to Mr. Pearson  
— 17/5/46.*

was only apparent. May be, the first impact of freedom will give you a rude shock, and before you regain your equilibrium some undesirable things might take place. All that you need to do is to keep yourselves on the alert and undaunted and it will be well with you in the end."

#### ON THE EVE

An English novelist in one of his immortal stories has left us a picture of a doctor who, when suddenly brought into broad daylight after his long confinement in a dark dungeon, blinks uncomfortably and wants to go back into the unlighted gloom of the dungeon. Similarly, the question arises, how will India react to independence after nearly two centuries of subjection? Would she have the courage to face up to the realities, or would she be frightened by them and want to go back to the so-called ease and security of her servitude? For, it is getting more and more clear that independence, when it comes, is not going to be all beer and skittles. Are we ready to pay the price of freedom and make the necessary sacrifices or do we want to cling to the privileges and perquisites to which a foreign government might have accustomed a few of us as a part of its policy of divide and rule? These must be willingly sacrificed before we are fit to enter the temple of freedom. The fact that everybody is just now going through a fierce process of self-examination and introspection is a healthy sign. It is an indication of the general realization that the hour of independence is close at hand.

"Where shall we stand when India is independent?" asked a friend representing the landholders' interests, the other day during his visit to Gandhiji.

"You will be as free as any scavenger," replied Gandhiji, "but whether you will be able to retain all the privileges which you are enjoying under the British Government is a question you can answer for yourself."

"We realize," proceeded the friend, "that we shall secure our salvation at the hands of Indian leaders, not the British Government."

"Everybody believes that today," said Gandhiji. "Even the British Government feel that they cannot do otherwise than to leave India to settle her own affairs."

"The landholders," resumed the friend, "derived their charter of rights and privileges from the Permanent Settlement of 1802, which was of the nature of a contract between the British and the Zamindars, but they are quite willing to negotiate an agreement with the leaders of the country on the future of their rights."

"Being a non-violent man by nature," replied Gandhiji, "I cannot countenance the usurpation of anybody's just rights. But some of the extraordinary privileges that pass muster under the British rule are themselves in the nature of an usurpation. The history of British rule is a history of usurpation. Those who helped the British Government in this process got certain rights as a reward for their services. These cannot be insisted upon."

"Many ancient Zamindaris existed long before the advent of the British and were exercising

sovereign power," rejoined the friend, "as a product of indigenous social and economic system of long standing. Don't you think they have a title to continue their existence? They are trying their best to discharge a philanthropic function in the shape of founding educational and social institutions."

"Anything that is ancient and consistent with moral values has a title to be retained," answered Gandhiji. "*Per contra* anything that does not conform to moral values has to go. Wrong has no prescriptive right to exist merely because it is of a long standing. If those who are on your Zamindaris feel one with you and you with them, like members of a family, you have nothing to fear from anybody."

The friend proceeded, "We want even-handed justice. We have no objection to an Independent India Government abolishing all manner of vested interests. But let there be no discrimination against the Zamindars especially. We only want a conciliatory gesture, an assurance that you won't wipe us out as a class, without giving us a sporting chance to vindicate our existence."

"A just man," replied Gandhiji "need have no fear of any kind from an Independent India. India may, however, fall into unjust hands. Every Congressman is not an angel nor is everyone who is not a Congressman a devil. Let us hope that, if Congress comes into power, it will try to be more than just. Otherwise all the good that it might have done would disappear in the twinkling of an eye."

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Another group of friends presented Gandhiji with a poser, 'Could he guarantee that under independence the right of proselytization would be guaranteed by a statute?' This provoked the counter question, 'Did they really believe in the ideal of independence or was their support to the independence ideal only for a consideration?' In the latter case, he would say, remarked Gandhiji, that they believed neither in independence nor in religion. Who could suppress the voice of truth, if it filled one's being? And of what avail was a statutory guarantee if there was not the fire within to bear witness to truth?

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the worship of any God or man save himself under a penalty, he began to pray to God publicly, the windows of his chamber being open so that all could see him praying. He was thrown into the hungry lion's den but came out unscathed. The result was that the King rescinded his former decree which was 'unalterable' under the laws of Medes and Persians and made another decree to the effect that in every dominion of his kingdom, "men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, for he is the living God and steadfast as ever." And "so Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus." That was 'the only true way of proselytization and it needed no guarantee, statutory or otherwise. It was its own seal and sanction. "To take a leaf from the history of our own times, remember the words of the late Lord Salisbury who, when in office, had told a missionary deputation about China that they were a poor specimen, if for their mission they sought the protection of British guns," concluded Gandhiji.

#### A PILGRIMAGE

Gandhiji had thought of returning to his residence from the Balikashrama. But a number of students and some members of the staff from Jamia Millia came and requested him, some time, to pay a visit, to their institution too.

"Some time must mean now," replied Gandhiji. "Having come so far I cannot go back without going to you." The Jamia Millia group were overjoyed. They ran ahead of him to carry the happy tidings to their colleagues and returned with petromax lanterns to lead the way. The unexpected visit put the whole place in a flutter of excitement. Dr. Zakir Hussain was away at Bhawalpur. But Moujeeb Saheb was there with other members of the staff. Carpets were spread on the lawn and a happy family gathering was held there under the sky. Jamia Millia, founded at the commencement of the non-cooperation movement in 1920 is shortly to celebrate its silver jubilee. The seedling planted by the late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, Dr. Ansari and the Ali Brothers has grown into a stately tree under the loving care of Dr. Zakir Hussain and his colleagues. It has now 200 students attending the primary classes, 100 in the secondary section and 28 in the college. Sixty teachers are besides undergoing training. The institution is running a day school and a *Maktaba* or a publishing house in Karol Bagh.

"I have proved my claim to being a member of the family by coming without previous notice," Gandhiji remarked touched by the spontaneous welcome. He then invited questions.

One student asked, "What can the students do to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity?" It was a question after Gandhiji's heart. "The way is simple," he replied. "Even if all the Hindus turn rowdies and abuse you, you may not cease to regard them as your blood-brothers and *vice versa*. Is it impossible? No, rather the contrary. And what is possible for the individual is possible for the mass.

"Today the whole atmosphere is poisoned. All kinds of wild rumours are circulated by the Press and are indiscriminately swallowed by the people. Panic results and both Hindus and Muslims forget their humanity and behave towards one another like wild brutes. It behoves man to

act decently, irrespective of what the other party might or might not do. If one returns decency for decency, it is a bargain. Even thieves and dacoits do that. There is no merit in it. Humanity disdains to calculate profits and losses. It enjoins on one a unilateral obligation to put up decent behaviour. If all the Hindus listened to my advice, or in the alternative the Muslims listened to me, there would be peace in India which neither daggers nor *lathis* would be able to shatter. The mischief maker will soon be weary of the sorry business of stabbing, when there is no retaliation or counter provocation. An Unseen Power will arrest his uplifted arm and it will refuse to obey his wicked will. You may throw dust at the sun, it won't dim his lustre. All it needs is to hold one's soul in faith and patience. God is good and does not allow wickedness to proceed beyond a certain length.

"I had a hand in the building up of this institution. It, therefore, gives me much pleasure to be able to pour out my heart before you. I have said the same thing to the Hindus. May yours be a shining example to India and the world."

Before returning to his residence he made a pilgrimage of the tomb of the late Dr. M. A. Ansari, the living monument of Islamic liberalism at its best and Hindu-Muslim unity. To Gandhiji he was like a blood-brother. During Gandhiji's twentyone days' fast in Parnakuti at Poona in 1932, when things seemed critical, Dr. Ansari interrupted his visit to Europe and hastened to his bedside. A spacious platform thrown up into a series of terraces marks the burial place. A marble tablet at the foot bears his name and the dates of his birth and death. The unostentatious and austere simplicity only enhances its impressiveness. Independent India will always cherish the late doctor's memory as a symbol of hope, faith and unity.

New Delhi, 23-4-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### 'Silk Khadi'

If partial payment in yarn is necessary for buying cotton Khadi why should the same not apply to 'silk Khadi'?

There can be only one answer to this question. Silk Khadi too is Khadi and its purchase should, therefore, also be contingent on the requisite payment of yarn.

### Why Only Yarn?

Since spinning is a part of the constructive programme, why should not all constructive workers be exempt from paying for Khadi in yarn?

There is some confusion of thought in this question. The reason for part payment in yarn, instead of in money, is to give Khadi its rightful place, and in time make yarn current coin. That yarn is a part of constructive work has no bearing on the present argument. Let us leave aside for the moment the fact that the wheel is the central sun of the solar system of our constructive programme. If we believe that Swaraj hangs on the hand-spun thread, then it is clear that the value of yarn will be far greater than gold and silver currency. Constructive workers are not exempt from spinning. How can there be any such exemption from *yajna*? Spinning is the necessary *yajna* for everyone.

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

M. K. G.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

# HARIJAN

April 28

1946

## MINISTERS' DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is legitimate to ask what Congress ministers will do for Khaddar and other village industries now that they are in office. I should broaden the question and apply it to all the Provincial Governments of India. Poverty is common to all the provinces and so are means of alleviation in terms of the masses. Such is the experience of both the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.. A suggestion has been made that there should be a separate minister for the work, as, for proper organization, it will occupy all the time of one minister. I dread to make the suggestion, for we have not yet outlived the English scale of expenditure. Whether a minister is separately appointed or not, a department for the work is surely necessary. In these times of scarcity of food and clothing, this department can render the greatest help. The ministers have experts at their disposal through the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.. It is possible to clothe today the whole of India in Khadi on the smallest outlay and in the shortest time possible. Each Provincial Government has to tell the villagers that they must manufacture their own Khaddar for their own use. This brings in automatic local production and distribution. And there will undoubtedly be a surplus for the cities at least to a certain extent which, in its turn, will reduce the pressure on the local mills. The latter will then be able to take part in supplying the want of cloth in other parts of the world.

How can this result be brought about?

The Governments should notify the villagers that they will be expected to manufacture Khaddar for the needs of their villages within a fixed date after which no cloth will be supplied to them. The Governments in their turn will supply the villagers with cotton seed or cotton wherever required, at cost price and the tools of manufacture also at cost, to be recovered in easy instalments payable in, say, five years or more. They will supply them with instructors wherever necessary and undertake to buy surplus stock of Khaddar, provided that the villagers in question have their cloth requirements supplied from their own manufacture. This should do away with cloth shortage without fuss and with very little overhead charges.

The villages will be surveyed and a list prepared of things that can be manufactured locally with little or no help and which may be required for village use or for sale outside, such for instance, as *ghani*-pressed oil and cakes, burning oil prepared through *ghanis*, hand-pounded rice, *tadgud*, honey, toys, mats, hand-made paper, village soap, etc.. If enough care is thus taken the villages, most of them as good as dead or dying, will hum with life and

exhibit the immense possibilities they have of supplying most of their wants themselves and of the cities and towns of India.

Then there is the limitless cattle wealth of India suffering from criminal neglect. Goseva Sangh, as yet not properly experienced, can still supply valuable aid.

Without the basic training the villagers are being starved for education. This desideratum can be supplied by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The experiment was already commenced by Congress Governments but it was interrupted by the resignations of the Congress ministries. The thread can be easily resumed now.

New Delhi, 22-4-'46

## IS IT GENUINE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. In one of your post-prayer discourses last week you stressed the use of Khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. I love the very touch of Khadi as it links me, in my heart and thoughts, to my poor sisters and brothers, to whom it brings a well-earned morsel of food. I love it from every point of view,—on hygienic, aesthetic, humanitarian, moral and spiritual grounds. But I have so far never been able to take to spinning, much as I like the soothing hum of the wheel, and thanks to our system of education, my hands are utterly untrained and unfit to learn spinning at this stage. I am, therefore, unable to comply in a straightforward manner with the conditions now imposed on the sale of Khadi, and it is galling to me to have to go in for mill cloth.

A. If the love for Khadi is so genuine as to cover moral and spiritual values, surely the writer should be able to learn spinning easily at his age. The late Pandit Motilal Nehru learnt it, after he was fifty. The late Ali Brothers learnt it, though they did not practise it regularly. And all these three learnt it for its national and political value in the highest sense of the term. As a matter of fact most of the public workers learnt it late in life.

The writer should learn spinning without delay. There is nothing wrong with his fingers. All who can write can spin. And spinning for Swaraj is any day more valuable than writing.

I agree that for one like the writer the only straightforward way to give his quota of yarn for buying Khadi is self-spinning. If he was incapable for any cause, it would be perfectly right for him to get his many friends or relations to spin the required quota for him.

As an earnest student of affairs, he should know, too, that while Khadi is good for the poor as an honourable occupation for earning bread, it has an additional and far greater value as an instrument of winning Swaraj through non-violent means. Let it not be said of men like him that they could write eloquently about moral values without realizing the implications of the statement.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46

the worship of any God or man save himself under a penalty, he began to pray to God publicly, the windows of his chamber being open so that all could see him praying. He was thrown into the hungry lion's den but came out unscathed. The result was that the King rescinded his former decree which was 'unalterable' under the laws of Medes and Persians and made another decree to the effect that in every dominion of his kingdom, "men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, for he is the living God and steadfast as ever." And "so Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus." That was the only true way of proselytization and it needed no guarantee, statutory or otherwise. It was its own seal and sanction. "To take a leaf from the history of our own times, remember the words of the late Lord Salisbury who, when in office, had told a missionary deputation about China that they were a poor specimen, if for their mission they sought the protection of British guns," concluded Gandhiji.

#### A PILGRIMAGE

Gandhiji had thought of returning to his residence from the Balikashrama. But a number of students and some members of the staff from Jamia Millia came and requested him, some time, to pay a visit, to their institution too.

"Some time must mean now," replied Gandhiji. "Having come so far I cannot go back without going to you." The Jamia Millia group were overjoyed. They ran ahead of him to carry the happy tidings to their colleagues and returned with petromax lanterns to lead the way. The unexpected visit put the whole place in a flutter of excitement. Dr. Zakir Hussain was away at Bhawalpur. But Moujeeb Saheb was there with other members of the staff. Carpets were spread on the lawn and a happy family gathering was held there under the sky. Jamia Millia, founded at the commencement of the non-cooperation movement in 1920 is shortly to celebrate its silver jubilee. The seedling planted by the late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, Dr. Ansari and the Ali Brothers has grown into a stately tree under the loving care of Dr. Zakir Hussain and his colleagues. It has now 200 students attending the primary classes, 100 in the secondary section and 28 in the college. Sixty teachers are besides undergoing training. The institution is running a day school and a *Maktaba* or a publishing house in Karol Bagh.

"I have proved my claim to being a member of the family by coming without previous notice," Gandhiji remarked touched by the spontaneous welcome. He then invited questions.

One student asked, "What can the students do to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity?" It was a question after Gandhiji's heart. "The way is simple," he replied. "Even if all the Hindus turn rowdies and abuse you, you may not cease to regard them as your blood-brothers and *vice versa*. Is it impossible? No, rather the contrary. And what is possible for the individual is possible for the mass.

"Today the whole atmosphere is poisoned. All kinds of wild rumours are circulated by the Press and are indiscriminately swallowed by the people. Panic results and both Hindus and Musalmans forget their humanity and behave towards one another like wild brutes. It behoves man to

act decently, irrespective of what the other party might or might not do. If one returns decency for decency, it is a bargain. Even thieves and dacoits do that. There is no merit in it. Humanity disdains to calculate profits and losses. It enjoins on one a unilateral obligation to put up decent behaviour. If all the Hindus listened to my advice, or in the alternative the Muslims listened to me, there would be peace in India which neither daggers nor *lathis* would be able to shatter. The mischief maker will soon be weary of the sorry business of stabbing, when there is no retaliation or counter provocation. An Unseen Power will arrest his uplifted arm and it will refuse to obey his wicked will. You may throw dust at the sun, it won't dim his lustre. All it needs is to hold one's soul in faith and patience. God is good and does not allow wickedness to proceed beyond a certain length.

"I had a hand in the building up of this institution. It, therefore, gives me much pleasure to be able to pour out my heart before you. I have said the same thing to the Hindus. May yours be a shining example to India and the world."

Before returning to his residence he made a pilgrimage of the tomb of the late Dr. M. A. Ansari, the living monument of Islamic liberalism at its best and Hindu-Muslim unity. To Gandhiji he was like a blood-brother. During Gandhiji's twentyone days' fast in Parnakuti at Poona in 1932, when things seemed critical, Dr. Ansari interrupted his visit to Europe and hastened to his bedside. A spacious platform thrown up into a series of terraces marks the burial place. A marble tablet at the foot bears his name and the dates of his birth and death. The unostentatious and austere simplicity only enhances its impressiveness. Independent India will always cherish the late doctor's memory as a symbol of hope, faith and unity.

New Delhi, 23-4-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### 'Silk Khadi'

If partial payment in yarn is necessary for buying cotton Khadi why should the same not apply to 'silk Khadi'?

There can be only one answer to this question. Silk Khadi too is Khadi and its purchase should, therefore, also be contingent on the requisite payment of yarn.

### Why Only Yarn?

Since spinning is a part of the constructive programme, why should not all constructive workers be exempt from paying for Khadi in yarn?

There is some confusion of thought in this question. The reason for part payment in yarn, instead of in money, is to give Khadi its rightful place, and in time make yarn current coin. That yarn is a part of constructive work has no bearing on the present argument. Let us leave aside for the moment the fact that the wheel is the central sun of the solar system of our constructive programme. If we believe that Swaraj hangs on the hand-spun thread, then it is clear that the value of yarn will be far greater than gold and silver currency. Constructive workers are not exempt from spinning. How can there be any such exemption from *yajna*? Spinning is the necessary *yajna* for everyone.

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

M. K. G.

(From *Harijanbandhu*.)



# HARIJAN

April 28

1946

## MINISTERS' DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is legitimate to ask what Congress ministers will do for Khaddar and other village industries now that they are in office. I should broaden the question and apply it to all the Provincial Governments of India. Poverty is common to all the provinces and so are means of alleviation in terms of the masses. Such is the experience of both the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.. A suggestion has been made that there should be a separate minister for the work, as, for proper organization, it will occupy all the time of one minister. I dread to make the suggestion, for we have not yet outlived the English scale of expenditure. Whether a minister is separately appointed or not, a department for the work is surely necessary. In these times of scarcity of food and clothing, this department can render the greatest help. The ministers have experts at their disposal through the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.. It is possible to clothe today the whole of India in Khadi on the smallest outlay and in the shortest time possible. Each Provincial Government has to tell the villagers that they must manufacture their own Khaddar for their own use. This brings in automatic local production and distribution. And there will undoubtedly be a surplus for the cities at least to a certain extent which, in its turn, will reduce the pressure on the local mills. The latter will then be able to take part in supplying the want of cloth in other parts of the world.

How can this result be brought about?

The Governments should notify the villagers that they will be expected to manufacture Khaddar for the needs of their villages within a fixed date after which no cloth will be supplied to them. The Governments in their turn will supply the villagers with cotton seed or cotton wherever required, at cost price and the tools of manufacture also at cost, to be recovered in easy instalments payable in, say, five years or more. They will supply them with instructors wherever necessary and undertake to buy surplus stock of Khaddar, provided that the villagers in question have their cloth requirements supplied from their own manufacture. This should do away with cloth shortage without fuss and with very little overhead charges.

The villages will be surveyed and a list prepared of things that can be manufactured locally with little or no help and which may be required for village use or for sale outside, such for instance, as *ghani*-pressed oil and cakes, burning oil prepared through *ghanis*, hand-pounded rice, *tadgud*, honey, toys, mats, hand-made paper, village soap, etc.. If enough care is thus taken the villages, most of them as good as dead or dying, will hum with life and

exhibit the immense possibilities they have of supplying most of their wants themselves and of the cities and towns of India.

Then there is the limitless cattle wealth of India suffering from criminal neglect. Goseva Sangh, as yet not properly experienced, can still supply valuable aid.

Without the basic training the villagers are being starved for education. This desideratum can be supplied by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The experiment was already commenced by Congress Governments but it was interrupted by the resignations of the Congress ministries. The thread can be easily resumed now.

New Delhi, 22-4-'46

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New Delhi, 21-4-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### SUGAR AND SWEETMEATS

Q. The sugar ration in Bombay has just been reduced by 25 per cent. Would it not have been fairer to reduce sweetmeat shops' rations rather than cut down the individual's?

A. It is always well to cut down the ration of sweet vendors rather than that of individuals. In these hard times I would not mind if sweet-making were even prohibited. Sweetmeats are not a necessary part of a wholesome diet.

### WHITE BREAD AND BROWN

Q. Up till January it was obligatory to mix ten per cent of bran with wheat flour. Later the rule was abolished. Should it not be reinforced?

A. I am a witness to the age-old rivalry between white and wholemeal brown bread. People are attracted by whiteness. I nurse the belief that the Negro is not drawn by it. Be that as it may, it is a fact that special effort is made to make bread look white. Fortunately, only city dwellers indulge in such fads. Doctors say that one *chapati* of wholemeal flour is more tasty and contains more nourishment than two to five *Chapatis* made out of refined flour. And in these days it is our duty to use wholemeal, because all flour saved is flour gained. From one point of view it is even more than that. Wheat stored in villages is far more useful than sacks of it lying in ports. Therefore, it is desirable to make the mixing of bran with wheat flour compulsory. The war is over but post-war conditions are worse for us than during the war, and the situation is daily deteriorating. God alone knows when it will improve.

### ROWDYISM IN ELECTIONS

Q. You are no doubt aware of the rowdyism resulting in severe damage during one of the recent elections in Bombay. Does it become the teacher of *ahimsa* to keep silent on such an occasion?

A. I do not want to enter into the question of whether silence becomes me or not. If the rowdyism is not a forerunner of what the future holds, it will be wrong to take note of it. Such sporadic clashes should not worry us. The education of the masses in *ahimsa* can make way gradually. It may be that it will develop from the lessons learnt from such happenings. But it may be that this rowdyism is symptomatic of an epidemic. Many people imagine that they alone are right and everyone else wrong, and they do not consider that there is anything unworthy in forcing their point of view down others' throats. This error has to be rectified. If we are in the right we must have infinite patience.

Just now we seem unable to see our own mistakes. Those who lack the faculty of reason, or who desire to live for the sake of enjoyment, can never see the error. If there are many such, then we must conclude that our non-violence has been a weapon of the weak, *himsa* masquerading in the guise of *ahimsa*. If this weakness continues we shall have to go through rivers of blood once the British rule goes. We may even come under the

sway of some other foreign power or it may be that with internecine warfare the weaker side will have to submit to the one that has the mightier weapons. If we are unfortunate enough to witness such strife, believers in non-violence will joyfully die in the effort to stop it and thereby live.

My hope is that the masses have sufficiently imbibed the spirit of *ahimsa* and that when the British go there may be a little fight here and there and then we shall settle down as brothers giving a lesson of peace to the world.

Only those who fought in Bombay know what good they achieved by fighting. I am ignorant of who fought and what the fight was about and what were the gains if any.

New Delhi, 22-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## SOVEREIGN REMEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I read with avidity every word that flows from your pen. I can hardly wait till I have finished reading the new issue of 'Harijan' when it arrives. This results in a strange ego in me, demanding the object of my adoration to be perfect according to my light! Anything which appears obviously unconvincing makes me restless. Your new note in nature cure—reciting of *Ramanam* as the sure remedy—leaves me completely bewildered. The modern youth refrains from challenging some of your views out of toleration. Their attitude may be summed up in the following: 'Well, Gandhiji has taught us a whole lot of things; he has elevated us to unimaginable heights; he has, above all, brought Swaraj within our reach; why not 'suffer' his *Ramanam* 'fad'?' "

"*Inter alia* you have said the following:

"No matter what the ailment from which a man may be suffering, recitation of *Ramanam* from the heart is the sure cure' (*Harijan* 3-3-'46).

"Man should seek out and be content to confine the means of cure to the five elements of which the body is composed, *i. e.* earth, water, *akash*, sun and air' (*Harijan*, 3-3-'46).

"And my claim is that the recitation of *Ramanam* is a sovereign remedy for our physical ailments also' (*Harijan* 7-4-'46).

"At first, when you introduced this new note in the system of nature cure, I thought you were merely putting in other words a kind of psychotherapy or 'Christian science' based on faith. These have their place in every system of medicine. I interpreted my first quotation above in that light. The second sentence quoted above is difficult to grasp. After all, it is physically impossible for medicines to be composed of anything but the five elements to which you refer, and which you say must be the sole means of cure.

"If faith is what you insist on I have no quarrel; it is necessary for the patient to cooperate in getting well also by faith. But it is difficult to accept that faith alone would cure 'our physical ailment also'. Two years ago, my little daughter was struck by infantile paralysis; it was the most modern treatment that saved the child from becoming a cripple for

life. You would agree that it would not avail to ask a two and a half year old child to recite *Ramanam* to be rid of infantile paralysis; and I would like to see you persuade any mother to do the recitation (and recitation alone) on her child's behalf.

"The authority from Charaka that you have quoted in the issue of March 24th, leaves me cold; you have taught me not to accept anything, however ancient and however authoritative it may be, if it does not appeal to my heart."

Thus writes a teacher of youth. While I am eager to be in the good graces of the student world, my eagerness has well-defined limitations. For one, I must please them with the rest of the world, which is admittedly much larger. In no case should a servant of the public pander to any person or class.

If those whom my correspondent represents really think that anything I have done has taken India to unimaginable heights, they should extend to my so-called fads slightly more than toleration. Toleration by itself will do them and me no good. It may easily promote laziness in them, and false self-assurance in me. Let them think well before rejecting even a fad. Faddists are not always to be despised. Fads have before now made their owners mount the gallows.

*Ramanam* has the flavour of faith-healing and Christian science; yet, it is quite distinct from them. Recitation of *Ramanam* is a mere symbol of the reality for which it stands. If one is knowingly filled with the presence of God within, one is that moment free from all ailment physical, mental or moral. That we do not see the type in life is not to disprove the truth of the statement. My argument is admittedly useless for those who have no faith in God.

Christian scientists, faith-healers and psychotherapists may, if they will, bear witness somewhat to the truth underlying *Ramanam*. I cannot take the reader a long way with me through reason. How is one to prove to a person who has never tasted sugar, that sugar is sweet, except by asking him to taste it?

I must not reiterate here the conditions attendant upon the heart recitation of the sacred syllable.

The authority of Charaka is good for those who have some belief in *Ramanam*. Others may dismiss the authority from their consideration.

Children are irresponsible. *Ramanam* is undoubtedly not for them. They are helpless beings at the mercy of their parents. They show what tremendous responsibility parents bear to them and society. I have known parents who have trifled with their children's diseases even to the extent of trusting them to their (the parents') recitation of *Ramanam*.

Lastly, the argument about everything, even medicines, being from '*panch mahabhutas*' betrays a hasty confusion of thought. I have only to point it out to remove it.

New Delhi, 19-4-'46

## MERCY VERSUS RUTHLESSNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The virtues of mercy, non-violence, love and truth in any man can be truly tested only when they are pitted against ruthlessness, violence, hate and untruth.

If this is true, then it is incorrect to say that *ahimsa* is of no avail before a murderer. It can certainly be said that to experiment with *ahimsa* in face of a murderer is to seek self-destruction. But this is the real test of *ahimsa*. He who gets himself killed out of sheer helplessness, however, can in nowise be said to have passed the test. He who when being killed bears no anger against his murderer and even asks God to forgive him is truly non-violent. History relates this of Jesus Christ. With his dying breath on the cross, he is reported to have said: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." We can get similar instances from other religions but the quotation is given because it is world famous.

It is another matter that our non-violence has not reached such heights. It would be wholly wrong for us to lower the standard of *ahimsa* by reason of our own frailty or lack of experience. Without true understanding of the ideal, we can never hope to reach it. It is necessary for us, therefore, to apply our reason to understand the power of non-violence.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## 'HARIJAN' IN URDU SCRIPT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Harijan" is variously described as 'Harijan-sevak' when it is the Hindustani and 'Harijan-bandhu' when it is the Gujarati edition. Hindustani was Hindi when it was in Nagari type only. Now, for reasons already known, it is Hindustani in two scripts—Nagari and Urdu. The Urdu edition would have been published simultaneously, if the arrangement could have been completed. But there were difficulties of official permission and type to be surmounted. Litho printing became well-nigh impossible, and expert advice favoured Urdu type. The type could not be had for the wanting. But it is now hoped definitely to bring out the Urdu edition on 5th May next.

Whilst the matter in the three editions is not as a rule mere translation, one of another, and to an extent differs in the three editions, the Nagari and Urdu will be the same, word for word. An endeavour will be made to produce Hindustani which will neither be sanskritized Hindi nor persianized Urdu. Whether the Hindustani will be popular or not will depend as much upon the writers for the Hindustani 'Harijan' as upon its readers.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46

## MEETING SASTRIAR

Now that Shri Sastriar is no more, his last talks with Gandhiji assume a great though tragic importance.

The first meeting took place on the evening of the 22nd January. Gandhiji had heard that Sastriar was so ill that probably he alone would be allowed to go in for a few minutes. Shri Jagadisan had advised my brother and me to accompany him. "Sastriar will be pleased to see you," he had said. So Gandhiji took both of us and Shri Manilal Gandhi with him, warning us that we might have to stay outside. The doctor, however, gave us more cheerful news about the patient's condition, and we were all allowed to enter. At one time Sastriar had almost given up hope of surviving till Gandhiji's visit to Madras and the joy of meeting him in the flesh almost choked him with emotion. He had been reclining on a bedrest but he sat bolt upright as Gandhiji entered and moved to the edge of the bed. "I want to come near enough to hug you, little brother," he muttered in a choked voice.

Gandhiji took his hand and soothed him. "You must not hug me and excite yourself," he pleaded and the illustrious patient once again reclined on the bedrest holding Gandhiji's hand in both his own.

The excitement had greatly aggravated the breathlessness. With great effort he began, "I have wanted to say one thing to you." And panting for breath after each word, with moist eyes, he continued: "Another opportunity for peace has been lost. They are sitting there at the Peace Conference Table. But who is there who can speak for humanity except you? I am afraid India has failed to do her duty." Ever since Gandhiji's release from prison, Sastriar had been writing to him, imploring him to go to the Peace Conference at San Francisco. "Even if they do not ask you, you must go as the apostle of truth and non-violence and be on the spot. Your mere presence will have a tremendous effect. You must not stand on ceremony."

I have tried to put in my own words the substance of what he had been writing. Gandhiji's view was that his non-violence should have its effect from wherever he was. His going to the Peace Conference, unless the Great Powers themselves wanted it, could serve no useful purpose. But Sastriar had remained unconvinced and he gave vent to his feelings on meeting Gandhiji.

Then referring to the Parliamentary delegation he remarked, "We know nothing can come out of it. Labour or Conservative, so far as India is concerned, they are all one and the same."

Gandhiji agreed and added, "But we must trust."

"Burrows, the new pitboy Governor of Bengal, has a sense of humour. When the pressmen worried him and asked him what policy he was going to initiate, he replied, 'Gentlemen, I am not going to initiate. I am going to carry out.' That is true of all of them. The Labour Government cannot afford to do otherwise." So saying Sastriar asked: "What next?"

"Who knows?" replied Gandhiji. "The British Government itself does not know, I think. But I did not come here to discuss politics with you."

Sastriar spoke like a man, "I see, you think I am no good for it."

"No, but you are certainly no good for it in the present state of your health."

They touched upon the topic of the communal problem. They cracked a few more jokes and then Sastriar called us near and bade good-bye saying a few kind words to each one of us. He talked a little about South Africa and General Smuts with Shri Manilal Gandhi, and Gandhiji left him with a promise to visit him again if the doctor reported that the visit had had no deleterious effect upon his health.

The doctor's report was satisfactory and Gandhiji paid him a second visit on the night of the 30th. This time he was accompanied by Shri Rajagopalachariar, Shri Thakkar Bapa, Rajkumari Amritkaur, Miss Agatha Harrison, Shri T. N. Jagadisan, my brother Shri Pyarelalji, Dr. Srinivasan and myself. Dr. Srinivasan, an honorary physician of the General Hospital, Madras, who was in charge of Sastriar's case, came to Gandhiji's residence and escorted him to the hospital as on the previous occasion. The talk mostly centred round the *Ramayana*.

Sastriar began by saying, "You have been a blessing to me in a hundred ways."

"What nonsense, Sastri," said Gandhiji.

"Ah, don't I know, Gandhi, you are the greatest fellow alive in the world today," said Sastriar and introduced his grandchildren to him. "Let your *kataksha* fall on them." And in good humour he quoted a *shloka* from the *Ramayana*:

यश्च रामं न पश्येत्तु यं च रामो न पश्यति ।

निन्दितः स भवेत्लोकं स्वात्मापन्नं विगर्हते ॥ अथोध्या ८

"He who does not see Rama and whom Rama does not see is despised by every one in this world."

Then Sastriar told Gandhiji how on the previous day after his midday meal he had dozed off and as if in a trance written a most beautiful essay on the *Ramayana* in about 15 minutes. The theme was that after Ravana's death Hanuman goes to Sita in *Ashoka Vatika* and asks her, 'Mother, give me your permission and I shall severely punish all the *Rakshasis* who have been torturing you.' The Divine Lady turns round and replies:

समयो रक्षितव्यस्तु सन्तथात्रिभूषणाः

पापानां वाञ्छुमानां वा वद्वाहीनामथापि वा ।

कार्यं काश्यपमार्गेण न कथिन्नापराध्यति ॥ अथोध्या ८

"No, what wrong have these poor things done? They are merely slaves of their master and they did his bidding for the sake of their livelihood. Leave them alone. It is forgiveness that makes life worth living. Forgiveness is divine. It is the noblest of virtues, so I pardon them. There is no one who is wholly free of error. And who does not need to be forgiven?"

"As soon as I go home," Sastriar added, "I shall dictate it to Jagadisan if he can come to me and send it to you. Will you let Pyarelal read it out to you?"

Gandhiji promised to read it himself. "You dictate it to Jagadisan tomorrow," he said, "and send it to me. I shall read it before I go to Madura."

"No," replied Sastriar, "it will take me at least two or three days. I have to do it in bits. Marvellous as my doctor is, he has not made me well enough to do it tomorrow."



Sastriar was full of the *Ramayana*. "The *Ramayana* has no parallel." He regretted that the great epic was not read more generally and that its ideal did not animate the people as of old. "When Sita had repulsed the evil-intentioned Ravana with the *tejas* of her purity," he continued, "the *Rakshasis* came to her and said, 'You do not know the world. Else you would not have refused what is being offered to you.' The Divine Lady's reply was, 'Your city is beautiful, the buildings are grand and there is every mark of civilization, but are there not two or three people who feel the wrong and can say the truth to Ravana?'"

And Sastriar was deeply moved. "That is the duty we owe to friends and that we fail to discharge. I have done that for you once or twice and as for you, you do it and sometimes publicly, much to the consternation of everybody. But it is the noblest office of friendship." Turning to Rajaji, he continued, "Tell me, Rajagopalachari, out of a hundred people that go wrong, is not there one whom a timely warning could have saved? Please do not think that I am preaching at the Mahatma. I am making a confession. I have also failed in that duty sometimes."

Turning to Bapu he said, "You are a seeker after truth. You and I are poles asunder in many things. I have differed from you and you have said so without reserve. But I also am a follower of truth, though at a great distance from you. The eternal truths propounded by Valmiki in the *Ramayana* have been the greatest source of inspiration to me. I feel I have failed to do my duty by not giving to the people what I have found for myself in that great epic." Gandhiji reminded him of the lectures on *Ramayana* that he had delivered and suggested that they should be printed. But that was not enough for him. "If I live for sometime more and good Jagadisan can spare time, I might still be able to make some atonement," he sighed.

Gandhiji: "Jagadisan is your admirer and a devoted follower. He will be always at your disposal, unless of course the doctor thinks that you should not be disturbed. Then he will just not be at home."

Sastriar had a hearty laugh. "So, like Rama you teach falsehood. When Sumantra was driving Rama, Lakshmana and Sita to the jungle, Rama asked him to drive fast. 'Man, why prolong the agony? Go fast, and if my father is angry tell him you did not hear him.'"

The patient was talking too much and the doctor was getting worried. He said some thing in Tamil. Sastriar replied, "Yes, you are right. A good conversationalist hears more than he talks. But they say 'once a schoolmaster, always a schoolmaster.' So I have gone on."

Gandhiji: "And we shall bear witness to that."

Sastriar: "Well, this might be my last meeting with you. I am not in a position to say, 'I will come to see you when you return from Madura.' So, I wanted to talk and have talked. Now it is your turn."

Gandhiji: "Nonsense, this is not the last meeting. I will try to come and see you on my return from Madura. And I have very little to say except this, that you must get well soon and return the visit at Sevagram."

"You are the prince of optimists," replied Sastriar.

"Oh yes, an irrepressible one!" retorted Gandhiji, and they both laughed, exchanged a few more jokes and parted.

On his return from Madura, Gandhiji had only three hours at his disposal during which he held the prayer meeting, had his bath etc., gave several autographs, saw several people, collected funds for Harijans, and Hindu'sani Prachar and paid a hurried visit to Sastriar on his way to the station. It was a Monday and Sastriar was disappointed to find that Gandhiji was observing silence. Gandhiji would have liked to have begun his silence early on Sunday evening so that he could talk when he went to see Sastriar but he had not been able to manage. So Sastriar talked and Gandhiji replied by writing on slips of paper. In reply to Sastriar's enquiry about the tour, Gandhiji wrote that it had been very nice but very taxing. Sastriar was surprised to hear that five to six lakhs had gathered at the prayer meeting at Madura, more than half of which number had come from the surrounding villages. They had sat on the roadside without food and shelter just to have a *darshan* as they felt that this might be their last chance.

Gandhiji enquired about Sastriar's health and advised him to obey the doctor. Sastriar said he felt almost normal. He was moved beyond words. "Brother, you have done me an exceptional honour," he remarked, "especially by paying this visit when you were in a great hurry. You are dearer and nearer to me than my own brothers and sons and members of the family." His voice had become almost inaudible. "We have come together by some inner affinity. No external reason can explain this friendship. Gokhale was but the occasion of it." And he drew nearer to Gandhiji and whispered, "I won't waste words. You know what I want to say." Gandhiji waved to him to be quiet as he was becoming breathless with emotion and got up to say goodbye.

As Gandhiji got up Sastriar caught sight of his dangling watch. "Ah! your constant companion. Somebody said you had lost your watch and would use it no longer," he said. Shri T. R. Venkatarama corrected him by saying that the remark related to his fountain pen.

Sastriar: "Oh! I see. But if someone steals your watch, will you give up using a watch also?" Gandhiji laughed and shook his head to say that he could not do without his watch.

We bade good-bye to Sastriar and reminded him of his promise to return the visit to Sevagram. In another half an hour, we were in the special train and Gandhiji was busy writing and revising articles for 'Harijan'.

New Delhi, 21-4-'46

S. N.

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Making the Quaker meeting which he had attended the theme of his address at the evening prayer gathering, Gandhiji described how his own experience tallied with that of the Quakers. "Emptying of the mind of all conscious processes of thought and filling it with the spirit of God unmanifest brings one ineffable peace and attunes the soul with the Infinite." The question may however be raised, should not one's whole life be an unbroken hymn of praise and prayer to the Maker? Why then have a separate time for prayer at all? Brother Lawrence testified that "with him the set times of prayers were not different from other times; that he retired to pray according to the directions of his superior, but that he did not want such retirement, nor asked for it, because his greatest business did not divert him from God." Gandhiji does not question that view. "I agree," he observed in his discourse, "that if a man could practise the presence of God all the twentyfour hours, there would be no need for a separate time for prayer." But most people find that impossible. The sordid everyday world is too much with them. For them the practice of complete withdrawal of the mind from all outward things, even though it might be only for a few minutes every day, would be found to be of infinite use. Silent communion would help them to experience an undisturbed peace in the midst of turmoil, to curb anger and cultivate patience. "When the mind is completely filled with His spirit one cannot harbour ill will or hatred towards any one and reciprocally the enemy will shed his enmity and become a friend. It is not my claim that I have always succeeded in converting enemies into friends, but in numerous cases it has been my experience that when the mind is filled with His peace all hatred ceases. An unbroken succession of world teachers since the beginning of time have borne testimony to the same. I claim no merit for it. I know it is due entirely to God's grace. Let us then in the Sacred Week seek His grace through the communion of silence and may the experience will abide with us ever afterwards."

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Malaviyaji lay half reclining in his bed, supported by a high pillow. At fourscore and five his mind is alert, the memory still functioning. The sight and bearing are good but the physical energy is at its low ebb. His voice during the conversations scarcely rose above a whisper. Both Gandhiji and I strained our ears in vain to catch it till Govind Malaviyaji came to our rescue. The one passion that filled his soul was the independence and integrity of India and on these points Gandhiji was able to allay his apprehensions. He had heard that a lot of people came and disturbed his peace by retailing all kinds of idle rumours. "Why do you lend a ready ear to such gossip?" pleaded Gandhiji. "Why can't you take a leaf out of my book? If someone comes to me and talks to me about the

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therefore never wish ill to anyone, but will pray even for his enemy with his last breath.

"Is it too difficult an ideal to follow?" he asked, and replied, "No. On the contrary, the conduct laid down in it is the only conduct worthy of the dignity of human beings.

"Today our minds are clouded by delusion. In our ignorance we quarrel with one another and indulge in rowdyism against our own brethren. For such as these there is neither salvation nor Swaraj. Self-discipline or rule over self is the first condition of self-rule or Swaraj.

"All might find it difficult to correctly recite the Gita verses which are in Sanskrit. But all can take part in the singing of *Ramdhun*. The mass singing of *Ramdhun* to the accompaniment of *tal* is prayer reduced to its simplest terms."

"But how can non-Hindus take part in it?" the question was once raised.

"I laugh within myself," replied Gandhiji, "when someone objects that *Rama* or the chanting of *Ramanam* is for the Hindus only, how can Musalmans therefore take part in it? Is there one God for the Musalmans and another for the Hindus, Parsis or Christians? No, there is only one omnipotent and omnipresent God. He is named variously and we remember Him by the name which is most familiar to us.

"My *Rama*, the *Rama* of our prayers is not the historical *Rama*, the son of Dasharatha the King of Ayodhya. He is the eternal, the unborn, the one without a second. Him alone I worship, His aid alone I seek, and so should you. He belongs equally to all. I, therefore, see no reason why a Musalman or anybody should object to taking His name. But he is in no way bound to recognize God as *Ramanam*. He may utter to himself *Allah* or *Khuda* so as not to mar the harmony of the sound."

On another occasion, commenting on a *bhajan* that had been sung at the prayer, he observed: "In that hymn there is an assurance that whom God protects no power on earth can injure. The message of that hymn has a particular relevancy in the present times when the whole world is plunged in strife. Although the war has ended, the causes that brought it about still continue. This is not peace; it is only silent preparation for another war.

"Look at the mutual recrimination, abuse and threats of violence that poison the atmosphere in Delhi itself. But if you have faith in God you will remain unaffected by all these threats and abuse, and feel secure in the assurance that not a hair of your head will be injured so long as you are under God's protecting care. There is a saying to the effect that the outer is only the reflection of the inner. If you are good, the whole world will be good to you. On the contrary, if you feel tempted to regard anybody as evil, the odds are that the evil is within you."

Applying the lesson of that hymn to an outburst against the Hindus in general, attributed to Chou-

dhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, that had appeared in the Press, he proceeded, "The Choudhary Saheb has had great regard for me. If, therefore, somebody comes and tells me that he has abused the Hindus and called them names, I must refuse to believe it or think ill of him. How can a person who till yesterday was like a blood-brother to me turn all of a sudden into a hater of Hindus? I would rather think that some Hindus had exasperated him by their behaviour and made him lose his balance. Similarly, I am quite sure that if the Choudhary Saheb were to meet me today and I were to ask him if he really believed that the whole mass of Hindus had turned bad overnight, he would laugh at the remarks attributed to him and dismiss them as absurd. We must neither think evil about others nor suspect others of thinking evil about us. Proneness to lend ear to evil reports is a sign of lack of faith."

Here is another talk:

"In a moment of introspection the poet asks himself: 'O Man, why have you left off taking God's name? You have not given up anger or lust or greed, but you have forgotten truth. What a tragedy to save worthless pennies and to let go the priceless gem of God's love! Why could you not, O fool! renounce all vanities and throw yourself on the grace of God alone?' This does not mean that if one has wealth, it should be thrown away and wife and children should be turned out of doors. It simply means that one must give up attachment to these things and dedicate one's all to God and make use of His gifts to serve Him only. It also means that if we take His name with all our being we are automatically weaned from all lust, untruth and baser passions.

"In the first *shloka* of *Ishopanishad* that is repeated everyday at the beginning of the prayer, one is asked to dedicate everything to God and then use it to the required extent. The principal condition laid down is that one must not covet what belongs to another. These two maxims contain the quintessence of the Hindu religion.

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(From *Harijansevak*)

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therefore never wish ill to anyone, but will pray even for his enemy with his last breath.

"Is it too difficult an ideal to follow?" he asked, and replied, "No. On the contrary, the conduct laid down in it is the only conduct worthy of the dignity of human beings.

"Today our minds are clouded by delusion. In our ignorance we quarrel with one another and indulge in rowdism against our own brethren. For such as these there is neither salvation nor Swaraj. Self-discipline or rule over self is the first condition of self-rule or Swaraj.

"All might find it difficult to correctly recite the Gita verses which are in Sanskrit. But all can take part in the singing of *Ramdhun*. The mass singing of *Ramdhun* to the accompaniment of *tal* is prayer reduced to its simplest terms."

"But how can non-Hindus take part in it?" the question was once raised.

"I laugh within myself," replied Gandhiji, "when someone objects that *Rama* or the chanting of *Ramanam* is for the Hindus only, how can Musalmans therefore take part in it? Is there one God for the Musalmans and another for the Hindus, Parsis or Christians? No, there is only one omnipotent and omnipresent God. He is named variously and we remember Him by the name which is most familiar to us.

"My *Rama*, the *Rama* of our prayers is not the historical *Rama*, the son of Dasharatha the King of Ayodhya. He is the eternal, the unborn, the one without a second. Him alone I worship, His aid alone I seek, and so should you. He belongs equally to all. I, therefore, see no reason why a Musalman or anybody should object to taking His name. But he is in no way bound to recognize God as *Ramanam*. He may utter to himself *Allah* or *Khuda* so as not to mar the harmony of the sound."

On another occasion, commenting on a *bhajan* that had been sung at the prayer, he observed: "In that hymn there is an assurance that whom God protects no power on earth can injure. The message of that hymn has a particular relevancy in the present times when the whole world is plunged in strife. Although the war has ended, the causes that brought it about still continue. This is not peace; it is only silent preparation for another war.

"Look at the mutual recrimination, abuse and threats of violence that poison the atmosphere in Delhi itself. But if you have faith in God you will remain unaffected by all these threats and abuse, and feel secure in the assurance that not a hair of your head will be injured so long as you are under God's protecting care. There is a saying to the effect that the outer is only the reflection of the inner. If you are good, the whole world will be good to you. On the contrary, if you feel tempted to regard anybody as evil, the odds are that the evil is within you."

Applying the lesson of that hymn to an outburst against the Hindus in general, attributed to Chou-

dhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, that had appeared in the Press, he proceeded, "The Choudhary Saheb has had great regard for me. If, therefore, somebody comes and tells me that he has abused the Hindus and called them names, I must refuse to believe it or think ill of him. How can a person who till yesterday was like a blood-brother to me turn all of a sudden into a hater of Hindus? I would rather think that some Hindus had exasperated him by their behaviour and made him lose his balance. Similarly, I am quite sure that if the Choudhary Saheb were to meet me today and I were to ask him if he really believed that the whole mass of Hindus had turned bad overnight, he would laugh at the remarks attributed to him and dismiss them as absurd. We must neither think evil about others nor suspect others of thinking evil about us. Proneness to lend ear to evil reports is a sign of lack of faith."

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 13]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MAY 5, 1946

[ THREE ANNAS

## NON-VIOLENT VOLUNTEER CORPS

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Some time ago an attempt was made, at my instance, to form *shanti dals* but nothing came of it. This lesson, however, was learnt that the membership, in its very nature, of such organizations could not be large. Ordinarily, the efficient running of a large volunteer corps based on force implies the possibility of the use of force in the event of breach of discipline. In such bodies little or no stress is laid on a man's character. Physique is the chief factor. The contrary must obtain in non-violent bodies in which character or soul force must mean everything and physique must take second place. It is difficult to find many such persons. That is why non-violent corps must be small, if they are to be efficient. Such brigades may be scattered all over; there may be one each for a village or a *mohalla*. The members must know one another well. Each corps will select its own head. All the members will have the same status, but where everyone is doing the same work there must be one person under whose discipline all must come, or else the work will suffer. Where there are two or more brigades the leaders must consult among themselves and decide on a common line of action. In that way alone lies success.

If non-violent volunteer corps are formed on the above lines, they can easily stop trouble. These corps will not require all the physical training given in *akhadas*, but a certain part of it will be necessary.

One thing, however, should be common, to members of all such organizations and that is implicit faith in God. He is the only companion and doer. Without faith in Him these peace brigades will be lifeless. By whatever name one calls God, one must realize that one can only work through His strength. Such a man will never take another's life. He will allow himself, if need be, to be killed and thereby live through his victory over death.

The mind of the man in whose life the realization of this law has become a living reality will not be bewildered in crisis. He will instinctively know the right way to act.

In spite, however, of what I have said above I would like to give some rules culled from my own experience :

1. A volunteer may not carry any weapons.
2. The members of a corps must be easily recognizable.
3. Every volunteer must carry bandages, scissors, needle and thread, surgical knife etc. for rendering first aid.
4. He should know how to carry and remove the wounded.
5. He should know how to put out fires, how to enter a fire area without getting burnt, how to climb heights for rescue work and descend safely with or without his charge.
6. He should be well acquainted with all the residents of his locality. This is a service in itself.
7. He should recite *Ramanam* ceaselessly in his heart and persuade others who believe to do likewise.

There are many who, whether from mental laziness or from having fallen into a bad habit believe that God is and will help us unasked. Why then is it necessary to recite His name? It is true that if God is, He is irrespective of our belief. But realization of God is infinitely more than mere belief. That can come only by constant practice. This is true of all science. How much more true of the science of all sciences?

Man often repeats the name of God parrot-wise and expects fruit from so doing. The true seeker must have that living faith which will not only dispel the untruth of parrot-wise repetition from within him but also from the hearts of others.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

( From *Harijanbandhu* )

## WEEKLY LETTER

The fever of excitement which the yellow press had been trying to work up for some time past and to which Gandhiji referred last week reached its culmination on Wednesday last when a Hindu boy in New Delhi was stabbed in the back in a dastardly manner by some unknown person. Luckily the assault did not prove fatal. Thanks to the level-headedness shown by the people of the locality, there were no reprisals taken and the trouble did not spread. "It might be presumed at first flush," observed Gandhiji commenting on this, "that because the victim in this case was a Hindu boy the assailant must be a Muslim and *vice versa*. Such speculation, in my opinion, is not only idle but mischievous. We should rather ask ourselves as to how we would have or should have acted, if we were present on the scene." To remain passive witnesses of the dastardly attack would be cowardly. Should they, then, whip out a knife and pay back the miscreant in his own coin? Both these courses would be wrong, observed Gandhiji. The only becoming course, he told them would be to plead with the miscreant not to dye his hand with innocent blood. If in doing so they themselves became victims of the miscreant's anger, they should not mind but should rather welcome it. Such an occasion should provide them with an opportunity to test the sincerity of their daily attendance of the prayer meetings. "When passions rise high and panic and mass hysteria lay hold of the people, it is up to the man of prayer to keep his head above the storm and refuse to sink to the level of the brute. We should pray to God to help us to keep down the hatred and anger in the heart. To be able to conquer anger and hatred and all other baser passions is the fruit of prayer. It is braver far to disarm the miscreant with cool determination devoid of anger than to counter him with a dagger, to prevent an angry word from escaping one's lips than indulge in abuse."

He recalled another instance of assault on a harmless German during the Victory Day disturbances in Delhi that had been brought to his notice the day before. The mass madness at that time was directed against Englishmen and Europeans. In his opinion, it was not less cowardly.

"We should pity the ruffian," he pleaded. "A *Maulana* who saw me just before I started for the prayer was telling me how a number of newspapers were fanning the flames of communal hatred day after day and week after week. They are the real culprits. To incite to murder is as bad if not worse than the murder itself. The actual murderer is very often an ignorant tool, victim of mischievous propaganda." But even such propaganda could take effect only in a vitiated atmosphere. In a healthy

atmosphere it would be sterilized. "Panic is the result of fear after all," he concluded. "But a man of prayer knows no fear. Your prayer is vain repetition if it does not clear the atmosphere of fear, panic and mass hysteria."

He reverted to the topic in another after-prayer discourse. Newspapers had reported that Bombay was full of panic, Hindus dared not go into Muslim quarters and *vice versa*, the shops were closed, the streets deserted for fear of riots breaking out. All that had proved to be a press canard. There was neither any panic nor disturbance worth noting in Bombay. Hindu women and children freely visited and went about in Muslim quarters and *vice versa*. The whole story was faked. In Delhi itself a Hindu sister was being driven by a Muslim *tonga* driver only on the day before. The driver had expressed amazement and horror at what was taking place. Why should there be any quarrel between Hindus and Muslims, he had asked and added, "God turns His back on those who quarrel amongst themselves." That showed, remarked Gandhiji, how dangerous it was to give credence to panicky rumours. "The lesson to be learnt from all this is," he proceeded, "that we should not be afraid. Because people will always frighten the timid, not the brave." But it was no use making a show of bravery when there was fear in the heart. Probably they had all heard about a child playing with a snake without coming to harm. But if a grown-up person who was afraid of snakes tried to play with one, it would detect fear in the very touch and probably bite him. But supposing they were afraid and wanted to shed fear, the first condition was that they must not carry any arms. They should put faith in God and depend upon Him to protect them. The man who was afraid and carried arms repudiated God and made the arms his God.

## THE BAR SINISTER

Only a wall divides Gandhiji's residence from the Municipal sweepers' quarters in New Delhi. Yet a gulf as wide as that between Abraham and Lazarus separates the living conditions in the two. Gandhiji took opportunity early in the morning on Saturday last to visit it. A small square enclosed by rows of single room tenements on all sides constituted the *busti*. The tenements were miniature Black Holes with only one narrow aperture near the roof for air, and light. One felt suffocated. Some of these tenements, only 10 x 12 ft., were occupied by as many as six, eight and even ten members of a family. How they could possibly live there with decency God alone knew. Right in the middle of the square was a double row of ramshackle latrines open in front and bathing taps. Most of the people were sleeping in the open. Their bed clothes were indescribably filthy. How could it be otherwise with the

amenities provided to them? Speaking at a volunteers' gathering the next day, Gandhiji poured out the lava that filled his soul. It was their shame as it was his. The volunteers had been in attendance in his camp. He felt grateful for the love and diligence with which they had served him and his party. But what was the use of their serving him if they served not the lowest among the low who were his next door neighbours. They should rather go and serve the *bhangis* who lived next door to him in filth and squalor. Such service carried with it its own reward. He had come to live in the Sweepers' Colony but could not live in the filth in which they lived. The fault was not theirs but of those who had reduced them to that state. The quarters provided for them were worse than the worst prison cell that he had seen in India or in South Africa. If they went to *Bhangi* quarters, not as their patrons or teachers but as their true servants, they would be able to reach their hearts and transform the look of things in no time.

A similar visit to the Sweepers' Quarters in old Delhi near Ajmeri Gate revealed conditions still more shocking. There were only eight tenements cowering under the city wall with only a narrow strip of space separating them from the edge of the city's main sewer. It hardly afforded passage to one man. We were told that one sweeper child had actually tumbled into the sewer and been drowned some time back. Some more tenements were being improvised by the sweepers themselves with mud and old rusty corrugated iron sheets as their only material. There was only one water tap for bathing and filling drinking water pots, and that had only been recently installed. The whole place was indescribably filthy. One had to hold one's breath; it stank. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur who had accompanied Gandhiji to the *busti* could not stand it; she vomited.

This city, the pride of the *Pandavas* and the Great Moghuls, Gandhiji learnt, was today perhaps the filthiest city in India. The municipal insanitation had reached the very limit. One could believe it after what one saw reflected in the sweepers' quarters. Seven years ago the late Shri Mahadev Desai visited these quarters and made a harrowing report. The passage of time only seems to have made things worse. Gandhiji was shocked. What were the municipal councillors and their health officer doing, one wondered. How one wishes that the rate payers would wake up and make their city fathers realize their duty.

Like a refreshing bath in the Holy Ganges in contrast with this was the second visit to Malaviyaji on the eve of Gandhiji's departure for Simla. But of that more next week.

New Delhi, 1-5-'46

PYARELAL

## FOR WOMEN

City women often ask what they can do in the way of social service. The tragedy of the lives of these sisters is that they are not in touch with those whom it is their duty to serve. If they were, the question would not arise.

I wonder how many, if any, of the well-to-do sisters of Delhi have ever visited the Harijan quarters here. The *busti* on the outskirts of which Gandhiji lives cries out for service for these neglected members of society. Their living quarters are bad enough, though better than many in other cities or perhaps even some in Delhi itself. Women should be in the forefront of agitation for the providing of better quarters for these people without whose service we could not live. Their wages are insufficient. It is piteous to see their bed clothes or their personal wear and the unwashed condition of the children. Is it too much to ask a band of sisters to visit these quarters daily, bathe the children, comb the matted hair of the girls, give them simple remedies for any ailments, have their clothes washed, provide milk for the children and train the women how to feed themselves and their families and how to keep their environment as clean as possible in spite of the dark, dingy and insanitary living space that is their lot today? It is devoutly to be hoped that the elected representatives of the various provincial governments will look upon making decent quarters for Harijans and indeed all labourers and raising their wages as the very first charge on their revenues.

The builders of New Delhi obviously paid scant attention to any air and light outside the gilded palaces of the rich. Our own governments must be quick to mend their errors.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

A. K.

## CRUEL

The following is the gist of a letter to the Railway authorities by some passengers:

"We the passengers in the 'Hubli Mail' which has arrived in Poona at 10.19 p. m. beg to bring to your notice that the carriage in which we are sitting should hold only 28 whereas actually there are 80 persons in it plus heavy luggage. We are at a loss to understand why there is no supervision of accommodation available in trains. Our condition is comparable to the legendary 'Black Hole of Calcutta'. We are being suffocated. Women and children are almost dying. Is this fair treatment to third class passengers?"

The complaint is most apt. The description is an everyday occurrence. But will the railways, who live on the income derived from third class passengers, do anything for these poor people? Third class compartments and third class travel need thorough and immediate overhaul and reform. It is high time we had a government that thought in terms of the people.

New Delhi, 27-4-'46

A. K.



# HARIJAN

May 5

1946

## INDEPENDENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Friends have repeatedly challenged me to define independence. At the risk of repetition, I must say that independence of my dream means *Ramarajya*, i. e. the Kingdom of God on Earth. I do not know what it will be like in Heaven. I have no desire to know the distant scene. If the present is attractive enough, the future cannot be very unlike.

In concrete terms, then, the independence should be political, economic and moral.

'Political' necessarily means the removal of the control of the British army in every shape and form.

'Economic' means entire freedom from British capitalists and capital, as also their Indian counterpart. In other words, the humblest must feel equal to the tallest. This can take place only by capital or capitalists sharing their skill and capital with the lowliest and the least.

'Moral' means freedom from armed defence forces. My conception of *Ramarajya* excludes replacement of the British army by a national army of occupation. A country that is governed by even its national army can never be morally free and, therefore, its so-called weakest member can never rise to his full moral height.

Though Mr. Churchill is claimed to have won the war for the British, he has in his Aberdeen speech uttered words of wisdom from the standpoint of a radical non-violent reformer. He knows, if any panoplied warrior knows, what havoc the two wars of our generation have wrought. In another column I reproduce the summary of his speech as reported in the public press. Only I must warn the public against the pessimistic note underlying the speech. Nothing will be found to have gone wrong if mankind recoils from the horrors of war. The bloodletting that men have undergone to the point of whiteness will not have been in vain, if it has taught us that we must freely give our own blood in the place of taking other peoples' blood, be the cause ever so noble or ignoble.

If the Cabinet Mission 'delivers the goods', India will have to decide whether attempting to become a military power she would be content to become, at least for some years, a fifth-rate power in the world without a message in answer to the pessimism described above, or whether she will by further refining and continuing her non-violent

policy prove herself worthy of being the first nation in the world using her hard-won freedom for the delivery of the earth from the burden which is crushing her in spite of the so-called victory.

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

## PRESS SUMMARY OF MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

The world is very ill. This is the time when hatred is rife in the world and when many mighty branches of the human family, victors or vanquished, innocent or guilty, are plunged in bewilderment, distress or ruin. Two fearful wars in our lifetime have torn the heart out of its grace and culture.

Measureless injury has been done to much that the 19th century would have called 'Christian civilization', for all the leading nations have been racked by stresses which have blunted their sensibilities and have destroyed their agreeable modes of social intercourse.

Only science has rolled forward, whipped by the fierce winds of mortal war, and science has placed in the hands of men agencies of destruction far beyond any development of their commonsense or virtue.

In a world where over-production of food was formerly from time to time a problem, famine has laid its gaunt fingers upon the peoples of many lands and scarcity upon all.

The psychic energies of mankind have been exhausted by the tribulations through which they have passed and are still passing. It is not only bloodletting that has weakened and whitened us.

The vital springs of human inspiration are, for the moment, drained. There must be a period of recovery. Mankind cannot, in its present plight, bear new shocks and quarrels without taking to altogether cruder and primordial forms.

Yet we do not know that the hatreds and confusion which are found will not confront us with even harder trial than those we have so narrowly and painfully survived.

In many countries, where even united efforts would fall short of what is needed, party strife and faction is fomented or machine-made and skeleton fanatics rave at each other about their rival ideologies.

All the while, the ordinary folk of every country show themselves kindly and brave and serviceable to their fellow men. Yet, they are driven against one another by forces and organizations and doctrines as wantonly and remorselessly as they ever were in the ages of absolute emperors and kings.

There never was a time when breathing space was more needed, a blessed convalescence, a truce of God and man.

(*Statesman*, 29-4-'46)

## GOSHALAS AND PINJRAPOLES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following condensation from a scheme propounded by Sardar Sir Datar Singh will be of general interest:

It is estimated that there are at present 3030 'goshalas' in the country with a population of over six lakhs head of cattle. These organizations, besides taking up the improvement of their institutions as envisaged by the Government of India, in the present threatened famine conditions can come to the country's help by production of more milk in the institutions. The number of well-organized 'goshalas' and 'pinjrapoles' can be taken as half, i. e. 1500. The cattle may be classified as:

1. Good Dairy type 20%	1,20,000
2. Fair type—good for breeding, though not highly productive 20%	1,20,000
3. Old, infirm and unfit for further breeding 60%	3,60,000

It is the first and second class that could be exploited for milk production and breeding. Out of these 2,40,000, half will be milch and half dry.

Better feeding, management, organization, etc. would mean an increase in production of 1,20,000 seers or say 3,000 maunds of milk per day.

In order to achieve this end immediately, a skeleton plan is suggested below:

1. Productive animals should be separated from those that are aged, infirm or otherwise useless. The latter should be removed to rural areas, preferably to forest *rakhs* in order to relieve congestion and allow better feeding of productive cows. These cattle should not be allowed to propagate. Their care, as well as that of dry stock farms, may be in the hands of a committee.

2. For the achievement of this end, the stock should be divided in the following manner:

a. Milch animals about to calve should be kept at the 'goshala' premises.

b. Dry animals fit for breeding should be kept on the lands, if any, belonging to the 'goshala' in the neighbourhood or may be provided for at a place from where they could be returned when about to calve, and the animals, which go dry in the 'goshala,' should be sent there.

3. The congestion-relieved 'goshalas' and 'pinjrapoles' will have enough space to house cattle properly, feed them scientifically and carry out other improvements.

4. To further help, encourage and stimulate these institutions in this direction, it is suggested to help them financially by giving them 50% reduction on concentrates and fodder on the condition that these institutions will increase their milk production immediately either by keeping milch cattle of the owners who are not able to keep them during the famine days or by buying cattle where their finances permit. The Government will have the option of purchasing one-third of their milk supply for the needy people of the locality and in the neighbourhood, if required.

5. Attempts should be made to feed cattle more on feeds which are not generally required for direct human consumption such as oil-cakes, cotton seeds, etc.

6. It may also be stated here that by feeding by-products of grains to the cattle, not only can the production of available food be increased in the form of additional milk from these animals as compared to the food value of these by-products of food in case they are directly consumed, but it will also be a more economical method of using the latter. Within limits, it will have double effect. It will help in the production of human food and will also protect the cattle from being underfed during the scarcity period.

7. All possible facilities should be provided for transport and supply of concentrates and other cattle-feeds to these institutions. Collection of data as to the requirements of the 'goshalas' and the available stocks in these organizations should immediately be taken in hand. Provision should be made well in advance for the supply of these essential requirements from surplus to deficit zones. All this must be done in advance through Goshala Development Officers, who will be responsible for the working of the whole scheme.

The Sardar suggests to every province the appointment of Goshala Development Officers, training of workers and the supply of bulls. He rightly says that for real success there must be genuine co-operation between Government and the public. He has no doubt that 'goshalas,' humanitarian and Cattle Welfare and such other bodies will give the co-operation if approached.

Another friend of cattle writes as follows:

"I want you to consider one or two suggestions for saving our cattle during the coming famine as the shortage of fodder is likely to be acute in some of the famine-stricken areas. The world is familiar with 'Save the Children' campaigns. Why should we not in India inaugurate a 'Save the Cattle' campaign? Many of our good cattle were slaughtered as you know, during the war and we cannot afford to lose more through starvation.

"My concrete suggestion is that well-to-do people with plots of land on which grass is grown should be generous enough to permit cattle belonging to less fortunate people to graze in their compounds. This may not afford large scale relief, since it would apply in the main to urban areas. Nevertheless, it is a point worthy of consideration.

"Provincial governments should establish a chain of 'goshalas' where owners of cattle, who are unable to maintain them during the period of famine, may leave them to be fed and maintained at State expense until the crisis is over. Whether this should be done entirely free or if a fee should be levied from the owners and recovered later is a detail which the provincial governments may decide for themselves. It would be easier for provincial governments to make arrangements for the collective feeding of large numbers of cattle than the distribution of fodder to individual owners."

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

## IDEAL FOR WOMEN

Many social reformers have espoused the cause of women. But with almost all of them woman was the queen of the home. Her sphere of activity was limited to looking after her husband's comfort and proper bringing up of children. With the advent of Western education sex equality became the vogue, but the equality was superficial and even artificial. Gandhiji believes in real equality. He practises what he preaches. In his Ashram the common kitchen has often been entrusted to men. It is simply an indication that most occupations are common to men and women. Woman is man's equal and can even be his superior. Care of children and the home is a joint responsibility. Woman is the mother. But her motherly tenderness should extend beyond her own children and therefore her sphere must also extend beyond the home.

During Gandhiji's Bengal tour, while answering questions in one of the workers' meetings, he said that a woman who really and truly prepared her children for the service of the motherland need not do anything more. A friend interpreted this remark as a confirmation of the popular belief that woman's one duty was to look after the home and bring up the children properly. Gandhiji laughed and said: "People always interpret things in the way that suits them. Men and women given to animal enjoyment can never prepare their children for the service of the motherland. It is only those whose law of life is self-control that can do so and such will always find time for service outside the domestic sphere."

He holds strong views against birth control with the help of contraceptives. "Contraceptives," he says, "are an insult to womanhood. The difference between a prostitute and a woman using contraceptives is only this that the former sells her body to several men, the latter sells it to one man. Man has no right to touch his wife so long as she does not wish to have a child, and the woman should have the will power to resist even her own husband."

Addressing a women's meeting during his recent visit to Madras he said that he wanted women to radiate the *tejas* of purity, even that of Sita before which the mighty Ravana had to accept defeat. If they possessed her purity, they would rule India and bring the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. He would like to see women not only managing the Kasturba Trust but taking a large share in all national activity. He would see the wheel in the hands of millions of India's women and would have them banish from their hearts all traces of untouchability and communal differences and speaking Hindustani.

Woman is personification of non-violence. While talking to some Jain *Sadhvis* at the time of his talks with Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah he once said: "Woman is naturally more self-suffering. Non-violence therefore comes more easily to her. You are Jain women. I expect a lot from you."

He often says: "I am half woman." According to him, man comes nearer to woman when he

assimilates and practises non-violence which requires greater courage than violence, because for violence physical strength and brute force is all that matters. Thus to be nearer a woman is a mark of a higher state.

Speaking at Borivli Kasturba Training Camp he said: "I wish to see women as men's equals and even their superiors. I would like you to occupy all posts of responsibility. But that does not mean that I would like you to occupy them without possessing the capacity. In fact I want you to give proof of greater ability than men."

"Equality must not mean copying men's shortcomings. Smoking and drinking, for instance, are common amongst men. You are not to descend to their level. You are to set to them an example in purity, renunciation, selfless love and service."

New Delhi, 15-4-'46

S. N.

## IGNORANT LEGISLATION

Shri T. N. Jagdisan writes to Gandhiji:

"The following appeared in the *Hindu*: 'April 1, Karachi. The Sind Assembly today referred to a select committee the Bill seeking to empower the Government to sterilize lepers. In the statement of the Objects and Reasons of the Bill, it is stated that leprosy is not indigenous to the province of Sind, but the facilities for medical treatment available here attract an increasingly large number of leper immigrants from all over India and this has created a serious problem for the province. This Bill provides for sterilization of male lepers.'

"About a year ago Dr. R. G. Cochrane (now on leave in England) had expressed himself strongly against the proposal in an opinion which he was asked to give. If leprosy were hereditary, sterilization of male cases of leprosy would be a measure calculated to control leprosy. But leprosy is *not* hereditary. It is spread by the close and prolonged contact of healthy persons, especially children, with infective cases. Any child brought into contact with an infective case may develop leprosy. Children born to an infective parent or parents do not develop the disease if they are removed from the infective persons at a very early age. Reports of intensive surveys, done so far, show that in our Indian joint-families less infection results by contact with parents than by contact with uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, etc. There is also infection by neighbours and co-tenants. So the sterilizing of male cases of leprosy would not improve the situation. On the other hand it will definitely worsen it by frightening the patients and driving them to conceal their disease for long years. And let it be remembered that leprosy can be concealed for long years, and these years are just the years when the patient, if treated, can get better; if untreated, can be an effective source of infection.

"If the proposed legislation is enacted, it will in practice operate only on the obvious, advanced, mutilated case who is probably not very infective, even if he were of the infective type, who certainly has no scope for marriage and progeny. The Sind Bill seeks to control the spread of the disease by immigrant patients. The immigrant patient, if infective,

will not by sterilization cease to be a source of infection, in close and prolonged contact. The only way in which leprosy can be controlled is by the ensuring of conditions in which infective cases of leprosy, whether immigrant or indigenous, do not live in close and prolonged contact with children.

"The Sind Bill is both unintelligent and harsh. Leprosy, like tuberculosis, runs in families by the close contact of healthy members, particularly the children, with the infective ones. Measures to control leprosy need be no harsher than measures to control tuberculosis, and should be directed at cutting the channel of communication between the infective and the uninfected. The pity is that even the most enlightened people have old and wrong notions about leprosy, and, as of all things an ancient prejudice dies hardest, a penalizing attitude enters into the minds of legislators and administrators when they deal with leprosy. But with one voice all the experience of great workers in leprosy cries aloud that harsh measures intended to abolish leprosy have only had the opposite effect of driving the disease underground, thereby increasing it. In leprosy as in other spheres of life, harshness never pays, violence never pays."

The medical world will support every word of what Prof. Jagdisan has said. This is what Manson-Bahr, an authority on tropical diseases, says with regard to heredity in leprosy:

"From the fact that it tends to run in families and that in certain instances it assumes the appearance of atavism, leprosy was formerly believed to be hereditary. If this were so, how explain the striking fact, brought out by Hansen, that of the numerous offspring of 160 Norwegian lepers who emigrated to America not one has become a leper? Although acid-fast bacilli have been found in the placentas, the evidence of Culion settlement in the Philippines is that leprosy is not hereditary."

The only way to prevent the spread of the disease is to segregate the lepers. A child born of leprosy parents should be separated from them immediately at birth. According to still another authority on tropical diseases if this is delayed for six months, the child will have probably contracted the disease by that time. Ignorant legislation can serve no useful purpose whatsoever. On the contrary, it is likely to do a lot of harm as the good professor has explained in his letter. It is hoped that medical opinion all over the country will protest against the proposed measure and the Government will take really proper and effective measures for preventing the spread of the disease instead of passing the proposed bill.

New Delhi, 23-4-'46

S. N.

By M. K. Gandhi

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## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND FOOD SHORTAGE

Ever since the P. S. V.'s visit to Gandhiji at Sevagram in connection with food shortage, his mind has been working to find out ways and means of combating the coming disaster. He has laid the fullest emphasis on "Grow More Food" and "Save As Much Food As Possible" campaigns. In his *Ashram* all the flower plants have been dug out and vegetables grown there instead. Nobody is to eat a morsel more than necessary, and no food is to be wasted. Over and above these, he has been thinking whether any food substitutes can be found. He asked me one day whether tender shoots of wheat before the grain has formed inside had any nutritive value. The idea is to tide over the period till the next crop is ready. So far as I know tender shoots or ears of wheat before the proper formation of grain has no nutritive value whatsoever. It is for the research institutions in the country to work on the problem and help to ward off the famine. Some of the medical journals have published reports of scientists having succeeded in making grass edible and assimilable by human beings. The Nutrition Research Laboratories at Coonoor can play a great part in this connection. It is sincerely hoped that the authorities of that institution will suspend for the time being academic research and concentrate on finding out ways and means of fighting the food shortage, for instance, finding out alternative foods, working out the role of tubers and root crops—admittedly short term heavy yielding crops, ideally suited to tide over the food crisis. They can also help a good deal by making suggestions for efficient husbanding of the available food resources in the country. A friend who had good experience of agriculture and kisans was telling us the other day that practically 1/8th of the wheat stored by kisans goes to waste because of improper storage. That should be remedied without delay, and it is for medical research workers to suggest simple and efficient methods to do so. They can work out austerity meals, suggest menus giving a balanced diet and at the same time economize as much food as possible. The Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, have rendered useful service in the past by making the intelligentsia of the country food conscious. It is for them now to help the masses. Then and then alone can the heavy annual budget of such research work be justified. The money spent on the research comes from the pockets of the poor and the research workers must see that they do not die of preventable starvation.

S. N.

[The more I study the food crisis the more convinced I feel that people are being starved not for want of food, but for want of the co-operative effort of the expert and a national Government at the Centre bent upon meeting the crisis and inspiring the masses with confidence.

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

M. K. G.]



## A LIGHT IN DARKNESS

Seven miles from New Delhi, on the main road to Muttra, near Okhla Station, is an as yet tiny institution, the Kasturba Balika Ashram, that lights the shadow of the Imperial City with its steady, mild glow. Under that shadow cowers the Harijan population of the city amidst the filth and squalor of *bastis*, where men and women engaged in rendering the most useful service to society are condemned to live under sub-human conditions of existence, to the shame and despair of all humanitarians. In the midst of his multifarious engagements Gandhiji found time to pay the Ashram a visit on Saturday, the 20th April.

The institution owes its existence to the passion for Harijan uplift of Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru who four years ago donated a sum of Rs. 10,000/- for founding an industrial home for the training of Harijan girls. Shrimati Sumitra Devi (Mrs. Madhavaprasad Birla) just before her untimely and tragic death willed a sum of one and a quarter lakh of rupees for the institution. The present roomy buildings in which it is housed is the gift of a Delhi gentleman to whom it originally belonged. One and a half year after the death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, its opening ceremony was performed by Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, when a beginning was made with 12 Harijan girls. At present the number of girls receiving training is 40, 14 out of these being from C. P., 10 from U. P., 8 from Rajputana, 5 from the Punjab, 1 from Maharashtra and 2 from Gujarat. Three out of 40 are Caste Hindus, all the rest being Harijans. All the expenses of the Harijan girls are paid by the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Admission is confined to unmarried girls, of 7 to 12 years of age, who have read up to the second class. But owing to the difficulty of securing Harijan girls even with that minimum standard of qualification, some altogether illiterate girls too had to be admitted. Teaching is now being given up to the 6th class. Training includes house-keeping, crotchet work, cooking, kitchen gardening, spinning and the allied processes and *batik* work. In literary training the curriculum in force in the District Board schools has been followed hitherto. But it has now been decided to prepare the candidates for the Prayag Mahila Vidyapith examinations.

Vocational training is given the place of honour in the syllabus of studies. By devoting one hour daily to spinning, 790 hanks of yarn representing a spinning wage of Rs. 90/- were spun since Gandhiji's birthday in October last. The highest number of hanks spun by a girl was 86, the second best having spun 82 hanks of 20c. out of self-carded cotton, representing a spinning wage of Rs. 13-7-0 and Rs. 12-15-0 respectively. Both the girls distinguished themselves in their literary studies too. The Balikaashram experiment has conclusively proved that by giving one hour to spinning a student of school or college can produce all the cloth for her requirements.

Over and above this, 643 pieces of clothing were stitched, and 40 pieces of embroidery and six toys were produced by students in the vocational classes, the total amount of labour represented by these being Rs. 158/-. The total income for the last six months was

Rs. 56,261-1-3, expenditure during the corresponding period being Rs. 45,067-2-9.

The institution is being conducted under the personal guidance of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, who visits and stays in the institution for a week or a fortnight every two or three months, and Thakkar Bapa, who claims with Gandhiji the title of being Harijan No. 1 of India. The institution has been fortunate in securing the services of Shri Prabhudas Gandhi, who is the Superintendent and of Shrimati Anasuya Mehta who is the Head Mistress.

A small exhibition of the products of the vocational activity of the students had been arranged. The exhibits included specimens of embroidery, crotchet and *batik* work, and maps and drawings by the students showing a high degree of artistic taste and manual skill. Their singing of *bhajans* was beautiful and the pronunciation of the Sanskrit verses that were recited as good as that of any 'Caste Hindu' girl, if not better. What pleased Gandhiji particularly was the high standard of personal cleanliness and tidiness shown by the girls. A few days back they had all come to *Bhangi Nivas*, a distance of seven miles, to meet Gandhiji and had walked back.

Making the cultural aspect of education the theme of his talk Gandhiji said, addressing them in Hindustani:

"I attach far more importance to the cultural aspect of education than to the literary. Culture is the foundation, the primary thing which the girls ought to get from here. It should show in the smallest detail of your conduct and personal behaviour, how you sit, how you walk, how you dress, etc., so that anybody might be able to see at a glance that you are the products of this institution. Inner culture must be reflected in your speech, the way in which you treat visitors and guests, and behave towards one another and your teachers and elders.

"I was pleased too that you walked all the distance to and from *Bhangi Nivas*, when you came to see me. But if you came only to please me, your trudging had no merit. It will do you no good. You must make it a rule to prefer walking to using a conveyance. Motor car is not for the millions. You will therefore shun it. Millions cannot afford even train journey. Their world is their village. It is a very small thing but if you faithfully adhere to this rule it will transform your entire life and fill it with a sweetness that natural simplicity carries with it.

"Education here won't qualify you for luxurious living. I want the Harijan girls here to show such a degree of culture that everybody should feel ashamed to regard them as untouchables. That is the goal of the Harijan Sevak Sangh's activities. This institution should demonstrate to the whole world the heights to which Harijans can rise, if they are freed from the incubus of untouchability and conversely the sacrilege and inhumanity of the institution of untouchability itself. I look forward to the day when this institution will fill the whole country with its fragrance and become a centre of attraction for girls from near and far."

New Delhi,

22-4-'46

PYARELAL

## SWARAJ THROUGH SPINNING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An A. I. S. A. worker writes thus :

"If we are to teach the spinners to spin with understanding and wear nothing but Khadi, it is only natural that the commercial side of Khadi will suffer. I personally am all in favour of the new scheme enunciated by you. You have said that we must make the spinners self-sufficient and that to obtain Swaraj through their activity is the aim of the A. I. S. A. You also want them to learn all the processes from cleaning cotton up to making slivers. 'This way lies Swaraj', you say. I admit it is right for spinners to learn well all the processes. This knowledge will increase their wage-earning capacity as also make them self-sufficient. The quality of yarn and cloth will also improve. But how can we win our freedom this way? How are we to bring home this lesson to the spinners? Please write clearly on this issue so that not only may the workers understand your meaning, but they may also be in a position to explain it to the spinners."

Imagine, if all the spinners understood the inner meaning of the wheel and spun willingly and not under pressure, what an India there would be! The awakening of crores of women spinners would *ipso facto* produce lakhs of Khadi weavers. Imagine too the numbers of men and women workers needed to bring about this awakening! If such a time comes, textile mills even if any were working, would have to rely on foreign countries for the sale of their produce. They would not, as they do today, hold imperialistic sway over the villages and cities. There would be Hindu-Muslim unity, all would be truthful, there would be no need to tell anyone to wear Khadi for no cloth other than home-spun would be available. That Swaraj is hidden in this revolutionary change should be self-evident to seeing eyes. The question may imply that such a consummation is impossible. If such is the question, it means that Swaraj through non-violent means is impossible.

Another question asked is how the spinners are to be given the requisite education. To seek out the right answer is the main work of the A.I.S.A. Enough research has not so far been done. It is the duty of every A.I.S.A. worker to try to solve the puzzle. Now that we have Congress ministries in several provinces the work should be easy. Let the workers throw themselves heart and soul into it. They will never succeed if they look all the time to the Central Office for help and guidance.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## MARCH OF CIVILIZATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. On page 91 of 'Harijan' dated 14-4-'46, it has been argued that the bullock is a living machine and that contact with such harmless animals is a potent factor in the onward march of human civilization. The animals are, however, made 'harmless' by making them 'impotent'. Is this the correct method of the onward march of civilization? If we have cows, we must have bulls. The bullock is a creation of human selfishness and cruelty. If not in thinking man, in the lower animals at any rate, all the force of their nature rages in the fury of the generative desire. Therefore, to turn the noble animal, the '*Vahana* of *Mahadev*' into a beast of burden is sad.

A. The writer is logical. But such logic would prevent the domestication of the cow. For there is probably more cruelty in domesticating the cow than in castrating the bull. It is a question of degree. Further march of civilization seems to imply increasing domination of man over beast, together with a growingly humane method of using them.

There are three schools of humanitarians. One believes in replacing animal power by the use of any other. Another believes in treating animals as fellow beings and making such use of them as a brotherly spirit will permit. The third will not make use of lower animals for man's selfish purpose but will employ instead one's own power and that of fellow beings to the extent that the latter give intelligent and willing use. I belong to the third school. It is possible by human labour, judiciously and humanely employed, to do fruit culture to a large extent and even corn culture. Indeed, as prisoners we civil resisters in Transvaal dug up stony ground for converting it into a municipal garden. No ploughing would have answered the purpose. The ground could yield only to the pickaxe./

The first I hold to be useless and even injurious in the end to mankind. A judicious combination of the other two seems to me to be the goal. I can see no escape from castration. The only thing to be done is to make it progressively humane.

A correspondent has brought forward in this connection the question of branding animals. Does the pain caused by branding compensate for the benefit it confers upon the owner and the animal? If it confers none on the animal, naturally branding must be taboo.

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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## KANU GANDHI'S CAMP

( By M. K. Gandhi )

This issue contains an abridged account of Kanu Gandhi's second camp. How the candidates were selected, how there was no financial loss, how beginning with cleaning latrines they carried out all the other work, what they ate etc. are all matters worthy of attention. The smallest detail was not neglected. The running of this camp will serve as a guide to others who wish to organize or attend training camps.

The secret of Kanu Gandhi's camp lay, in my opinion, in the fact that the organizers knew their job and were there as workers rather than for issuing orders. Where the organizers are mere superintendents the work is often apt to be lifeless or slack.

It is sad that the camp had to be of short duration. There were strong reasons for this being so. Let us hope that those who came for training will utilize in their own lives the lessons they learnt and thus make progress towards becoming perfect servants of the people.

[ An abstract from Kanu Gandhi's description of his *shibir* in Sevagram to which reference has been made in the foregoing shows that candidates were informed that the *shibir* would be conducted during the hot months and in Gandhiji's absence. Nevertheless 160 applications came in. Forms were sent to them all but as Gandhiji's movements became uncertain and Shri Kanu Gandhi was with him, the filled-in forms were received at Bardoli where Gandhiji was originally to have gone, from thence to Poona, and thence to Sevagram. Ultimately there were 22 men and 4 women admitted to the *shibir*.

These men and women had to attend to everything, beginning with conservancy work and going on to cooking and cleaning. They had to do strenuous farming work too. At first it was intended to have sheds on the open ground near the Ashram. But as only 26 persons were able to come they were accommodated near the Talimi Sangh quarters and so far as it was possible the Talimi Sangh people also collaborated with the *shibir* trainees. On two days in the week they had sprouted gram, otherwise *dallia* was served for breakfast. For the midday meal and supper they had *jawari* bread or rice and *dal* with vegetables. Oil was served instead of ghee and an attempt was made to give 8 ounces of curds per head during the 24 hours. All this cost -/6/9 per day.

Every trainee knew how to spin but they had regular training given them in the new process of sliver-making called *tunai*. It was possible to

attain a speed of 170 rounds of yarn per hour, *tunai* being included in the period.

They had lessons in first aid, civil drill, singing picked national songs and they were taught the way to hoist the national flag with ease and without any mishap.

All had to take part in the prayer meetings.

A special feature of the training consisted in seeing whether they would take to Hindustani written in both Nagri and Urdu characters. Shri Devprakash of the Talimi Sangh successfully taught Urdu for three hours during the three weeks, thus dispelling the gloomy foreboding that the Urdu characters cannot be learnt without much labour and difficulty. The result shows just the opposite. In spite of the rigorous work and heat and very simple food, only four persons lost in weight from 2 to 5 lbs. All others showed decisive gain.]

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## A REQUEST

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by *Tuesday*. Please quote the subscriber number with the intimation.

Please note that change of address *cannot be effected twice within one month*.

Subscribers are not enrolled for a period of less than six months.

## TO AGENTS

I am glad to announce that the quota of paper sanctioned for the Harijan weeklies has been increased by Government. Hence, orders for more copies of all the three weeklies can now be entertained. Those agents who want to increase their number of copies can write to the office now. I may remind them that consequent increase in the sum of their deposits will have to be remitted to the office along with the orders.

Please refer to the 1st of the Agency terms. It has been found on experience that its working gives rise to many complications and much unnecessary correspondence. It is therefore amended as under :

1. The agent will have to deposit with us a sum sufficient to cover the cost of *at least two months' copies* required by him. Out of this amount a sum equivalent to one month's cost will be treated as *reserved or fixed deposit*. Every week the bill will be deducted from the other half, i.e. the *current deposit*, and on the sum of that amount being *insufficient to cover the next week's copies*, the supply of copies will be stopped *at once*.

Agents are requested to make the necessary arrangement according to the amended terms immediately, as the new arrangement comes into force from the 1st of May. All agencies which do not make this arrangement before the next issue is out, will be treated as cancelled.

2-5-'46

J. DESAI

## CULTURAL CONQUEST AND ROMAN SCRIPT

Shri S. A. Ayer of the Azad Hind Government came to discuss with Gandhiji the other day the question of issuing a news bulletin in Roman script for the I. N. A., as proposed by the Central I. N. A. Relief Committee. "The Committee are not enamoured of the Roman script," he observed. "They have accepted it only as a temporary expedient. Otherwise we shall have to print it in three different scripts—Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, and that would mean a lot of expenditure. Moreover it would only be a continuation of the old tradition," he added. "The men had got used to the Roman script while they were in the Indian Army and so retained it when they were operating in S. E. Asia." "You forget," replied Gandhiji "that you are not working in S. E. Asia today, but in India. May I ask if these men ever write to their wives and children in the Roman script?"

"Never," replied Shri Ayer. "They write one and all in Hindi, Urdu, Tamil or any of the other Indian scripts."

"This means," remarked Gandhiji, "that they all know one or the other Indian script. I could understand your wanting to adopt Roman script as a temporary makeshift if we had no script of our own. But to adopt Roman script for Hindustani which has got two acknowledged scripts is only a sign of the psychological conquest that the English have made over us. In order to conquer the English who had conquered you, you adopted the English garb, i. e. Roman script for your bulletins in S. E. Asia. You should have discarded this symbol of the cultural conquest and insisted on having your bulletin in two Indian scripts rather than in Roman. The latter was primarily adopted for the sake of the British officers and men who had to learn Hindustani in order to rule over us. They solved the difficulty presented by the permutations and combinations of the Urdu alphabet and tempted us by their typewriters, telegraph and printing machines which use Roman script. We succumbed. We may not hark back to the symbol of our cultural conquest when we are out to end India's age-long slavery *in toto*. When you served in the British army it was with the prospect of getting rewards in the form of decorations, comfortable pay and pensions, grants of land etc. But now you don't want such temptations. You serve only for the independence and honour of your country. You do not want the easy way."

"India will soon have independence. Do not think that there will be one script for Hindustani all at once. It will come when you and I have honestly and diligently learnt both the scripts—not before. That is the least price we have to pay for independence."

In support of his argument he cited the parallel of South Africa where they have everything in two

languages. The Government gazette is published in two languages and so are the text books for use in schools. "And it is not called partition, but Union of South Africa. To maintain this union they have four capitals one for each province. That is the way of a free and freedom-loving people."

Shri Ayer agreed and said, "We shall have the Hindustani bulletin in Nagri and Urdu scripts, not in Roman."

New Delhi, 20-4-'46

PYARELAL

## THE MONKEY NUISANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

People get weary of the trouble caused to them by monkeys. In their hearts they wish them dead. They are inwardly pleased if anyone kills them. At the same time they will oppose their slaughter. A friend who is well acquainted with the scriptures writes that monkeys ruin the crops, they even kidnap children and remove articles, eat and spoil fruit etc. Their number is daily increasing. I am asked as to what non-violence dictates in the matter.

My *ahimsa* is my own. I am not able to accept in its entirety the doctrine of non-killing of animals. I have no feeling in me to save the life of these animals who devour or cause hurt to man. I consider it wrong to help in the increase of their progeny. Therefore, I will not feed ants, monkeys or dogs. I will never sacrifice a man's life in order to save theirs.

Thinking along these lines I have come to the conclusion that to do away with monkeys where they have become a menace to the well-being of man is pardonable. Such killing becomes a duty. The question may arise as to why this rule should not also apply to human beings. It cannot because, however bad, they are as we are. Unlike the animal, God has given man the faculty of reason.

New Delhi, 25-4-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the Press:

Mr. Hoover's flying visit to India has excited considerable interest and possibly hope. Whilst all the help that America and other countries can send to India, struggling against starvation, must be welcome, my endeavour has been to find ways and means to make ourselves self-supporting. The moment people give way to panic, starvation is a certainty in spite of a continuous line of steamers offloading grain from outside on India's wharves. Conversely, every grain from abroad sent as a matter of duty to self-reliant India, honestly and manfully braving the threatening danger, will be twice blessed. Let Mr. Hoover's visit serve as a reminder to Government servants, monied men and grain merchants that they must think all the time of their duty to the masses. Nature never fails those who will help themselves.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46



QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

CRIMINALS AND NON-VIOLENCE

Q. What would be the treatment meted out to criminals in Free India in the light of your non-violence ?

A. In Independent India of the non-violent type, there will be crime but no criminals. They will not be punished. Crime is a disease like any other malady and is a product of the prevalent social system. Therefore, all crime including murder will be treated as a disease. Whether such an India will ever come into being is another question.

New Delhi, 28-4-'46

WHITED SEPULCHRES ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am a woman but feel I must write to you about this matter. About three months ago a man who said he was . . .'s servant came here. I have always had a high opinion of the integrity of Congressmen and was therefore glad to meet him. I used to spin every day and he used to come to see me daily and call me daughter. I too began calling him uncle. One evening he brought a car and asked me if I had ever been in one and if not, would I not go with him for an outing? It never entered my head to suspect him and I acceded to his request. I was first taken to . . . where I was gagged and later we proceeded to a house in . . . For some days every effort was made to commit an outrage on me. I tried several times to escape but was always stopped with the threat of being shot. Who does not love life and I confess I was frightened. Then one day a wealthy merchant and Congress leader of . . . came and asked me to go and enjoy life with him in . . . My abductor was looking at me and laughing. I cannot describe in words the horrible behaviour of this scoundrel. There are others also implicated whose names I do not know, but the wealthy merchant gave Rs. 500/- to the old woman in charge of the house where I was kept. She tried to persuade me to go with him and told me that I would be kept in comfort.

"Later one day I was rescued by a friend of my father's with the help of the police."

I have received more than one such letter accusing some Congressmen of immorality. It would not be wisdom to believe that they are all untrue and ignore the complaint. It has never been claimed that every Congressman is a model of virtue. But it is a matter of pride that the public expect a high standard of morality from Congressmen. All kinds of immorality are prevalent among us. It is a reformer's duty to try to wean from error those

who are justly accused of misbehaviour. There are limits to immorality, if any can be claimed to pass muster. If what has been related is true, every man has to ask himself how far he is justified in seeking to satisfy his lust at the expense of innocent girls.

New Delhi, 26-4-'46

(From Harijansevak)

CASTE CORROSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Soil corrosion eats up good soil. It is bad enough. Caste corrosion is worse, it eats up men and divides men from men. Letters continue to come from Christians, Parsis, naturally from Scheduled Castes and women. They require representation in the ministry. Provincial competition is already there. The makers of ministries are not free from the taint and even when they do not favour it, they will lose caste if they dare to do the right thing and restrict their choice to merit only. Democracy can only represent the average, if not less than the average. Therefore, a democratic institution to be pure has to attend to the all-round education of the humblest and the lowliest. It must take in its sweep all superstition and social abuse. In such a society there will be no Christian and non-Christian, there will be no distinction of sex. If best persons are women all ministers will belong to that sex, if Parsis they will be all Parsis. That good day may be far off. What is to be done in the meanwhile? Those who feel that they are left out should have patience and rise by dint of service and merit. Those who happen to be ministers should mete out even justice which must include extra effort to raise the neglected and downtrodden. They should make all feel at every step that they are servants, not masters of the nation.

New Delhi, 29-4-'46

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 14]

AHMEDABAD -- SUNDAY, MAY 12, 1946

[TWO ANNAS

## A HARIJAN'S LETTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Harijan friend complains bitterly about my article on sweepers' strike.

His first complaint is that I have given up the sweet name 'Harijan' and used 'Bhangi' instead. The criticism shows the sensitive nature of the correspondent. It was a Gujarati untouchable, in the first instance, who suggested the name 'Harijan' to me and I willingly adopted it. This does not, however, mean that a current word for any sub-caste may never be used. I count myself a *Harijan* and it pleases me to call myself a *Bhangi* among them, because that is the lowest caste of *Harijans*. When I stayed recently in the sweepers' quarters in Delhi, the *Harijans* there too complained against the use of the word 'Bhangi'. They suggested 'Mehtar'. I tried to make them understand that it mattered little as to which of the current words was used for the same occupation. In spite of being considered the lowest occupation, it was in fact the highest inasmuch as it protected health and they should be indifferent to the name. Whatever the origin of the word may be, 'Bhangi' is, in my opinion, another name for *Shivji*. Whether you call a sweeper a *Mehtar* or a *Bhangi*, like *Shivji* he brings health to man. The one brings it by keeping the home clean, the other cleanses the mind of man.

The second criticism is more serious. Prejudices are responsible for misunderstandings. If we take by force even that to which we are entitled, the action is likely to lead to a quarrel. We may not even be able to digest what we get by force. The strikers got what they did by coercion. At least, that is my belief. If my occupation is to keep latrines clean and I refused to do the work, can it be termed anything other than coercion? Of course, I am not bound to take up the job of cleaning latrines and I may be said to have every right to lay down my conditions of service. But according to my way of thinking, the laying down of conditions is not an absolute right. Even if such an absolute right would be permitted, it might not be proper to use it under certain circumstances. But I do not want to enter into the justification of this reasoning. I tried to show in my article the duties of *Bhangis* as well as of citizens. I have often said that every kind of injustice is meted out to *Bhangis*. I have no doubt that citizens do not fulfil their obligations to them.

Thus it is their duty to see that *Harijan* dwellings are built properly, the means employed for cleaning are decent, that they have a special working uniform given to them, that they and their children have facilities for education etc. These and other problems should be solved without loss of time. The *Bhangis* may not go on strike for lack of these amenities but it is up to all citizens to raise their voice on behalf of them.

Yet another criticism is directed against my suggestion of the use of the military to do sweepers' work. I do not see any wrong in what I said. I have re-read my article and am not willing to withdraw one single word of it. I do not regret having written as I did. I advise *Harijan* friends to read it in the proper spirit. If they do so, they will see that my feelings on their behalf have undergone no change.

Simla, 5-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## Notes

### The Late Bhulabhai Desai

It was the heroism and travail of Bardoli that brought to public life men like Shri Bhulabhai Desai. He might otherwise have remained a distinguished Government servant and ended his career as a judge of the Bombay High Court. He reached the height of fame when his forensic talents resulted in the release of the I. N. A. prisoners. His son and daughter-in-law have in me, like many others, a co-sharer in their grief which, it is to be hoped, they will turn into joy by inheriting the deceased's love of the country's service, which alone makes life worth living.

Simla, 6-5-'46

### Ramanavami Celebrations

"They get the best talent from the South at enormous cost for the sake of amusement. The artistes who preside are of questionable morals. All this at a religious festival." This is a condensation of a correspondent's letter. When a man begins a downward career, it is difficult to say where the deterioration will end. Intoxication of wealth is often as bad as that caused by liquor. The only way to stop this degradation of religious or for that matter any celebrations is for the public not to patronize them.

Simla, 2-5-'46

M. K. G.

## THE SO-CALLED DECIMAL COINAGE

The Central Legislative Assembly having decided to circulate the Cent Bill for eliciting public opinion, as one, perhaps, partly responsible for influencing this decision, I owe it to the public to explain more fully my views about this measure.

I am conscious of the comparative simplicity of decimal arithmetic. Two facts must, however, be borne in mind in regard to this simplicity: (i) it is particularly available to calculations made on paper rather than to oral ones, and (ii) the cause of the simplicity is not the number ten, but the use of zero in representing every tenth number. If the ancient inventor of numerical digits had arranged objects in groups of, say, eight or sixteen instead of ten and utilized zero for representing every eighth or sixteenth number, all the advantages of decimal reckoning would have accrued to that arrangement as well. It was rather unfortunate that he did not do so. For, in practice, it is easier to divide a thing into halves, quarters, eighths, etc. than into one-fifths, one-tenths etc. A child of seven would be able to divide a piece of string into 2, 4, 8 or even 16 equal parts with greater ease and without a measuring rod than an educated adult could divide it into 1/10th or 1/5th.

But as this is not a thesis for bringing about a revolution in Mathematics, I shall not dilate further upon this. We have to accept the decimal system as an irrevocably established custom as long as the present human race lasts, and make as best use of it as possible. As far as multiples are concerned, we find that all the world over it is used by the learned and the ignorant alike. Thus all of them say, ten or twenty or hundred rupees, maunds, seers, feet, yards etc. But when it comes to the sub-divisions of a unit, it is all anarchy. There is, however, a negative peculiarity about this anarchy. Until the invention of the scientific Metrical System, nowhere do we find a general tendency to sub-divide a unit into tenths. Where it is not a half or a quarter, it is 1/3rd, 1/6th, 1/12th, 1/28th and anything but 1/10th. It seems that the untrained intellect of man has never been able to conceive of 1/10th, although the decimal fraction itself has been used in mathematical calculations for several centuries now.

I have been reminded that India has the honour of inventing the decimal. India should also be credited with the honour of inventing the *chauthai* (quarteral) system as well. In the midst of anarchy in respect of sub-divisions, she has tried to establish some order by introducing the quarteral system as nearly as possible in the various tables of measurement. Thus the rupee has been progressively divided into 4 quarters, 16 annas or 64 pice; the *tola* into 32 *wals*; the seer into 16 *chhataks*. When a smaller unit had to be related to a larger one of the same order, the quarteral system has often been combined with the decimal one. Thus the seer is made of 80 *tolas*, the maund of 40 seers, the *khandi* of 20 maunds and so on.

Progressive halving being obviously easy, it suggests itself more naturally to the human mind than decimalization. Even the author of the Cent Coinage Bill has not been able to forget the half and the quarter rupee. If the decimal system were applied to its logical perfection, there should have been a proposal to sub-divide the rupee into 10 *dasais* (decemfids) and each *dasai* into 10 cents. The nomenclature "half-rupee" should have given place to 5 *dasais* or 50 cents, and the quarter-rupee should have disappeared as unharmonious. Coins of 1 and 2 *dasais* would have been more regular. But the proposal is to keep the half and the quarter rupee unchanged. Therefore, in spite of the title "decimal coinage" given to the measure, the proposal virtually amounts to one of dividing the quarter-rupee into 25 equal parts instead of the present 4 annas, 16 pice or 48 pies.

I do not blame the author for this logical imperfection. For, it shows that he was mindful of the necessity of not sacrificing practical convenience to logical perfection. On the same practical ground I urge for the search of a better solution than the proposed cent. I have pointed out in my former criticisms on this bill how during the transition period when both the anna and the cent coins will circulate side by side, whenever a person was obliged to pay partly in cents and partly in the old coins, he would always have to pay a little more than the exact amount. I have also pointed out how the re-pricing of retail articles in terms of the cent would tend to make them more costly automatically. I should also point out that to the illiterate villager—man or woman—who cannot often count up to more than twenty and hardly ever up to one hundred, prices in terms of, say, 35 cents, 48 cents, 72 cents etc. will be extremely puzzling. He can understand and know how to pay  $5\frac{1}{2}$  annas,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  as.,  $11\frac{1}{4}$  and so on, but not the other figures, which are very nearly their equivalents. He can also add up these amounts orally and know the total in terms of rupees, annas and quarter annas. But he cannot, unaided, be able to add up the cents. These difficulties will disappear with the spread of education, but they are not so trivial as could be ignored just at present.

But I realize fully that all these arguments may still fail to satisfy the eager theoretician and industrialist, and their influence might prevail. Nor am I myself blind to the necessity of an advance towards decimalization to suit the requirements of science and modern business. Some way, therefore, must be found for meeting these requirements, without causing inconvenience or loss to the humble citizen. With this end, I shall make some constructive suggestions in my next article.

K. G. Mashruwala

[Shri K. G. Mashruwala's note is a fairly conclusive argument to show that there should be no hurry over the proposed change. Let such things await a full-fledged national representative government. Simla, 3-5-'46 M. K. G.]

## USEFUL HINTS

[The following excerpts are taken from Prof. Kumarappa's notes. M. K. G.]

## CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Co-operative societies are ideally suited organizations, not only for developing village industries, but also for promoting group efforts by the villagers. A multi-purpose village society can serve a very useful purpose in a variety of ways such as:

1. Stocking of raw materials for industries, and food grains needed by the village people.
2. Marketing of village products and distributing the requirements of the people.
3. Distribution of seeds, improved implements and tools, manures such as bonemeal, flesh, fish manure, oilcakes, green manure seeds etc.
4. To maintain a common stud bull for the area.
5. To stand between the Government and the people in the matter of collection and payment of taxes etc.

Much of the wastage caused to food grains in transport and handling, and the expenses of collecting food grains to a central place and redistributing them again to the villages can be eliminated through the agency of a co-operative society which is a very reliable medium both from the government as well as from the public point of view. If stocks of grain are held by co-operative societies in villages, the remuneration of local officials can be conveniently paid partly in kind and this may facilitate the much desired system of collecting revenue also in kind.

## AGRICULTURE

The production of crops should be controlled keeping two considerations in mind. (1) The locality must try to produce its own food requirements and raw materials required for primary necessities of life in preference to commercial crops. (2) It must try to produce raw materials suitable for village industries rather than for factories; for example, instead of growing thick rinded sugar-cane or long staple cotton as demanded by factories, soft rinded sugar-cane as can be crushed by village *kolhus* for *gur*-making and short staple cotton as required for hand-spinning should be grown. The surplus land can be utilized to supplement crops needed by surrounding districts. Land utilized for sugar-cane of the factory requirements, tobacco, jute and other money crops should be eliminated or reduced to the minimum. In order to make the farmers adopt this policy heavy dues or excess land revenue should be levied on land used to raise money crops and that too after a licence has been obtained. This will give the farmers no incentive to go in for money crops in preference. On the whole the prices of the agricultural products should be made to compare favourably with those of industrial products.

Commercial crops such as tobacco, jute, sugar-cane, etc. are doubly wasteful. They reduce the food production for man as well as for animals which would otherwise have got their fodder from food crops.

The supply of *gur* which may be reduced with the decline of sugar-cane crops of the factory varieties

can be made good by the production of *gur* from <sup>127</sup> trees now tapped for *toddy* or from those which are found or can be grown in waste lands in sufficient numbers as practically to meet our demand in this respect. The best land put under sugar-cane today can then be utilized for the production of cereals, fruits and vegetables which India needs so badly today.

## IRRIGATION

The need for providing irrigation facilities to all the villages cannot be emphasized too greatly. This is the foundation upon which agriculture depends for its progress, in the absence of which it remains a gamble. A drive for sinking wells, enlarging and dredging tanks and building canals has to be launched. The power engines used in rice and flour mills now can be acquired by the Governments to pump up water from tube wells. No proper manuring can be done without water facilities, as manure in the absence of water is harmful.

(To be continued)

Simla, 3-5-'46

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

Pressmen are inquiring already why my large party is going back. This is a personal question. I would rather avoid answering it, but in these days of publicity and speculation the question cannot be evaded. The reason is purely moral, if it may not be described as spiritual. My task as a self-appointed adviser to all the parties concerned is the most delicate at the present moment. The Simla venue was declared all of a sudden. It dawned on me that if I was to go to Simla, I must go without the usual party, even though 'Harijan' work might suffer. Had I succeeded in carrying conviction to the members of my party, they would have remained behind in Delhi. The time within which the decision was to be taken was only a few hours on the 1st instant. They were anxious for my well-being. The whole moral purpose would be defeated, if I did not carry their mind with me. They, therefore, came to Simla. But the matter was still agitating me. So I conferred with Pyarelal yesterday. He felt convinced that I should be left free to put myself solely in God's keeping, if I was to work under as much detachment as was possible for me. The best part of the afternoon was devoted to prayerful discussion that the party should go back to the heat of Delhi and await me there to rejoin me when I descended. This is the sole reason without reservation.

Simla, 4-5-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

May 12

1946

## CERTAIN QUESTIONS

( By M. K. Gandhi )

A London friend has put seven questions on the working of non-violence. Though similar questions have been dealt with in 'Young India' or 'Harijan', it is profitable to answer them in a single article, if perchance the answers may prove helpful.

Q.1 Is it possible for a modern State (which is essentially based on force) to offer non-violent resistance for countering internal as well as external forces of disorder? Or is it necessary that people wanting to offer non-violent resistance should first of all divest themselves of state-authority and place themselves *vis-à-vis* the opponent entirely in a private capacity?

A. It is not possible for a modern State based on force, non-violently to resist forces of disorder, whether external or internal. A man cannot serve God and Mammon, nor be 'temperate and furious' at the same time. It is claimed that a State can be based on non-violence, i.e. it can offer non-violent resistance against a world combination based on armed force. Such a State was Ashoka's. The example can be repeated. But the case does not become weak even if it be shown that Ashoka's State was not based on non-violence. It has to be examined on its merits.

Q.2 Do you think that it would be possible for a Congress government to deal with foreign aggression or internal riots in an entirely non-violent manner?

A. It is certainly possible for a Congress government to deal with "foreign aggression or internal riots" in a non-violent manner. That the Congress may not share my belief is quite possible. If the Congress changes its course, the change will prove nothing save that the non-violence hitherto offered was of the weak and that the Congress has no faith in State non-violence.

Q.3 Does not the knowledge that the opponent is wedded to non-violence often encourage the bully?

A. The bully has his opportunity when he has to face non-violence of the weak. Non-violence of the strong is any day stronger than that of the bravest soldier fully armed or a whole host.

Q.4 What policy would you advocate if a section of the Indian people tries to enforce by sword a selfish measure which is not only repugnant to others but also basically unjust? While it is possible for an unofficial organization to offer non-violent resistance in such a case, is it also possible for the government of the day to do so?

A. The question assumes a case which can never exist. A non-violent State must be broad-based on the will of an intelligent people, well able to know its mind and act up to it. In such a State the assumed section can only be negligible. It can never stand against the deliberate will of the overwhelming majority represented by the State. The government of the day is not outside the people. It is the will of the overwhelming majority. If it is expressed non-violently, it cannot be a majority of one but nearer 99 against 1 in a hundred.

Q.5 Is not non-violent resistance by the militarily strong more effective than that by the militarily weak?

A. This is a contradiction in terms. There can be no non-violence offered by the militarily strong. Thus, Russia in order to express non-violence has to discard all her power of doing violence. What is true is that if those, who were at one time strong in armed might, change their mind, they will be better able to demonstrate their non-violence to the world and, therefore, also to their opponents. Those who are strong in non-violence will not mind whether they are opposed by the militarily weak people or the strongest.

Q.6 What should be the training and discipline for a non-violent army? Should not certain aspects of conventional military training form a part of the syllabus?

A. A very small part of the preliminary training received by the military is common to the non-violent army. These are discipline, drill, singing in chorus, flag hoisting, signalling and the like. Even this is not absolutely necessary and the basis is different. The positively necessary training for a non-violent army is an immovable faith in God, willing and perfect obedience to the chief of the non-violent army and perfect inward and outward co-operation between the units of the army.

Q.7 Is it not better under existing circumstances that countries like India and England should maintain full military efficiency while resolving to give non-violent resistance a reasonable trial before taking any military step?

A. The foregoing answers should make it clear that under no circumstance can India and England give non-violent resistance a reasonable chance whilst they are both maintaining full military efficiency. At the same time it is perfectly true that all military powers carry on negotiations for peaceful adjustment of rival disputes. But here we are not discussing preliminary peace parleys before appealing to the arbitrament of war. We are discussing a final substitute for armed conflict called war, in naked terms mass murder.

Simla, 2-5-'46

## IS KHADI TOTTERING ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

To those who have no faith Khadi is tottering. In reality it is gaining ground. From being the poor man's staff of life, it is trying to become the non-violent means of gaining independence. The difficulty is fairly clearly expressed in the following paragraphs from a letter from Tamil Nad.

"The A. I. S. A. is faced with two problems now. The one is to keep on the Khadi production on the present methods. The other is to give reorientation to our activity related to artisans and their villages where we serve.

"The commercial production as it is, is seriously affected in the last few months owing to competition of the uncertified merchants in Khadi. The uncertified merchants buy the yarn from our spinners who spin with better cotton supplied by us. They buy Khadi woven by the weavers out of our yarn and sell it with profit. They go to our weavers' homes and buy the Khadi woven for us by giving extra wages and yarn equivalent for the Khadi. The weavers part with our Khadi as they get extra wages and yarn at their own homes. The Khadi thus bought is sold as special Khadi with higher prices.

"There are more than fifty uncertified Khadi dealers in this area, who are said to produce about Rs. 7 lakhs worth of uncertified Khadi monthly. Among these are Congressmen also, who occupy places in the Congress Executive.

"We are not able to influence the artisans against being exploited by the uncertified merchants though the former have their deposits with us. They simply say that they are not able to resist the temptation of higher wages for inferior labour and with no conditions that we impose with regard to quality and their wearing Khadi, etc. The spinners are given besides an inferior cotton called *bonda* by the uncertified dealers which require, no carding. This is mill waste available for about three-fourths the price of good cotton. The yarn spun is only in sheafs without hanking. As this is simpler the spinners prefer this cotton. Because higher wages are paid for indifferent labour and no deposits are taken for Khadi from spinners and as there is no insistence upon quality of yarn etc. there is a tendency on the part of the spinners to work under the uncertified merchants.

"This tendency among the artisans is a great impediment and obstacle in approaching them with our ideals of village reconstruction through the Charkha."

The present method of Khadi production has to be sacrificed if it hinders re-orientation. This requires faith and the alertness which faith brings. Faith never accrues to the lazy.

Uncertified Khadi dealers are a powerful menace to Khadi whether from the standpoint of the poor man or of non-violence. For, the dealer knows only his own pocket and nothing else matters to him. Of course, he goes to the weaver and the spinner and makes all kinds of promises, not knowing that if he killed the A. I. S. A. he would kill himself.

The pity of it all is that Congressmen become willing tools in the hands of these uncertified dealers. They have brought into being an association of specialists. Yet they do not know that they are willingly or unwillingly killing the goose that lays the golden egg. They have a right to do so in any case, more so if they do not believe in Khadi as the non-violent instrument of Swaraj.

It has been suggested to me that the policy of the A. I. S. A. can be changed only after consultation with Congressmen. This is wrong in the nature of things. The A. I. S. A. is composed of Congressmen. Though created by the Congress, it is an autonomous body. It can be disowned by the Congress at any time but while it is owned it must be trusted to do the right thing in terms of Swaraj. Part payment in yarn is a potent cause of worry to Congressmen. This should not be so, if they believe that Khadi is a symbol of non-violence and all that it implies. If such is not the belief the clause about compulsory wear of Khadi should be given up.

Moreover, Khadi furnishes the acid test of public honesty. It is a great effort to find the best way of inducing honesty in public dealings, for it means coming in close and selfless touch with the millions of men and women in the villages.

The upshot of it all is that workers like the writer have to carry on their work with full faith in their mission and leave the result in the hands of God.

Simla, 3-5-'46

## THE CHARITY OF THE RICH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is the gist of what a friend writes :

"You accept many donations from the wealthy. There can be no doubt that the money is well spent. But the question is as to whether these donations should be accepted for your work. The donors certainly get a name thereby and among them might even be black-marketeers. Can such charity benefit the poor?"

The question really boils down to whether donations are in themselves wrong. I have no doubt about their being so in my own mind. But the world works differently. The author of the Gita has said that all undertakings are tainted. Therefore, all action should be performed with complete detachment. The *Ishopanishad* begins by saying that all action must be preceded by a full surrender of everything to God. It must, however, be admitted that even if everyone ceased to receive charity, the rich would not cease to amass wealth. It is also a fact that some rich people are stingy enough never to give anything in charity. Some even give money for nefarious purposes. Therefore, all that one can say is that certain principles should be observed in the matter of receiving charity. Not one pie should be taken for selfish ends and all should be received with God as witness.

I do, however, hold that it would be wrong to receive money from any group or individual whom the recipient considers to be unworthy. The discussion is naturally relevant only for those who are troubled by conscientious scruples.

Simla, 5-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## INTROSPECTION

The following is the gist of Gandhiji's Hindustani speech at the evening prayer gathering on 2-5-'46—the day of his arrival at Simla.

I did not know that I would have to come to Simla this time. If we have faith in God we simply would not care to know beforehand how He may dispose of us. It is enough for us to hold ourselves perfectly in readiness for whatever happens. We are not allowed to know what tomorrow has in store for us and our best conceived plans have a knack very often of going awry. The highest wisdom therefore is never to worry about the future but to resign ourselves entirely to His Will.

I do not propose to say anything here about the Cabinet Mission. And I would like you too, on your part, to repress your curiosity about it. Let us all mutely watch and pray. As I told the people who attended the evening prayer gathering at Delhi yesterday, the Cabinet Mission will not be able to go beyond what is warranted by our strength. We shall be fools to think otherwise. Even if they tried to go beyond, it would only cause us surfeit and we would not be able to take advantage of it. Therefore, even if the Mission should prove infructuous I would not blame them for it. Rather I would blame ourselves for our weakness. It would give us a measure of our strength. By strength I mean non-violent strength. We are pledged to gain Swaraj non-violently.

Many people today share the belief, and I am one of them, that this time the Cabinet Mission will do the right thing by India and that the British power would finally and completely be withdrawn. Time alone will show how far this belief is justified.

Now to take up the question I want to talk to you about. The first *mantra* of the *Ishopanishad* says that it is man's duty to surrender his all to God in the first instance. There is nothing which he can call his own. Having made the surrender man is to take out of it what he may require for his legitimate needs but not a jot more. He must not covet what belongs to others. Take my instance. I have been housed here in a palatial building. For fear of your embarrassing affection I had to seek Government's hospitality and they put me up here. That however does not mean that since the Government have placed a big bungalow at my disposal I am free to make use of the whole of it. Tolstoy, in one of his inimitable parables, has answered the question, how much land a man requires. The Devil tempts a man by granting him a boon that all the land that he can circumscribe by running around shall be his. The man runs and runs, goaded by his greed and in the end when the sun is just sinking below the horizon, he reaches back the starting point only to drop down dead. Six feet of the earth is all the land that he requires for his burial. If, therefore, I were to delude myself with the belief that I needed the whole of this bungalow and took possession of it, I would be set down as a fool. Only a perverse nature can interpret the verse to mean that after making a ceremony of offering

everything to God one can indulge oneself in the good things of life to an unlimited extent. That would be a travesty of its true meaning. I would far rather like to see a man dressed in old, mended clothes than in gaudy new ones. To wear torn clothes is a sign of laziness and therefore shame, but to wear patched clothes proclaims your poverty or renunciation and industry. Similarly, if someone gives me Rs. 25,000/- and I spend it on my person I am a robber and thief. I can use only enough for my bare needs. That would be the teaching of *Ishopanishad*.

Simla, 3-5-'46

PYARELAL

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE DILEMMA

The late Shri Mahadev Desai often used to say that to be with Gandhiji was like sitting on the top of a volcano which might erupt at any time. Little did any of us dream, when Gandhiji decided to go to Simla, that within fortyeight hours of his reaching there, he would be sending his whole entourage packing back to the plains of Delhi. He has a nature extraordinarily sensitive to the atmosphere around him. Reverses and defeats he takes with unperturbed calm as the workings of the Divine Will, but the slightest taint of untruth in the atmosphere, or even a suspicion of it, oppresses him. He had accepted the delicate role of adviser to the Cabinet Mission and ourselves. But there was something in the general situation—something uncanny which he could sense but not quite define—which made him feel extremely uneasy. And as is his wont on such occasions, believing as he does in the principle of "as with yourself so with the universe", he began by subjecting himself to fierce self-introspection and overhaul. If he was square with himself, he knew, it would be all well with the world.

### THE TEST

Thanks to the burden of editing three—now four—Harijan weeklies and attending to the growing volume of correspondence and other work he has nowadays to keep a rather large staff with him. On Tuesday last he asked me to set down the barest minimum of personnel that we would require to accompany us to Simla. This I did. But it did not quite satisfy him.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, our unfailing host at Simla on the previous occasion, felt extremely unhappy as Manor Ville had only limited accommodation and a number of her domestic staff were sick or on leave. And then there was the Mahatmic handicap—the necessity of protecting him from the embarrassing affection of the crowds. Here was a dilemma. The Government had thoughtfully placed at his disposal a big bungalow at Simla and made transport arrangements for himself and his party. Should he avail himself of these without stint? His faith in God and his detachment, he felt, were on trial. Further reduction in the staff seemed hardly feasible. But, did he hope to cope with the situation through unaided human effort? And if he was to be merely an instrument for carrying out the Divine

Will, were outward trappings necessary for his purpose? "We are up against heavy odds. There is so much corruption, falsehood and deceit all around. How can I cut my way through it and come out of it unscathed, except by the use of the sharp axe of detachment," he said to himself. He put his dilemma before the party. "In this hour of trial I wish to put myself entirely in God's hands and proceed to Simla all alone. But I do not want to do so unless I can carry you with me. To force my will upon you would be the negation of detachment." The party felt staggered. They could not take upon themselves the tremendous responsibility of letting him go altogether unattended. After a hurried deliberation they communicated their unanimous decision to me to be placed before him. It was: "Let him take with him three only, or you alone, and we will be satisfied. But he cannot be allowed to go all alone. We cannot think of it." But Gandhiji was adamant. "None or all" was his laconic reply. "Faith cannot be divided. You cannot trust me to God in part." As the poet says, "Want of faith in aught is want of faith in all."

#### AN ACT OF FAITH

But there was no time then for further consideration and so the whole party trekked up to Simla.

Gandhiji's self-introspection however continued and found vent in his after-prayer discourse on the first day of his arrival at Simla when he took up the first verse of the *Ishopanishad* as his text. "Surrender all to Him and then, out of His, use for His service whatever is absolutely necessary—not a jot more." Could he be said to be acting according to the Upanishadic teaching while he surrounded himself by his entourage? "All must be surrendered to Him in the first instance and then His work carried on with whatever material may come to you through His grace." The preliminary stripping was a necessity. He again broached the proposition to us. "'Unless the Lord build the house, they build in vain who build it.' Why not let me take my chance with God?" It was not too late yet to perform that act of faith, he told us. "Now retire within yourself and seek the answer there. Do not consult others. And let me know the result," he said to me.

Later in the day he poured out his soul to Agatha Harrison. "The world will laugh at me and say: 'Here is a theatrical man.' I do not mind it. When one is used to human aids it is not easy to tear oneself away from them all of a sudden. I am very conservative in my feelings. I have spent half a day in searching for a small bit of pencil which had been with me for a long time. I could not reconcile myself to its loss. And here I have to detach myself from my entire surroundings and send away a party whom I have trained and seasoned for my work for years—no easy job.

"It should not be so. All should be same to one who has surrendered his all to God. My *Ramanam* will be vain repetition and I would be a wretched guide for the Congress, the Cabinet Mission and others, if I allowed that feeling of attachment to weigh with me. If they follow my

advice it might be like a plunge in darkne seasoned politicians they cannot afford to ta risk. My guidance must, therefore, be unalloy

"If you are surrounded by your family, divide your attention in however small or subt measure. I wish in this crisis to give my undiv self to God."

"You feel you have to deal with an extraordi narily acute crisis?" asked Agatha Harrison.

#### A DOUBLE CRISIS

"Yes, there is a crisis within a crisis. Not only is there the outward crisis, which you see, but a crisis within myself," replied Gandhiji.

"It remains to be seen how I come out of the test," he continued. "So far people around me had attended to every little thing for me. If anything went wrong they were responsible. From tomorrow I shall have to do all that myself and blame myself only, if anything goes wrong. With all that I must feel at ease with myself. I shall have to watch myself. It will be a great thing if I survive that detachment and feel the inner joy—not start running high blood pressure. It is a big experiment in my life and a necessary stage in my spiritual growth."

What was one to say before this moral passion?

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies

When a new planet swims into his ken,

Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes

He stared at the Pacific—and all his men

Look'd at each other with a mild surmise—

Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

#### SURRENDER

Mystics and seers have a way of their own. It is the same all the world over. One seemed almost to hear the voice of Thomas a Kempis across the centuries.

"O Lord, I stand much in need of yet greater grace, if I ought to reach that place, where no man nor any creature shall be a hindrance unto me. For as long as anything holdeth me back, I cannot freely fly to Thee."

and again,

"Unless too a man be disentangled from all creatures, he cannot freely attend unto divine things."

\* \* \*

"And unless a man be elevated in spirit, and freed from all creatures, and wholly united unto God, whatsoever he knoweth, and whatsoever he hath, is of no great weight."

\* \* \*

"And whatsoever is not God, is nothing, and ought to be accounted as nothing."

What right had we puny creatures to hold him down in his upward flight? It would have been vain conceit on our part to think that he would be handicapped for want of our assistance. I surrendered. "It will be as you wish", I told him. "We shall be returning to Delhi by the first available train."

I communicated my decision to the Sardar. I wondered what he would have to say. I confess I felt a bit nervous. But he only said, "You are right. We may not always be able to follow him in his upward flight or even to fully grasp his reasoning. But we have no right to stand in his way."

Simla, 4-5-'46

PYARELAL



## SEEKING BLESSINGS

Before starting for Simla, Gandhiji revisited the super-octogenarian of Indian nationalism at 5, Canning Street, to take leave of him and his blessings for his mission. Badsha Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan accompanied him. It was Gandhiji's day of silence, being Monday and he had, therefore, to communicate by writing only. As before, Malaviyaji was reclining in his bed. But he looked fresher than on the previous visit. In reply to Gandhiji's question as to what he proposed to do since the venue of the Cabinet Mission talks was going to be shifted to Simla, Malaviyaji said, he would be returning to Benares. That relieved Gandhiji as he was half afraid lest in his irrepressible enthusiasm this *enfant terrible* should decide to venture up the heights of Simla. That would be courting disaster at his age and in his present state of health.

"How long are you to continue to worry over the country's affairs?" Gandhiji asked him, marvelling at his perennial freshness.

"So long as the country's affairs continue to cause worry," he replied with a merry twinkle in his eyes.

"Won't you leave something to a youth like myself," scribbled out Gandhiji on another slip of paper and added, "It will make me even younger."

"This young man," replied Malaviyaji in an audible whisper, his eyes beaming at his visitor, "is going to remain young for many a day yet."

But Gandhiji was determined not to be put off so easily. As in the case of Gurudev he was eager to take upon himself Malaviyaji's burdens too, if the latter would allow it.

"You can entrust any of your burdens to me," he told him. "The only condition is that you must cease worrying and bless me with some of your strength."

"The name of God is the strength of our strength," replied Malaviyaji.

"That is true. The recitation of *Ramanam* is there all the time. But wherefrom shall I bring your learning? I am not flattering. I have neither your erudition nor your knowledge of the Mahabharata and the Bhagawata lore."

"But you have God's name which is the quintessence of all knowledge. Is it not?"

"That is true, but all the same I do feel jealous of your learning. But now you must get well and make use of all your learning to that end."

"I will get well," replied Malaviyaji.

At this stage Pandit Radhakant told Gandhiji that he had read out his article on Vanaspati Ghee, which had appeared in '*Harijan*', to his father and it had pleased him immensely.

"It is a national menace, this spread of vegetable ghee on the one hand, and the slaughter of the cows on the other. Between the two the vitality of the people is being sapped. I feel so happy over what you have done and are doing for the milk supply," commented Malaviyaji.

Gandhiji agreed with him as regards the menace of the vegetable ghee and added, "My efforts to solve the milk problem, of course continue, but success is not possible without the full cooperation of our commercial and trading class. But I must now take leave of you."

Malaviyaji smiled leave and blessings in reply, making *namaskars* at the same time. As Gandhiji rose from his seat he (Malaviyaji) slowly recited the following verse:

"Forget not yourself,

"But continue to spread your fragrance wherever you are,

"Even like the rose."

That was Malaviyaji's way of giving blessings.  
Simla, 4-5-'46 PYARELAL

## A SURE AID

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent suggests three aids to self-control, of which two are outward and one is inward. The inward help he describes as follows:

"A third thing that helps towards self-control is *Ramanam*. This has got the terrible power of converting one's sex desire into a divine longing for the Lord. In fact it seems to me from experience that the sex desire present in almost all human beings is a form of *Kundalini Shakti* left to its own natural growth and development. Just as man has fought against nature ever since creation, so also he should fight against this natural tendency of his *Kundalini* and see that it acts upward instead of downward. Once the *Kundalini* begins to act upward its direction is towards the brain and gradually will it dawn upon such a man that he and all whom he sees around him are but different manifestations of the same Lord."

There is no doubt that *Ramanam* is the surest aid. If recited from the heart it charms away every evil thought, and evil thought gone, no corresponding action is possible. The outward helps are all useless if the mind is weak. They are superfluous if the mind is pure. This must not be taken to mean that a pure-minded man can take all the liberties and still keep safe. Such a man simply will not take any liberties with himself. His whole life will be an infallible testimony to the inward purity. The Gita truly says that mind makes the man and unmakes him. Milton paraphrases the same thought when he says:

"The mind is its own place and in itself can make a heaven of hell and hell of heaven."

Simla, 2-5-'46.

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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[ THREE ANNAS

## Notes

### Non-violence and Khadi

The Congress constitution is undergoing a radical change. The supreme change that is desirable for the sake of avoiding untruth and hypocrisy is to remove the words "legitimate and peaceful" from the first article of the Congress constitution as also the clause about Khadi. Experience shows that the people who form the bulk of Congressmen are not wedded either to truth and non-violence or to Khadi. As an ardent lover of truth and non-violence and Khadi as their symbol, I make bold to suggest that these clauses should go. It will be open to anyone to be truthful and non-violent and to wear Khadi if he or she chooses to. Only there will be no deception practised on India or the world. Paradoxical as it may appear we shall be more healthful, more non-violent and better Khadi lovers with the suggested amendment than without. It should be remembered that I myself had at one time moved the removal of these clauses. I was glad I was defeated. It was wrong to be glad. I shall be sorry if my suggestion is rejected even now. Let it not be said of us that we prize hypocrisy above truth.

### Cocktail Parties

We seem to be on the eve of attaining independence! Should we ape bad European manners and customs and still prize independence? It would be a sad day for India and the world, if the price we are to pay for independence is cocktail parties and the like. What do the famishing millions know of such parties? Let it not be said of us that our monied men were gay whilst those from whom they made money were famishing for food.

### Harijan Cooks

A correspondent suggests that at the next session of the Congress all the cooks should be Harijans and to that end a corps of Harijan cooks should be trained in the observance of cleanliness and the art of cooking scientifically and as behoves a poor country like ours. He would have this privilege and duty given to the Congressmen in the province in which the Congress session is to be held. After the session these cooks should be taken over by those Congressmen who can afford it and keep cooks. Any suggestion like this which shows in practice that untouchability is a thing of the past is to be welcomed. I would only add that Congressmen who endorse it need not wait for the session. They should from now take up Harijans not merely as their cooks but have them in all other capacities.

What is more, let those who can afford it take Harijans in their families as their own children and give them proper training. All this can only happen if men and women are sincere in their professions and if the truth has gone home that under the garb of religion Hinduism is said to have consigned to untouchability their own kith and kin for no fault of theirs.

Simla, 8-5-'46

### Valmikiis of Simla

Readers must know that *Valmiki* is another word for *bhangi*. Their living quarters in Simla are deplorable. No one bothers about them. Rajkumari has tried her best for them for years but how much can a single person do? I am unable to get as far and see things for myself, but I requested Badshah Khan who is staying with me to go there. He gives me a piteous account of their hovels. Some of the *Valmikiis* have been to see me and have placed other woeful complaints before me. I feel that if in the first instance their living quarters were rebuilt many of their other complaints too would be put right. It is the bounden duty of the public and the Municipality of Simla to remove this evil as soon as they can from their midst. They can be no cleaner than the least clean among them.

Simla, 13-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### To Correspondents

My daily post may be said to have increased fourfold since the 'Harijan' weeklies started. It is impossible to answer every letter. Every communication is read but not by me. If I attempted to do so I would be unable to render any service. My staff put before me only what I should see. Much of the post does not merit replies, but questions of public interest are answered in 'Harijan'. Personal correspondence has to be rigidly restricted. I receive a large number of requests for blessings on the occasion of marriages which I am hesitant to send. I have already stated publicly that my blessings should be asked for only such marriages where one of the contracting parties is a Harijan. But in reality where is the need for blessings? Those marriages which are undertaken for the sake of joint service carry their own blessings. Those entered upon for self-satisfaction are wholly unworthy of any. In any event, in these days of famine, no money should be spent on feasts and enjoyment. Weddings will continue, but is it not possible for the event to take place quietly and without fuss?

Simla, 6-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

## WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION

South Africa is the cradle of Satyagraha as a political weapon. It is also the place, thanks to the weapon of non-violence, where the Indian community have so far been able successfully to resist the attempts of the Whites to squeeze them out. Faced with the renewed menace in the form of the Land Tenure Legislation which has been passed into law, it has again resolved to resort to the weapon of Satyagraha.

A Delegation on behalf of the South African Indian community has been in this country for some time past to enlist the co-operation and active support of their compatriots in their impending struggle for the right to exist as a self-respecting community. It includes some veteran Satyagrahi soldiers who took part in the Satyagraha fight under Gandhiji and which closed with the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. It is headed by Shri Sorabjee Rustomjee, the son of the late Parsi Rustomjee, with whose name the readers of Gandhiji's 'Story of My Experiments with Truth' and the history of 'Satyagraha in South Africa' must be familiar.

### STRATEGY OF SATYAGRAHA

The Delegation saw Gandhiji more than once. The last time it was in the Sweepers' Colony at Delhi. They sought Gandhiji's advice as to the starting of a successful Satyagraha. In the course of the conversation Gandhiji remarked on the presence of divisions among them. They admitted divisions but argued that they were there even in Gandhiji's time.

"The difference between then and now," explained Gandhiji "is this, that in those days the blacklegs became isolated after a time and it was possible to hold monster meetings everywhere. Parsi Rustomjee went among the indentured labourers and in the final struggle they rose like one man. Repeat that history today and you will win. Do not repeat it and you will fail. Do you command the sympathy and support of all the interests? Will the mercantile community back you?" he asked them.

"The mercantile community," answered Sorabjee, "was not with us even then."

"But we had Kachalia," rejoined Gandhiji. "If you have one Kachalia amongst you, the whole of the mercantile community will be covered."

"Suppose no merchant comes forward. Is not a struggle possible then?" asked Sorabjee.

"It will then take a different turn," replied Gandhiji, "and in the end the mercantile community will be swept out of existence."

"We are a difficult community at times," remarked one member of the deputation.

"And quarrelsome too," added another.

"I know, I know," said Gandhiji. "The South Africa of today is not far different from the South Africa that I have known. In the first article I wrote for the 'Indian Opinion', I said that if after all there was one true man in South Africa he will cover all. He will build up the whole

structure from within." "Amidst a whole heap of bad coins, I wrote," proceeded Gandhiji, quoting from memory, "if there is one true sovereign, the heap will be worth that one sovereign and no more. If you produce one civil resister of merit he will pull things through. Do not start the struggle therefore unless you have that stuff. Manage to exist you will anyhow. But that should not satisfy you. You have to live as a self-respecting community with an equal status. Indians have to make good that position by showing the real stuff."

The discussion then turned on the strategy of the proposed Satyagraha. Gandhiji was definitely opposed to sitting in prohibited seats in trains and railway carriages by way of Satyagraha. Satyagraha should be on a clear, unequivocal and impersonal issue and capable of taking thousands in its fold.

### RELATIONS WITH THE NATIVES

The conversation next turned on the relations between the Indian community and the Natives. Gandhiji mentioned how he had refused to send a message for a meeting of the West African Federation that was held some time back in London, because they conceived of a struggle after the way of Europe. "Probably theirs is not the way of non-violence." "One day the black races will rise like the avenging Attila against their White oppressors, unless some one presents to them the weapon of Satyagraha," he added.

"You have said we should associate with Zulus and Bantus. Does it not mean joining them in a common anti-White front?" one member of the Delegation asked.

"Yes, I have said," answered Gandhiji, "that we should associate with Zulus, Bantus, etc. It means that you take them under your wing when you have developed that power of non-violence. It will be good if you fire them with the spirit of non-violence. You will be their saviour. But if you allow yourselves to be over-whelmed and swept off your feet, it will be their and your ruin."

"Their slogan today is no longer merely 'Asia for the Asiatics' or 'Africa for the Africans' but the unity of all the exploited races of the earth. On India rests the burden of pointing the way to all the exploited races. She won't be able to bear that burden today if non-violence does not permeate us more than today. I have been trying to fit ourselves for that mission by giving a wider bend to our struggle. India will become a torch-bearer to the oppressed and exploited races only if she can vindicate the principle of non-violence in her own case, not jettison it as soon as independence of foreign control is achieved."

"Race consciousness," remarked another member of the Delegation, "is rising all over South Africa. We Indians take advantage of the Bantus. We send our children to native colleges. But we are ashamed to call ourselves natives. They feel we are arrogant and aloof. We do not do enough to make an adequate return for what we have got from them. They are getting resentful and the White man encourages and promotes that feeling to widen the gulf."

"It will be an evil day for you if he succeeds," replied Gandhiji. "The trouble is that you are all worshippers of the golden calf."

"Having never seen it, how can we worship it?" Mr. Christopher put in.

"Worshipping is different from seeing," retorted Gandhiji. "Don't we worship God without seeing Him?"

#### PRODUCE YOUR OWN LEADERS

The Delegation then asked if a leader could be sent from India to organize and lead them. Gandhiji in reply told them that a leader would have to arise from among them. He hoped that they would throw up one in due time. He described to them how he had been arguing with his son Manilal to train up his children for the task. After they had finished their education in India he hoped they would go back and settle down in South Africa and serve the Indian Community.

Apropos the training that would equip South African born Indian children for service he mentioned how he had refused to send his own children to Loveday and Fort Hare.

Delhi, 8-5-'46

PYARELAL

#### A SIMLA DIARY

I must apologize to the readers for the absence of a "Weekly Letter" from Simla for reasons I explained last week. The following gleaned from the notes on Gandhiji's prayer discourses prepared by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur will, however, be found fairly to cover the week.

Gandhiji's statement on his reasons for sending back his permanent staff to Delhi did not satisfy the people. It seemed too strange to be true. They still wanted to know the "real reason". Gandhiji's first discourse after our departure from Simla, therefore, naturally turned on his momentous decision. He explained to the audience how his permanent staff had shortly before left for Delhi with smiling faces and his blessings. His task was very hard. But all difficulties could be overcome by leaning on God. Ever since he had reached years of discretion he had felt that God is always with those who wait on him. "In reality He is everywhere but because He is formless and invisible man cannot always sense His presence. But if we have listening ears, God speaks to us in our own language, whatever that language be." Badshah Khan had just explained what prayer was. God was all powerful. Man lived at His will. It was because Gandhiji wanted in these crucial days to rely solely on His help that he had asked his people who looked after his every need and helped him to edit the 'Harijan' weeklies to leave him to God. Yet he was not quite without human help. He had the Fakir Badshah Khan with him, the Sardar and his daughter, who was as his own daughter, Dr. Dinshah Mehta and Shri Brijkrishna and Shri Sudhir Ghosh. Birlaji had sent some of his staff too.

#### A DIFFICULT TASK

Referring to the work in Simla he observed that it was hard for everyone of the three parties—

perhaps hardest for the Cabinet Mission. They had vowed to let go their hold on India. He trusted their word. He would advise all to do likewise. It was undignified to be suspicious. The deceiver ever lost. Gandhiji warned people not to believe that Britain was crumbling. They were a great power. The shame for us was that a handful of them had ruled over us for so long and the greater shame for them was that they had held dominion over us. But if all were true and all relied on God, no one need have any fear for the future.

#### THE TECHNIQUE OF SILENCE

He might have pursued the theme on the next day too. But the next day being his day of silence he contented himself by writing out a short message explaining the technique of restoring silence in big gatherings. The general practice of everybody trying to restore order by shouting at every other is a contradiction in terms and often makes confusion worse confounded. "Noise is not erased by making greater noise. It can only be stilled by people making mute signs and never pushing forward. Peace and order were necessary at all gatherings, but are especially so at prayer gatherings. People come together for prayers in order to obtain peace, to hear God's name and to recite it. Therefore, those who come should really attune themselves even as they start from their homes. Let them be silent and let their thoughts dwell as they walk, on prayer. Otherwise coming to prayers was useless."

#### STRANGE RUMOURS

He reverted to his previous day's theme in his after-prayer discourse on the 7th. Strange rumours had come to him, he said, in regard to his permanent staff having left. Some people were foolish enough to believe that there had been some domestic quarrel. Those who lived with him were not made of such stuff. Others imagined that because his staff had left, the negotiations had broken down. This too was wholly untrue. They left, as Gandhiji had said before, because they understood that he wanted to be alone with God as his only help. Even so he was not without help. It had been so throughout his life. In South Africa, too, all kinds of people had helped him including Boers, Africans and Europeans.

#### SPECULATION FEVER

The address on the 7th contained scathing denunciation of the speculation fever which had seized Simla. He interpreted it as a sign of cowardice. He tried to impress upon them that it arose from fear. He himself, was a coward in his early youth. He had learnt to shed his cowardice through the recitation of *Ramanama*. It was cowards who died many times before their death. Fear of disease killed more men than disease itself. He appealed to newspapermen also not to spread false news. It was their duty to teach people to be brave and not instil fear into them. The Cabinet Mission had come with the blessings of the Prime Minister, who had said they were coming here to part with power whether Indians agreed among themselves



or not. It was not right to distrust or disbelieve anyone so long as there was no cause to do so. Were those who had had the courage to put up a non-violent fight against a mighty empire for 25 years going to yield to frustration if the British Government failed to perform its duty today?

#### GURUDEV'S BIRTHDAY

On Gurudev's birthday which fell on the 8th, a picture of the poet had been put on the dais at the prayer gathering. Drawing the attention of the gathering to it, Gandhiji said that the inscription under it was the motto 'The light that never failed.' Gurudev's body was reduced to ashes but the radiance that had been within him was like the sun which would shine so long as life on this earth lasted. But the light he shed was for the soul as the sun's was for the body. He was a poet and a literary star of the first magnitude. He wrote in his mother tongue and all Bengal was able to drink deep at the fountain of his poetry. Translations of his works existed in many languages. He was a great writer in English too, perhaps almost without knowing it. He had school education but he could boast of no university degree. He was just Gurudev. One Viceroy had called him the poet of Asia, a title that no one before him had had. He was also a world poet and, what is more, a *Rishi*. "He has left us the Gitanjali, the poems which brought him world fame. The great Tulsidas left us his immortal Ramayana. The renowned Vedavyasa left us a history of mankind. They were not mere poets; they were teachers. Gurudev too wrote not only as a poet but as a *Rishi*." Writing, however, was not his only gift. He was an artist, a dancer, a singer with all the sweetness and purity that art in its finest sense should contain. "His creative genius has also given us Shantiniketan, Shriniketan and Vishwa-Bharati. These breathe his spirit and are a legacy not only to Bengal but to India. Shantiniketan has become, as it were, a place of pilgrimage to us all. He was not, in his lifetime, able to make of these institutions what he had dreamed for them. What man can? Fulfilment of man's purpose is in God's hands. But they are monuments to his endeavour and are a constant reminder to us of the passionate love he had for his country and the service he rendered to her." They had just heard the national song he wrote, a song which has found a place in our national life. "How often is the inspiring refrain heard from thousands of voices! It is not only a song but is also like a devotional hymn."

Gandhiji ended by exhorting the people to learn the lessons of love of country, love of the world and selfless service from the noble example which Gurudev had left.

#### THINGS OF THE SPIRIT

Things of the spirit formed the subject of his next two discourses. In the first he told them that the spirit of prayer must abide with them all the twentyfour hours, if it was a heart prayer and not merely from the lips. The real peace of prayer could come to their hearts only if God entered therein.

Then they would be the same outwardly as they were within. They would be honest, they would harbour no enmity against anyone, they would be truthful, they would cheat no one if they were in business.

Gandhiji said he would like more and more persons to come to the prayer gatherings but only if they came in the right spirit and with listening ears, so that they may live up to whatever good they may take from the worship. "It may take time for the recitation to come from the heart even as a seed sown has to be nurtured and bears fruit only in due season. If the desire to have God within us is there, progress, however slow, is bound to be. Man can not be transformed from bad to good overnight. God does not exercise magic. He too is within His own law." His law, however, was different from the law of the State. "There may be mistakes in the latter but God cannot err. If He were to go beyond the limits of His law, the world would be lost. He is changeless, unchanging, unequalled, the same yesterday, today and for ever." His law is written on the tablets of their hearts. They could become changed men and women, only if they had the desire of reform and if they were prepared for ceaseless endeavour.

The arrival of Shri Sucheta Kripalani with her melodious singing introduced some colour into the prayer gatherings. Interpreting, in the course of his discourse on the 11th, the song which she had sung, he reminded them that in that song they were told that they were all citizens of a country in which there was no sorrow and no sighing. They should not imagine that this reference was to heaven. The poet had said that he was singing of the land in which they lived. It did not mean waiting until all were perfect. Each one could make such a country for himself if he allowed God to dwell therein. The world was after all made up of individuals. True, there were people of different races and different colours, speaking different languages. How to live in such a world was what the *bhajan* taught them.

#### NO FAILURE THIS TIME

An indication as to the trend of the Simla talks was afforded by his next discourse. Referring to the spate of false rumours which filled the air, viz, that there had been a break-down in the talks, that the Cabinet Mission were returning home without doing anything and Indian leaders would again return empty-handed as they did from the Simla Conference last time, he said that this was not a conference like the one they had last year. If he understood the English language aright, the Cabinet Mission were here to find out how best they could implement their decision to quit, i. e. remove their power from India. It was their duty, if they could, to try to bring about agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Conference was being held for that purpose. If people were united, no power on earth could have ruled over them but their tragedy was that they had their differences. But even if the Conference failed of its purpose, no one need be disappointed. Those who have faith in God

must be patient and brave. Supposing they were going to be deceived, they must stand up and face the consequences bravely. Gandhiji said he had no reason to believe that the Cabinet Mission was here to deceive them. They were trying to leave in an orderly manner so that Indians may be able to live in peace. There was no need to worry. Man had to do his duty. God had given him strength and discernment to do so. But results were always in God's hands.

#### LEST WE FORGET

Lest in their anxiety for their own future they might forget their duty towards those whom they had condemned as the lowest of the low, he sent Badshah Khan to visit and report on the conditions of the Sweepers' Quarters. The report which the latter brought him filled him (Gandhiji) with anger and grief. He would have loved to go there himself. Unfortunately he could not now negotiate hills and therefore could not walk so far to see them himself. He thought it a crime to sit in *rickshaws* especially for able-bodied man. He disliked even a motor car. He wanted always to use his legs, the means of locomotion that God had given him. Last night he walked, but the hill seemed unending. It was impossible for him, much as he would have liked to do so, to live in the *Harijan Nivas* here. He had heard of it before and what Badshah Khan told him confirmed it, namely that the quarters in which they were forced to live were not fit for animals, much less for human beings. Some of them had been to see him in the morning with a long tale of woe. It was the bounden duty of the residents of Simla to look into their grievances and have them redressed.

He had heard too that the Khadi Bhandar at Simla might have to close down, because the Simla public were too lazy and too ununderstanding to spin the requisite quota of yarn. He told them that he still maintained that Swaraj hung on the thread of hand-spun yarn. Even if they got political Swaraj, as they were going to, they would never be able to maintain it without Khadi which was the truest symbol of non-violence. If they hoped to maintain Swaraj through force, they were hopelessly mistaken. Some one stronger would come and wrest their freedom from them. It was in the hands of the public in Simla to keep the Bhandar going and he hoped they would do so. Punjabi women were the first to offer him yarn in the old days. Let them live up to their reputation. For himself, he would rather lose their money and close down every Bhandar, if need be, but Swaraj never.

Delhi, 15-5-'46

PYARELAL

By M. K. Gandhi

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## HEART SEARCHING

"Do you think we are getting off your backs at last," asked an English visitor who saw Gandhiji sometime back.

"I have no doubt as to the sincerity of your intention. The question is whether you will have the strength and courage needed for it. It is so difficult to get out of conventional grooves of thought and action," replied Gandhiji.

"We must not precipitate a solution," resumed the friend. We must let India decide for herself. At the same time, one does not want to leave the country to chaos when an unprecedented famine threatens it."

"Your difficulty," remarked Gandhiji, "will remain so long as you retain the belief that your rule has benefited India. None of us believes it."

"One or two have testified to the contrary," rejoined the visitor.

"That is neither here nor there," replied Gandhiji. "I too believed it once. Such benefit as has really accrued to India is not part of foreign rule but is the result of contact with a robust people. The good is incidental, the evil of foreign rule is inherent and far outweighs the good. Communal divisions in India can be demonstrably proved to be a British creation. Even famine as we know it today is your creation."

The last remark startled the visitor. Gandhiji noted the effect his words had produced. "Mark the true meaning of my words," he resumed. "Famines may be said to be God-sent. But a well-equipped country should be able to pull through a deficiency period and not helplessly succumb. Famines in India today are not due to rain or lack of it merely, but due to the fact that India is ill equipped to tide over the dry periods. Nothing has been done to safeguard her population against the threat of recurring famines. Take South Africa. There they fight against the locusts, draught etc. manfully and with infinite resourcefulness. Here famine is simply blamed on the rain gods and there is nothing to be done for it."

"Would India have been better equipped, if Britain had not been here?" interpolated the visitor.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "There would have been no railways. . . ."

This was another shock to the visitor who apparently with most Westerners regarded railways as the proudest achievement of British rule in India to combat famine. But Gandhiji who holds with the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald that the railways are the chief cause of the recurrence of famines in India proceeded: "If there were no railways etc. we would be living in a natural state as they used to in England and Europe in the Middle Ages when every feudal baron had his castle with its stocks of grain and water. Before the advent of railways in India every village had its granary. In that sense we were better equipped. Moreover, we had our system of domestic crafts to fall back upon if crops failed. Now railways have depleted the countryside of its stocks and killed the handicrafts.

Whatever cash the cultivator gets in return for his produce runs through his fingers like water, thanks to the invasion of his economy by the revenue collector and the imported foreign goods without which he thinks he can no longer do. The British have told him: 'Do not stock grain, do not hoard silver.' There is no provision made for a deficit period. Railways have become a snare, cheap transport a trap. The Princes practised tyranny in olden times too. But it could not go far. The natural means of redress, viz. insurrection, retreat or migration were still open to the people. They were not then disarmed or emasculated. Odds were even. Today the odds are so heavy that a handful of British soldiers can terrorize millions. That is what British rule has done to us. It is most demoralizing. The British must realize this and leave us in an exemplary manner. If the virus has gone so deep that it cannot be cured without applying a strong blister, even then they must go. A few lakhs might be killed in internecine warfare but real peace will come at last. If I could persuade India to adopt the way of non-violence it would be settled in two days. Otherwise, the ordeal might last longer. Even so the destruction won't be anything like the destruction wrought by foreign rule. India would have then something to live for and die for. Today what has she to live and die for?"

"But it is a big responsibility to leave India faced with anarchy," remarked the visitor still hesitating.

"Not a bigger responsibility than you were prepared to face during the war out of strategic considerations," answered Gandhiji, leaving his visitor to ruminate over the inconsistency of his position. Delhi, 14-5-'46 PYARELAL

### USEFUL HINTS

(Continued from No. 14)

#### MANURE

Much of the waste of the village including sweepings, bones, human excreta etc. that go to spoil the sanitation of the village at present could be utilized into making compost manure which is very easily done and which is as good a manure as cow dung. Bones and oil-cakes which are usually exported out of the country should not be allowed to leave the villages. The bones must be crushed locally with the help of *chunam chakkis* after being charred a little in the *chunam bhattis* and the meal distributed amongst the farmers.

Manure-making in villages may be given out on subsidized contract. This will not only ensure the cleanliness of the village but it will also raise the sweepers engaged in making compost and manure to the level of traders.

Oil mills which take away the oil-seeds from the villages and give only oil in return, sending the cake abroad, are depriving the land of a valuable form of fertilizer. This must be stopped altogether. This is one of the fundamental reasons why oil-seeds should not be allowed to go out of the villages, but should be crushed in the local country *ghanis*. This will retain both the oil and the cake in the village and be a source of enrichment to men, cattle and the land.

In the name of increasing the fertility of the soil, much attempt is being made to introduce chemical

fertilizers into our agriculture. The experience gained through the use of such chemical fertilizers throughout the world is clear enough to guide us against the inroads to be made by these fertilizers. They do not add to the fertility of the soil, but act as stimulants or drugs resulting in immediate bumper crops and in the end bring about a corresponding exhaustion of the land. They also destroy a host of earth worms so essential for agriculture. In the long run such artificial fertilizers prove to be most injurious to the land. Behind the trumpeting of chemical fertilizers lies the anxiety of the fertilizer factory owners to push the sale of their products irrespective of the harm or injury they do to agriculture.

#### LAND MANAGEMENT

Besides increasing the bulk of the manures, the fertility of the soil should be maintained by stopping erosion by means of proper drainage, embankments etc. In the final analysis fertility of the soil is the fountain head from which springs all nourishment for cattle and men in the form of fodder and corn. If the fertility of the soil is reduced, the food produced on it will be of poor quality and consequently the health of the people will suffer. This is why nutrition experts connect up health with agriculture.

#### SEEDS

Selected and improved varieties of seeds are essential for the improvement of agriculture. What is wanted in this regard is the machinery for effective distribution of seeds. There can be no better medium for this than co-operative societies.

#### RESEARCH

All research in agriculture should be directed towards improving food crops as well as raw materials for village industries rather than money crops such as tobacco and raw materials for factories, e.g. thick rinded sugar-cane and long staple cotton.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF LAND FOR THE PRODUCTION OF BALANCED DIET

The food question, which has assumed serious proportions now, does not promise an immediate solution. The problem is two-fold. The immediate is a caloric shortage and secondly, there is the long standing shortage of protective foods. The first problem may find an easy solution but the second one is going to present difficulties.

It is ordinarily presumed that an acre of land provides more calories through the production of grains than through any other food. But apart from the question of calories, grains are very poor suppliers of protective food factors. Therefore, if we aim at getting these factors from cereals only, huge quantities of grains will be required. On the other hand, if the grains are substituted and supplemented by foods like fruits and vegetables, nuts, oil-seeds etc., the protective food factors required to make up a balanced diet may be obtained through lesser quantities of these types of food than through grains alone. Even the supply of calories per acre is greater in the case of some of the root vegetables like potatoes than in the case of cereal grains. Thus a balanced diet may be a double blessing and may offer the solution to our problem. It reduces the per capita requirement of land and at the same time supplies the body with all its requirements in their correct pro-

portions, so as to keep it fit and healthy. It is calculated that the per capita land available in India at present for food cultivation comes to about 0.7 acre. This very land which is found to be too inadequate to meet our requirements in food according to the present distribution of cultivation becomes more than sufficient as only 0.4 acre is the estimated figure required for a balanced diet in the re-ordered system of agriculture. The land of the locality should be so divided for the purpose of growing crops as to provide its population with the materials for a balanced diet rather than merely supplying the cereals for a grain diet as at present. This aspect of the question should be thoroughly investigated and a definite plan chalked out.

#### RICE

1. All rice mills should be disbanded as in Travancore.
2. All the hullers used for polishing rice should be completely banned.

3. People should be educated about the better nutritive value of whole unpolished rice and about the method of cooking it by practical demonstration and film shows. Polishing of rice should be prohibited or its degree of polishing should be very strictly controlled.

4. Where the paddy husking industry is carried on on an industrial scale for business purposes, in predominantly paddy growing areas, costly equipment such as paddy separators, winnowers etc. should be supplied on hire to a group of artisans through their co-operative society.

5. In view of the fact that the use of unpolished rice is to be advocated and popularized, the movement of paddy from one place to another will become necessary, and in order that the freight on the extra weight of the paddy may not enhance the price of rice, the freight charges on paddy should be favourably discriminated.

6. In areas where the implements for dehushing paddy and polishing rice are not separate, but both the processes are combined into one of pounding paddy, the resultant product is polished rice. In such cases, dehushing implements, i.e. *chakkis* either of wood, stone or mud, should be introduced, and can even be supplied along with the equipment for other industries through the district demonstration centres. As far as possible the use of rice polishing implements should be discouraged and even a tax may be levied on them to restrict their number. The degree of polishing rice under these licensed polishing implements should also be supervised and controlled. Paddy and other grains and seeds required by the village should be stocked in the village itself, and only the surplus should be sent out. The best agency for all such activities can be the multi-purpose cooperative society.

#### GRAIN STORAGE

If storage arrangements are made locally all the wastage through bad storage etc. and conveyance charges will be eliminated. Big towns and cities where proportionately larger stocks of grain are to be held can build *bucca* cement godowns after the model of the godowns at Muzaffarnagar, U. P.. These can be built either by the municipality or by private people to be rented out for grain storage. These godowns should be licensed and subjected to periodical inspection, like boilers are at present. An enormous loss of grain occurs through bad storage alone. Such loss is estimated

on a conservative basis to be about 3.5 million tons, an amount equal to the declared deficit of grains in India during the current year. The qualitative loss caused by insects, rodents, dampness etc., all caused by bad storage arrangements—resulting in all kinds of diseases, is equally enormous. The storage problem is both an urgent and a permanent one and should be tackled in all earnestness and seriousness. In any case holding stocks in ill-protected godowns, as at present, should be stopped.

If the stocks are held in the villages where they are produced, and all their movements to town and back to villages are eliminated, the chances of their getting damaged are, of course, reduced. Local storage will go a long way towards eradicating black-marketing and is likely to stabilize prices besides removing much of the inconvenience caused to villages in obtaining rations from cities.

Individual holders of stock should be educated in methods for the preservation of grain. (*Concluded*)  
Simla, 3-5-'46 J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### A GOOD REMINDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An anonymous friend has taken the trouble of collecting apposite extracts from the Book of Job and Psalms. As they are a perpetual reminder to all of us, I gladly give them below. The moral I draw from the sheaf is that since man is only dust and at best grass, he had better pass the few moments he is on this earth in the service of his fellow creatures. I am hoping that the sender has not collected the Biblical verses to show the futility of all work, which is a doctrine of laziness and parasitism.

#### Job :

Man that is born of a woman is of few days,  
and full of trouble,

He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut  
down; he fleeth also as a shadow,  
and continueth not;

Seeing his days are determined, the number  
of his months are with Thee, Thou  
hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass;

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down,  
that it will sprout again and that the  
tender branch thereof will not cease;

Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,  
and the stock thereof die in the ground;

Yet through the scent of water, it will land,  
and bring forth boughs like a plant;

But man dieth, and wasteth away,

Yea man giveth up the ghost, and where is he ?

As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood  
decayeth and drieth up;

So man lieth down, and riseth not;

till the heavens be no more, they shall  
not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep.

#### Psalms :

Lord make me to know mine end and the measure  
of my days what it is; that I may know  
how frail I am.

Behold Thou hast made my days as an hand-breadth;  
and my age is as nothing before Thee;  
verily every man at his best state is  
altogether vanity;

For He knoweth our frame; He remembereth that  
we are dust;

As for man, his days are grass : as a flower of  
the field he flourisheth;

For the wind passeth over it and it is gone;  
and the place thereof shall know it no more.

Simla, 13-5-'46



# HARIJAN

May 19

1946

## HOW CAN VIOLENCE BE STOPPED ?

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Q. Some time back a military officer in Poona, who is about to return to England, said to me that violence was on the increase in India and would further increase as people were gradually turning away from the path of non-violence. "We in the West" he said, "not only believe in violence but our society is based on it. Several subject races have won their independence through violence and are today living in peace. We have discovered the atom bomb for stopping violence. The last great war is a case in point." Continuing the military officer said, "Gandhiji has shown your people the way of non-violence. Has he discovered any such power as the atom bomb which will at once convert people to non-violence and bring about a rule of peace? Cannot Gandhiji's 'atom bomb' stop people from following the path of violence? Ask Gandhiji to exercise his power over the people and tell them to give up all thoughts of violence and adopt his creed. If he cannot wean his people today from the terrible violence that is spreading all over the country, I tell you that he will live a disappointed man and his life's work will be ruined."

A. There is much confusion of thought in this question. The atom bomb has not stopped violence. People's hearts are full of it and preparations for a third world war may even be said to be going on. While it would be absurd to say that violence has ever brought peace to mankind it cannot either be said that violence never achieves anything.

That I shall have to repent if I cannot stop violence does not enter into the picture of non-violence. No man can stop violence. God alone can do so. Men are but instruments in His hands. Here material means cannot stop violence but this does not mean that material means should not be employed for the purpose. The deciding factor is God's grace. He works according to His law and, therefore, violence will also be stopped in accordance with that law. Man does not and can never know God's law fully. Therefore we have to try as far as lies in our power. I hold that our experiment in non-violence has succeeded to a fair extent in India. There is, therefore, no room for the pessimism shown in the question. Finally Ahimsa is one of the world's great principles which no power on earth can wipe out. Thousands like myself may die in trying to vindicate the ideal but Ahimsa will never die. And the gospel of Ahimsa can be spread only through believers dying for the cause.

Simla, 9-5-'46

( From *Harijansevak* )

## TOTAL PROHIBITION

( By M. K. Gandhi )

National Provincial Governments are now in full swing in India. Happily on the question of prohibition, there can be no differences of opinion between the Congress and the Muslim League. And if all followed a concerted policy and the States too joined in, India would be dry in no time and earn the blessings of lakhs of homes. To the discredit of the Governments under virtual martial law, Governors and their Advisers had the shamelessness to reverse the policy which had been already adopted in some provinces and misappropriate the revenue which was raised by the provinces in question. Let them now take up prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Let them, too, not rest content with prohibition legislation. They have to devise methods of educating the drinking public in the harm that drink does and provide them with innocent recreation and health-giving drinks. Every bar or, failing that, a place next door to it should, so far as possible, be utilized as a refreshment and recreation room. If this constructive activity is taken up, it must prove a source of revenue for the State besides prohibition benefitting and reconstructing thousands of ruined homes.

Moreover, *toddy*-tapping should be replaced by *nira*-tapping for the purpose of converting *nira* into *gur*, much to the advantage of the nation which needs cheap sugar. These columns have shown how in some ways *tad-gur* is preferable to cane-*gur*.

These reflections are suggested by the following paragraph from a circular letter addressed by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Fyzabad Road, Lucknow) to the Press. From it, I take the following items addressed to the students under the heading "What can youth do?"

1. Pledge themselves to total abstinence from all intoxicants and habit-forming drugs, which includes tobacco. It helps to sign the pledge.
2. Demand a thorough Alcohol and Narcotic Drugs Education, to be a part of the School Curriculum.
3. Demand while under training a part in Social Service, including temperance work, educating the public of the harm done to them through the use of the intoxicants.
4. Recommend that in the Scheme for Small Savings Campaign for rural population, total abstinence from all intoxicants be stressed.
5. Ally themselves against the awful waste of precious foodstuffs for liquor in breweries and distilleries to feed the nation.
6. Join up with a Temperance Society. The W. C. T. U. has been in this struggle for the last 59 years in India. It needs your encouragement and support. Their motto is: "For God, for Home and Every Land."

7. Make use of temperance literature. Rs. 2/- a year will bring to you a 100 leaflets a month in either Hindi or Urdu, also in some other vernaculars to give away. The monthly magazine, the Indian

Temperance News in English can be placed in any library (not personal) for a rupee a year. If students wish to subscribe to it, it might have the same reduction.

8. Holidays, a good time for this service.

9. As true patriots, to learn the lesson of how much they can *give* to the country rather than how much they can get out of it for themselves.

Simla, 7-5-'46

### SLIGHTING SWARAJ ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am a middle class man living in a 12'x20' room in Bombay. I have a wife and child. My kitchen has to be in my living room. I had taken a vow to wear Khadi and have adhered to it up till now. Since the decision that Khadi could only be purchased by giving a certain quota of yarn came into being, it has become very hard for a man like myself, living the mechanical life of Bombay to find the requisite time for spinning. Nevertheless I have been spinning 1½ hours daily in order to be true to my pledge. I had no slivers left the other day and, therefore, went to the Khadi Bhandar to buy some. I was asked by the Manager either to come to the Bhandar in order to make my own slivers or do the carding there and make the slivers at home. Now it is impossible for me with my very limited living space to make slivers at home nor has a man like me the time to go and make them at the Bhandar. I said, "Either give me slivers or else I shall have to give up spinning." I was told I was at liberty to do what I considered proper. I realize that a man should be self-reliant and should make his own slivers. But I feel that this is impossible for me, placed as I am in Bombay. Thousands are in the same boat as myself. What should I do ?

"By stopping the sale of slivers the Khadi Bhandar has hit the poor hard. They could earn as much by making slivers as by spinning."

The above letter requires an answer. The plight of the writer is the same as that of the many who live in the slums of Bombay. If our people were not so easily satisfied, the landlords of Bombay would not relegate poor families to one small living room each. Lakhs live in this way and thus make it possible for the rich to have their Malabar Hill and Chowpatty.

The spinning wheel shows us the way to remedy these conditions. If this were not so, it would have no place in my life. A few people may carve out their way by the sword, but the crores cannot. We must not imagine that slums do not exist in London, or Paris, or even New York. They do.

What will be the condition in Russia it is too early yet to say.

What then about the writer's difficulty? He says he finds time to spin 1½ hours daily. A man who spins that much every day can accumulate more yarn than necessary for his Khadi needs. It was a mistake on his part to want to buy slivers from the Bhandar. The Manager gave him the correct reply. Where there is room for spinning there is also room for 'tunai' (new carding method)

or 'punai' (simpler than 'tunai'). If there is no room for the wheel there is always the *takli*. The *Dhanush takli* too takes up less space. Whatever difficulties apply to the individual apply to all. The way to Swaraj lies in not going under but in overcoming them. Necessity is the mother of invention.

Again why should not the facilities for carding, slivering and spinning offered by the Khadi Bhandar be availed of? The new method of making slivers does not require much space and is not difficult.

The main requisite is for the spinner to have the faith that Swaraj hangs on a thread of hand-spun yarn. It will not hurt the country's cause if the man who lacks this faith gives up spinning. Khadi does enable many poor persons to earn their living by spinning and weaving. But this cannot do the work for the crores.

Simla, 13-5-'46

(From Harijanbandhu)

### AN EXACTION AND OPPRESSION

(By Pyarelal)

"The salt tax is an exaction and oppression, and if the people understood it, it would only breed discontent. It is a survival of the general exploitation of India's poverty by a profit-making Company."

Ramsay Macdonald

"For a poor population the pressure of what is equivalent to a poll tax is heavily felt and often produces grave discontent."

Bastable

The present annual consumption of salt in India has been estimated to be 51,050,000 maunds per year according to Government estimates. An intake of 12 lbs. of salt per head per year is said to be necessary for maintaining an individual in the tropics in health. At this rate the total quantity of salt required for 40 crores would come to 600,00,000 mds.

The salt requirement for cattle and other four-footed animals per head has been calculated to be 18 lbs. for a cow, 45 lbs. for a bullock, a buffalo and a horse and 11 lbs. for a goat and a sheep. According to a rough estimate of the present cattle population of India, their requirement in salt would come to about 4 crores and 13 lakhs mds.\* Another 3 crores mds. is required for various industrial purposes. This makes a total of 73 crores and 73 lakhs mds. The present production of salt is

\* Total requirement of salt for cattle and other quadruped population of India :

According to the 1935 census the number of cattle in India was 21 crores and 50 lakhs. At the rate of half an ounce of salt daily, equivalent to 12 lbs. for the year, they would require about 4 crores and 73 lakh maunds of salt per year. Similarly, calculating the salt requirement of milch cattle as  $\frac{2}{3}$  *chhatak* for 10 seers of milk, one hundred crore maunds of milk which are annually produced in India call for an annual consumption of 1 crore and 12 lakhs mds. of salt for milch cattle alone. The estimate of 3 crores mds. of salt for the consumption of cattle and other four-footed animals in India is therefore a palpable under-estimate. According to veterinary authorities the inadequate supply of salt available for cattle has resulted in a deterioration of their health and quality of the breed.

510,00,000 mds. per year. This comes to 38% of the actual requirement. As the industrial development of the country progresses the requirement for salt would increase still further.

The energies and expenditure of the Salt Department of the Government of India have hitherto been used more for preventing unlicensed manufacture of salt than for developing the salt industry itself. In 1939-40, the Government paid Rs. 33,72,251/4/10 as compensation to the various States to prevent the manufacture of salt in the States.

Given the freedom to manufacture salt, India could easily increase its salt production by ten-fold. The map of India is strewn with areas which were at one time flourishing centres of salt manufacture but which are now lying in a state of disuse as a result of the stringent enforcement of the salt laws, and it is a matter of shame that with all the unutilized natural sources of salt in India, we today import 194,00,000 mds. of salt or 25% of the total consumption, not to mention Rs. 1,42,42,000 worth of sodium and potassium salts other than sodium chloride. The total amount of nitrates and alkalies imported in 1937-38 was worth Rs. 3,33,00,000. This included potassium nitrate, sodium sulphate, calcium chloride and magnesium chloride. *Pari passu* with this, thousands of acres of land in India are today rendered unfit for cultivation owing to excessive salinity of the soil. If, instead of spending lakhs on the suppression of salt manufacture, Government were to utilize even a fraction of that amount for developing the salt industry which forms the base and starting point of all heavy chemical industries, not only could large areas of land be reclaimed for agricultural purposes, but crores of rupees could also be saved from being drained out of the country for the purpose of importing chemicals.

The suppression of the salt industry has also spelt the suppression of the manufacture of a number of other chemicals. According to 1873-76 figures the number for the manufacture of some of these chemicals in North India alone was as follows:

Year	Shora	Kruthad	Khari	Sajji	Rassi
1873-74	212	13908	668	3760	815
1874-75	186	7409	498	3620	114
1875-76	132	6701	750	4853	387
1876-77	130	5633	544	1765	212

The relation between the suppression of these manufactures and the enforcement of salt laws will be seen from the following extract from a Government report for the years 1872-73, page 109:

"I have seen the analysis of the samples of salt obtained from Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Badaun, Agra, Mainpuri, Faruqabad, Jaunpur and Ghazipur. In my opinion, to allow alkalies to be manufactured from the saline earth that is to be found on either side of the Jumna river would be disastrous. To give permission to manufacture alkalies at any place from the saline earth would be dangerous. It would jeopardize the salt revenue on lakhs of maunds of common salt."

In 1940 and 1941, 1,50,000 cwts. of dried and salted fish was exported from the country. The dried and salted fish consumed in the country must be taken to be many times that quantity. Similarly, in the year 1939-40, 31,800 tons (87,00,000 mds.) of dried and cured hides were exported from the country. Salt is also used in paper manufacture, agriculture, soap, glass and steel industries and in the manufacture of glazed earthenware, to mention only a few. And yet the amount of rebate claimed and granted on the use of salt for industrial purposes has been showing a decline in spite of the rapid growth of these industries.

Salt consumption declined by 25% (12 to 9 lbs. per head) in the course of 50 years as a result of the imposition of the salt tax.\* At the same time the cost of salt to the rural labourer for a family came to about two months' wages i.e. 1/6 of the whole annual earnings (J. Cranford—1836).

Considering that the total production of salt in India is 5.1 crore maunds and includes the quota used for industrial purposes and cattle, an average of about 10 lbs. per head is left for human consumption which is far below the requirement of a man in the tropics.†

In spite of this decline in the basic consumption of salt, in Canara and near Vedaranyam† special excise personnel are employed to turn into the sea or otherwise destroy salt fit for human consumption as soon as nature deposits it.

Government have hardly shown any initiative in organizing the salt industry on scientific lines. Their methods of salt manufacture are crude, primitive and inefficient. The overhead and supervising charges exceed the actual cost of production, for instance, in the case of Sambhar salt the cost of production per maund is only 8.6 pies but after the addition of the overhead and supervising charges it comes to 3 as. 2.34 pies per maund.§ For Delhi the overhead charges work out to 623% of the cost of production.

Nothing has been done to reclaim other valuable by-products from the Sambhar lake deposits after

* Year	Consumption per individual
1793	11.90 lbs.
1803	11.27 "
1823	11.44 " See also Appendix A.
1833	8.74 "
1843	9.0 "

† See Appendix B.

† See Appendix C.

§ Place	Cost of production	Total cost including overhead charges	Average cost of Production for the whole year	Sale price
Sambhar	0/0/8.64	0/2/6.60	0/3/2.34	0/4/3
Didwana	0/1/9.84	0/2/3.80	0/2/8.02	0/2/6
Pachbhadra	0/2/2.19	0/2/10.82	0/3/0.12	0/3/0
Khewda	0/2/8.69	0/3/3.65	0/3/4.42	0/4/3
Barchha	0/1/10.97	0/2/4.42	0/2/4.43	0/4/3
Kala Bara	0/2/10.30	0/3/0.88	0/3/3.88	0/4/3

Most revealing too are the following figures provided by the Salt Department of the Government of India:

Rate of Duty	Rs. 1/9/- per md.
Per capita incidence	" -/4/- "
Cost of production at the Govt. salt sources 1944-45	" -/4/4 "

the extraction of common salt and so lakhs of tons of sodium sulphate, sodium carbonate and soda bicarbonate are allowed to go to waste while large sums of money are drained out of the country by the import of the chemicals for industrial purposes.

## II

It is little realized that salt manufacture was at one time next in universality only to the hand-spinning industry, nor is the story of its exploitation and suppression less tragic.

During the days of the East India Company's salt monopoly numerous petitions were presented against the sweating of Molunghees. Under date 26-9-1874, wrote the Board of Trade to the Governor-General-in-Council in the course of a communication :

"Your honourable Board expressed your opinion that the investigation you have made into the circumstances relating to Adjoora tenure left no room for doubt of its being a system of coercion; consequently, equally repugnant to the spirit of the Regulations and to the dictates of justice and good policy."

In 24 Parganas the Agent reported that "the remuneration of Molunghees amounted to only Rs. 6/- for 7½ months' labour, i. e., the entire salt manufacturing season, so that the Molunghee was in permanent 'bondage to the Agency.' Special courts of justice were established claiming to safeguard the interests of the Molunghees but these only helped to "tantalize wretches who neither can, or else do not, prefer a complaint from the dread of still greater oppression."

So widespread was the manufacture of salt that to safeguard the monopoly, savage laws were passed. Thus the 1778 Salt Rules and the Regulation of 1793 required proprietors of land "to give information of illicit manufacture or import on pain of penalties, if salt was proved, in *Diwani Adalat*, to have been made or imported with their connivance." Regulation 6 of 1801 provided for Rs. 5,000/- fine, if manufacture or establishment of salt works was not reported when proved. Regulation 10 of 1819 imposed a fine of Rs. 500/- for each salt work on

Place	Wholesale price per md.
Delhi	Rs. 3-8-4
Allahabad	" 3-3-0
Calcutta	" 6-8-0
Madras	" 2-1-1
Bombay	" 3-12-10
Sind	" 2-8-10

Two points that emerge from these are that whereas the cost of production of salt at the Government salt sources (1944-45) was Rs. -/4/4 per md., the wholesale price per maund in Delhi was Rs. 3/8/4. Deducting from it Rs. 1/9/- duty, the balance of Rs. 1/11/- over the cost of production represents the overhead charges, i. e. nearly 623% on the cost price. The corresponding percentage for Calcutta is 1592!

And why this discrepancy between the Calcutta price and the Delhi price of salt? Is it because the bulk of Liverpool salt is landed in Calcutta and is consumed almost entirely in Bengal? Must 13 crores be taxed to subsidize this unnatural import? Nothing could show better the monstrosity of the Government's salt monopoly. If the people of Bengal were free to manufacture salt without any duty or licence, they could have all the salt they require at 1 or 2 annas per maund.

a Zamindar's estate about which information was knowingly suppressed from Government. Section 31 made each little fireplace a *khalari*, so that some salt water boiled in a cooking pot, made the Zamindar liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-. By Regulation 10 of 1826, burning of straw steeped in water, with the purpose of using saline ashes as condiment for food was made an offence as under Regulation 10 of 1819, and also any bed prepared for evaporation of sea water was construed to be a salt work.

Regulation XXIX of 1838 added to the above penal provisions: "Such knowledge shall not be required to be established by the direct proof but may be inferred from circumstances at the discretion of the judge." Also, if the *Zamindari* was a partnership, each of the several proprietors was liable to a fine of Rs. 500/-.

The abolition of the Government monopoly of salt in 1863 resulted in the abandonment of salt manufacture by the Government. At the same time, free manufacture of salt in India was inhibited owing to the excise duty on salt, with the result that Indian salt was soon entirely replaced by imported salt. It reduced thousands upon thousands of persons who, under the monopoly system, were engaged in the manufacture of salt to landless labourers. In the words of Sir Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Government of India, "they were the first victims of famine in Orissa. They had nothing to fall back upon . . . they had no agricultural produce of their own . . . a great many of them starved," and, "a considerable number of them were swept off the face of the earth."

That Draconian policy continues even today. Section 48A of the Bombay Salt Act lays down among other things that any salt revenue officer "who is guilty of cowardice shall on conviction before a magistrate be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to three months' pay or with both." The word 'cowardice' is not defined. But one will have no difficulty in understanding what cowardice can possibly mean in the administration of an Act which takes in its sweep millions of human beings, men and women, young and old, cripples and healthy.

Salt duty has been called the Indian *gabelle*. In France an excessive high salt tax was one of the causes of the French Revolution. History has not been far different in India.

As the places, where salt used to be manufactured before its suppression are also places where there is a perpetual scarcity of rainfall and conditions are not otherwise favourable for cultivation, salt manufacture provided an occupation *par excellence* to hundreds upon thousands of poor people. In Balasore and Cuttack alone at one time 44,000 people derived their living from the manufacture of salt. Suppression of salt manufacture resulted in widespread unemployment among these people and, in fact in many places, produced such discontent as to cause risings which had to be suppressed with great severity.



In Surat the raising of the salt duty from as. 12/- to Re. 1/- in 1844 caused riots which were suppressed. The duty was afterwards restored to the old scale of as. 12/- per maund. In 1817 the enforcement of the salt monopoly caused a "widespread rebellion" in Orissa which had to be suppressed with "maximum force".

How extensive this occupation was and what potentialities for expansion there are for developing the salt resources of the country will be seen from the following brief bird's-eye view of the centres of manufacture which at one time were flourishing but are today lying in a state of disuse as a result of the suppression of free manufacture of salt.\*

In a country where salt can be manufactured in such abundance locally by the people themselves at negligible cost from hundreds and thousands of salt lakes, salt springs, brine wells and saline earth, not to mention thousands of miles of seaboard, it is nothing short of criminal squandering of the nation's patrimony to deplete the salt mines of their contents while all these sources are left undeveloped.

To sum up therefore :

1. Free manufacture of salt by the people without any tax or licence should be encouraged and an effort made to bring back into operation all the centres of salt manufacture which at one time flourished but are today in disuse as a result of Government suppression. This will enable the full complement of salt requirement for men and cattle to be produced from local salt at about anna 1 per maund, eliminating as it will, the cost of transport and supervision and middleman's profits. What is more, the extension of salt manufacture by the people in the way suggested will not jeopardize Government's revenue if it chooses to undertake manufacture of refined salt.

2. The import of Liverpool and Cheshire salt is a monstrosity. It has an evil history.† It ought to be stopped immediately by the imposition of a heavy import duty.

3. This would prevent 45 lakhs of rupees every year from going out of the country.

4. Free permission for the manufacture of salt in the Indian States will save Government an annual sum of nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, which is at present being given to the various States as compensation to prevent salt being manufactured within their territories.

5. The Government should undertake the reclamation of salts other than the common salt which are to be found in the various saline earths in India or exist as impurities along with the salt in the salt lakes. The Government should further undertake the manufacture of alkalies and chemicals from earth on scientific lines and prevent their importation from abroad by the imposition of import duties.

6. The present Excise Department ought forthwith to be abolished and the development of salt manufacture made over to the Industries

Department. The present Excise personnel are by tradition and training unfit to handle an industry on scientific or business lines. The money spent on providing salaries to the highly paid officials of the department should be utilized for meeting the deficit in the revenue caused by the abolition of the salt duty or for promoting research for the organization of the salt industry on scientific and economical lines.

These measures will reduce the deficit caused by the direct loss of excise revenue to a very considerable extent and the country on the whole will materially gain in the end by being provided with cheap salt and other chemicals required for its industries, agriculture and cattle which are at present being starved.\* Occupation will also be provided to lakhs of people in areas which are unfit for cultivation and therefore subject to repeated famines. There will thus be an all round improvement in the health of the soil as well as the inhabitants on it, both animal and human.

Delhi, 13-5-'46

#### APPENDIX A

##### EXCISE AND SALT CONSUMPTION

Mr. Gokhale, speaking from the Congress platform in 1895 at Calcutta, said :

"In 1882, i. e. before the duty was reduced to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund, the consumption of salt in India was about 2 crores, 90 lakhs maunds. In that year, the duty was reduced all round to Rs. 2/- and consumption at once began expanding. And this consumption stood at 337 lakhs in 1887, when Lord Dufferin again raised the duty to Rs. 2/ 8/- a maund. What was the result ? The expansion of consumption, which had gone on so steadily during Ripon's time, at once ceased. And since that year up till now, i. e. during a period of 8 years, consumption has remained absolutely stationary, the figure for the last year being 341 lakhs of maunds . . . . We thus find that, while under Lord Ripon's reduced duties the consumption increased in 5 years by about 50 lakhs of maunds, under Dufferin's enhanced duties it increased by only 4 lakhs in a period of 8 years. Population has been steadily increasing and you will at once see that consumption has actually gone back during these 8 years."

Coming to the more specific issue of *per capita* consumption, Mr. Gokhale said :

"Eminent physicians have laid down that for healthful existence the annual consumption of salt must be 12 lbs. per head. Now, during the administration of Lord Lawrence . . the consumption was about 12 lbs. per head. After that it began to decline, till at the end of Lord Lytton's regime, the average figure per head stood at about 9 lbs. Then came the beneficent administration of Lord Ripon. And the duty on salt was lowered, as I have already mentioned, to a uniform rate of Rs. 2/- a maund. Consumption went up by leaps and bounds and in 1887, the average per head stood at 10 1/3 lbs. The enhanced duties, however, have once more put back the figure, and last year it stood at only 9 1/2 lbs. per head."

\* See Appendix D. † See Appendix E.

\* See Appendix F.

## APPENDIX B

### SALT AND HEALTH

More salt is required to keep a man in health in the tropics than in cold or temperate climate. Again, when the diet is wholly or partly vegetarian, more condiment is required to maintain the balance of salt in the system.

Observes Mr. Carver in his article on salt: "A year or two back the British army authorities in India began issuing extra salt to the troops, because it was discovered that in the hot season it keeps them healthy, and prevents exhaustion and heat stroke. The salt replaces that lost from the body by profuse perspiration. Doctors have found that perspiration on hot work, resulting in loss of salt, makes men liable to muscular cramp. During the war, workers in America were supplied with tablets of common salt for adding to drinking water in order to replace the salt lost."

Continues Mr. Carver: "Without salt, health and vigour fail. In Holland in the Middle Ages one of the legal punishments was to deprive a man of salt, and this caused depression and illness. Criminals in Sweden were once allowed, as an alternative to capital punishment, to abstain from salt for a month, eating saltless food, and the result was, they usually died."

"During the sieges and famines, too, shortage of salt always causes suffering and ill-health. Only where man lives mainly on milk and flesh—the latter consumed raw or roasted so that its salt is not lost—is it possible for him to do without ordinary salt, sodium chloride. But a cereal or vegetable diet calls for a supplement of salt."

How heavily the duty on this essential article of diet affects the millions of the poor in India may be judged from the following from a petition which the cultivators from Bombay submitted to the Bombay Government on November 26, 1852 and which was read out by Rustomjee Wicajee in the course of his examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the following year. The petitioners stated "that the produce of their fields supplied them with food enough for eight months in the year; that during the remaining four months they subsisted on vegetables, which they season with chillies, and salt when the latter was free from duty; but when it was made subject to duty, they were obliged to forego even this poor comfort."

## APPENDIX C

### DESTRUCTION OF NATURAL SALT

Bruce writing on the salt sources of India in 1863 observes: "In Ganjam and Rajahmundry, these swamps abound," whereas Tanjore and Masulipattam "are especially productive of fine quality salt." In these districts, this spontaneous salt as it was called could be manufactured "to almost any extent, of fine quality and at a small charge, probably on an average of Rs. 4/- per 120 maunds or  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna per maund." The great swamps to north and west of Point Calymere, near about Vedaranyam, extending for upwards of 30 miles, produced a variety of salt "very white and of peculiarly fine crystals." But the policy of the administration did more serious injury to the spontaneous salt, than even to the

Malabar sea-salt, described by T. A. Barber. *Its manufacture was automatic and therefore not preventible. The Government, therefore, sought refuge in destroying it wholesale*, so as to render smuggling impossible, the reason urged to support such a policy being that the localities, where it was produced, were isolated, and inconvenient of approach in the then state of inland communications. The 1876 Commission, however, noted the fact of its being collected at some places, and sold at a discount—against manufactured salt—the Vedaranyam salt in particular. In 1859, the Government circularized Collectors asking for information in regard to their present and proposed attitude towards "spontaneous salt," but no important action was taken upon the replies received, the destruction at some places, and collection at others, continuing the same as ever before.

## APPENDIX D

Excellent salt in large quantities was produced at Tilwada, eight miles away from Pachbhadra, which was known as Tilwadi salt. In the villages of Hundu, Limbu, Padharu, there are ponds full of saline water fit for manufacture of salt. Natural salt of a high quality was also found in Charni, opp. Chitwana, from Charni down to Waramba. There is a great concentration of salt in river water which continues right up to Mandola downwards. Besides there are a number of salt springs down the river bank where crystalline salt is found in a natural state. In Phlaudi in Jodhpur and in Lokasur in Bikaner there are salt lakes. In the west of Rachodra village there is a lake, which is several miles in area, into which several salt springs empty themselves. The salt produced from it is better than Sambhar salt, being of 97-98% purity. 2,00,000 maunds of common salt was at one time produced in Phlaudi State. In Nayar and Jodhpur States there are 36 villages covering 400 sq. miles of area where salt can be manufactured under particularly favourable conditions of production. In Rivasa, 1,2,5000 mds. of salt was produced.

Thirty miles from Sambhar is the Raichur salt lake with several other salt lakes in its proximity. Lakhs of maunds of salt were manufactured in the villages of Nasoda, Pali, Humauns, Sayanko, Dharasani, Khedwa Goora, Kuchpak, Lalki, Sanod, Rupvas, Buryalo and Samwora. Other places of salt manufacture were Akhari, Parvata and extensive areas round Bhakigaon, Bhakhi-mandol and Jahyali. In these places salt can be dug up in a free natural state.

In Chakur near Churu in Bikaner, 250,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Pokhtu 30,000 mds. of salt was annually produced. In Durgapur State, Mr. Young in the year 1890 catalogued 2992 salt factories, the annual production being 70,000 to 80,000 mds. of salt. In Jhabua State two varieties of salt were produced, *phul* and *sadhara*, with sodium chloride content of 96 and 88% respectively.

In Jaisalmer State 30,000 mds. were produced in the year 1867. In Bharatpur State according to the Government report of 1867-68 the annual production averaged :

Matia	12,000 mds.
Katila	75,000 "
Purania	6,00,000 "

In 1867 salt was manufactured in the villages of Sultanpur, Sadrana, Saidpur, Mahmudpur, Mubarikpur, Basirpur,

Balpur, Kaliabaz, Jaharpur and Silona, covering an area of 1565 acres. The number of salt wells was 330. The average annual salt production from these wells was 5,056,058 mds. In the years 1866 and 1868, the salt manufactured and sold was 6,94,357 mds. The figure for 1877-78 was 9,24,442 mds.

In Burari, 8 miles from Delhi, 2,00,000 mds. of salt was manufactured in 19 villages, covering an area of 30 sq. miles. Tanks in this area yield  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ozs. of salt from every 2 lbs. of water. Other places of manufacture are Basipur, Adari, Ferozepur, Ghadi and Dariapur. In Ballabhadra Tahsil, salt is manufactured from saline earth in 30 villages. In Rahtak Dist. there were 90 nitre factories, in Hansi and Hissar 50, in Shahpur Dist. 19. In Jind State nitre was manufactured in 72 villages out of the total 150. In Bhawalpur State the manufacture of salt was stopped by paying an annual compensation of Rs. 86,000 to the State. Similarly, in Yudo Kotah State the manufacture of salt was stopped in 1867 by paying Rs. 38,000 annually as compensation. In Mysore State the Government income for the year 1867 from the salt pans was Rs. 13,007/12/7. On behalf of Riyasat Bow in the Bombay Presidency a letter was addressed to the Government in 1926 to the effect that 2 lakh maunds of salt annually could easily be dug out of the ground and put into the market if the necessary permission was granted.

In U. P., at one time there were said to be 15,000 salt factories in operation in the province. As a result of their activities there was a diminution of 10 lakhs of maunds in the sale of Government salt in the year 1867.

In the Bombay Presidency, in Malabar and Canara there were 6438 salt factories which were stopped. According to a report by Mr. T. A. Barber in 1876, 6438 persons were thrown out of employment as a result of the suppression of salt manufacture.

In Bengal, salt was manufactured all along the sea coast up to Banglore and Cuttack in Orissa. The production of salt was 44 lakhs maunds and gave employment to 44,000 men.

In Madras, according to Mr. Bruce (1863), there were a number of salt lakes in Ganjam, Rajahmundry and Masulipattam where salt was manufactured at the cost of Rs. 40/- per 120 maunds. According to Plowden there was a lake 30 miles in length near Vedaranyam which yielded white crystalline salt. When all efforts to prevent the people from manufacturing salt failed an attempt was made to destroy the salt and thus the manufacture was put to an end. In Levingpura, Sevatalakulam, Urani, Kamalapattanam, Arumugeneri, Kiranpur and Kulasekharapattanam in Tinnevely Dist. on the western seaboard there were a number of factories manufacturing salt which were stopped in 1844.

In Sind salt was manufactured in a number of places in Thar and Parkar districts in 1847 and the Run of Cutch. In 1845-46, 6,924 mds. of salt were produced from Mokai lake in the desert of Sind. There are a number of places where crystalline salt is found. According to Mr. Burke there is a salt deposit 20 miles by 15 near Kotri station. The amount of salt in it is estimated to be 184,41,51,430 tons. Up to the year 1878 and 1879 salt was manufactured from saline earth. There were innumerable factories for the manufacture of salt from

saline earth. In that year the salt tax was raised from as. 8/- to Rs. 2/8/- per maund and all these small factories were stopped.

#### APPENDIX E

##### LIVERPOOL SALT—A MONSTROSITY

Mr. F. W. Prideaux, Asst. Examiner of India, No. 1815 in his evidence before the Select Committee of Indian territories clearly stated that the East India Company's price fixation policy of salt in Bengal was influenced by the consideration of helping British manufacturers of salt as well as British exporters. The shipping industry suffered in the East India trade from a dearth of cargo on the outward journey. Stones had often to be used as ballast. Later salt came to be used as the most suitable material to be transported, both as ballast and as cargo. James Aikin, shipowner, gave the following evidence before the 1836 Select Committee on Salt:

"Mr. Bagshaw: Do you know many shipowners at the port of Liverpool who would much prefer loading salt immediately on the vessels arriving for Calcutta, than to keep them in the berths waiting for light goods? . . . Certainly, and as I presume the object of the Committee is to obtain information and not to enter into a contract, I will endeavour to show the testimony I have given is correct. We obtain from Liverpool to Calcutta freight amounting to £ 500 to £ 600. After lying on the berth a month or six weeks, if we could get the same sum by taking salt £1 per ton in a few days instead of weeks, of course, we should prefer it; even if we did it at a cheaper rate, the difference of time would more than compensate."

What the import of foreign salt meant to the people of Bengal and Bengal's Salt Industry will be seen from the following from Frederick J. Halliday, Secretary, Government of India, Home Dept.:

"It is generally understood by those acquainted with the subject and it cannot be denied by any one, who looks into the details, that the present price of the government manufactured salt in Bengal is very much raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagance, connected with the Government system of manufacture and by those many speculations and extortions and corruptions which are inevitable in such a system and carried on with such instruments. It has seemed almost certain under these circumstances to persons informed upon the subject that if the Government were to withdraw, if there were no duty imposed and the whole were left perfectly free, the native manufacturer in Bengal would forthwith completely and entirely undersell the imported salt and there would not be a grain of salt imported into Bengal."

And this in spite of the fact that, the salt manufactured in Bengal, as the test, showed, was as good as, if not better than, the imported salt.

In 1931 the question of imposing a customs duty on imported salt was brought up before the Central Legislative Assembly and it was resolved to impose a duty of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  as. per maund on it. This was calculated to bring Rs. 34 lakhs of additional revenue to the Government. A countervailing duty of an equivalent

amount was at the same time put on salt imported into Bengal from other provinces. This continued during the year 1932-33. In March 1933, the duty was reduced to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  as. per md. and in 1936 still further to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  as. per md. Finally in May 1938 it was altogether removed with the result that in that year the import of Aden salt into Bengal decreased from 8378440 to 4524829 mds. But whereas in 1937-38 salt imports from Port Said, Jibuti and Ras Haifa were nil, in 1938-39, 2112480 mds. were imported from Port Said, 561630 from Jibuti, 452640 mds. from Ras Haifa. Liverpool which in 1937-38 had exported only 22 mds. of salt, in 1938-39 exported 169710 mds. and in 1939-40 234875 mds. The import of salt into Bengal from other parts of India, which in 1937-38 was 6234059 mds. or 39.43% of the total consumption, fell in 1938-39 to 549874 mds. or 38.96% of the total consumption. But the import of Aden salt was reduced, as we have already seen, to half the import, and the import from Liverpool increased from 22 mds. to 169710 mds. In other words the foreign salt completely replaced the deficit caused by the drop in the import of Aden and Indian salt.

#### APPENDIX F

##### SALT AS MANURE AND CATTLE FEED

As in the case of salt used for human consumption, so in the case of salt used for agricultural purposes as manure, there has been a marked decline as a result of the imposition of the salt tax.

Mr. Robertson, who was appointed by Government to report upon agricultural conditions in Coimbatore observed in the course of his report:

"Salt has long been used for promoting vegetation. It is of the greatest value as a manure in inland countries .... It has been ascertained by direct experiment that the lands near some coasts receive annually as much as 300 lbs. of salt per acre carried to it by the winds. Salt is generally used as an auxiliary manure with lime or other manures. In England as much as 600 lbs. of salt per acre is applied with other manure to land intended for Mangold Surtzel, and for meadow land a usual top dressing is 200 lbs. of salt with 100 lbs. of nitrate of soda. Heavy dressings of salt are sometimes applied to pasture land to improve the herbage and kill insects injurious to grass."

The same was testified to by Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., in his evidence before the 1888 Select Committee on Salt Duties in England. Quoting from a letter from Mr. Bevin of Chester, he described the results of an experiment made on a farm 'overrun with coltfoot and other weed' of strewing on it ashes from salt works. The account concluded:

"The effect on the corn crops, besides destroying the weed completely, was very great. I do not exaggerate in saying, that on the part of the field on which this manure was laid, the crop was nearly treble in proportion and the grain, of excellent quality."

The following figures of the issue of denatured salt will show how our agriculture is starved of the necessary manure:

1914-1915	2644 mds.
1915-1916	2655 "
1918-1919	suspended on account of shortage
1919-1920	175 mds.
1920-1921	402 mds.
1922-1923	772 mds.
1925-1926	2407 mds.

In cattle the salt hunger obtains in such an intense form that cattle often resort to human or animal excreta by the wayside to satisfy it.

"I marvelled very much at this abnormal appetite," observes Ratton in his Handbook on Salt, "but subsequently finding that such cattle were depastured on poor grass without any salt whatever either in their natural food, or in the crude state, I ceased to wonder, for these excrements happen to contain an appreciable amount of salt and are often rich in it. The consequences of the habit are most dangerous."

Ratton goes on to describe how it gives rise to the disease of hytids, and how herds of cattle perishing therefrom had been saved by the liberal use of salt, "not that salt is in any sense a remedy, but it is a prophylactic or preventive of the disease."

That the scarcity is the direct result of the salt duty will be seen from the following from the evidence of John Crawford of the Bengal Medical Service before the Select Committee on salt in British India (1836):

"It is a constant argument used by the Board of Customs against an increased consumption of salt in Bengal that salt neither is, nor ever will be, used except for mere alimentary purposes. This is not strictly correct, even as applicable to the present state of things. A good deal of salt (not indeed nitrate of soda, for that being highly taxed cannot be used for such a purpose, but of other impure and untaxed substitutes) is given to horses, horned cattle and even to sheep; pure salt, and in considerable quantity, would no doubt be given, if it could be afforded."

#### Hindustani Pracharak School, Wardha

The Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, has decided to open a Hindustani Pracharak School in Wardha from 1st July, 1946, in order to accelerate the creation of teachers of the national language. It is intended to select 25 pupils from all over India to receive the training. Only such persons will be chosen who have a good knowledge of either of the two languages, Hindi or Urdu, and a working knowledge of the other. The training will be for a period of 10 months. 15 students will be eligible according to their capacity, for a scholarship each of Rs. 25/- per month.

The prospectus and rules of the School may be had from the Sabha Office, Wardha. All applications must be in by 10th June, 1946.

Arrangements for receiving women students can be made at the Mahila Ashram, Wardha. Interested women applicants may apply for rules and prospectus to the Secretary, Mahila Ashram, Wardha.

SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL  
Secretary,

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha



## AYURVEDA AND NATURE CURE

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Vaidya Vallabharam, Professor of Ayurveda and Vanaspati Shastra writes:

"By combining *Ayurveda* with allopathy the essentials of the former science have been almost destroyed. Cure through *Ayurveda* is based on the five elements. Misuse of air will cause wind, that of fire bile, of water phlegm. The progress of *Ayurveda* depends on its recognition of these basic factors in disease. It holds that for the cure of such complaints as mentioned above, the remedy lies in the proper use of air, light and water. The religious factor must be there too in order scrupulously to observe the laws of nature. *Pathya* (diet cure) is a scientific term of the greatest importance in *Ayurveda*. Its real meaning is that freedom from disease depends on a proper observance of the laws of nature.

"Vagbhat says:

"Without strict dieting of what use is medicine?  
With strict dieting why any other medicine?"

I have no doubt whatsoever that the spread of *Ramanama* and pure living are the best and cheapest preventives of disease. The tragedy is that doctors, *hakims* and *vaidyas* do not make use of *Ramanama* as the sovereign of cures. There is no place given to it in current *Ayurvedic* literature except it be in the shape of a charm which will drive people further into the well of superstition. *Ramanama* has in fact no connection with superstition. It is nature's supreme law. Whoever observes it is free from disease and *vice versa*. The same law which keeps one free from disease applies also to its cure. An apt question is as to why a man who recites *Ramanama* regularly and leads a pure life should ever fall ill. Man is by nature imperfect. A thoughtful man strives after perfection, but never attains it. He stumbles on the way, however, unwittingly. The whole of God's law is embodied in a pure life. The first thing is to realize one's limitations. It should be obvious that the moment one transgresses those limits one falls ill. Thus a balanced diet eaten in accordance with needs gives one freedom from disease. How is one to know what is the proper diet for one? Many such enigmas can be imagined. The purport of it all is that everyone should be his own doctor and find out his limitations. The man who does so will surely live up to 125.

Vaidya Vallabharam asks whether well known home drugs and condiments can be included in nature cure. Doctor friends claim that they do nothing more than investigating the laws and act accordingly and that therefore they are the best nature cure men. Everything can be explained away in this manner. All I want to say is that anything more than *Ramanama* is really contrary to true nature cure. The more one recedes from this central principle the farther away one goes from nature cure. Following this line of thought I limit

nature cure to the use of the five elements. But a *Vaidya* who goes beyond this and uses such herbs as grow or can be grown in his neighbourhood purely for service of the sick and not for money may claim to be a nature cure man. But where are such *Vaidyas* to be found? Today most of them are engaged in making money. They do no research work and it is because of their greed and mental laziness that the science of *Ayurveda* is at a low ebb. Instead of admitting their own weakness they throw the blame on government and public men. Government is powerless to help those who through their own fault become helpless and thereby drag the name of *Ayurveda* in the mud.

Simla, 9-5-'46

(Condensed from *Harijanbandhu*)

### QUESTION BOX

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Q. The Congress Constitution makes it incumbent on all its candidates standing for election to be habitual wearers of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi. Does this not imply that they can only use that Khadi which is certified by the A. I. S. A.?

A. In my opinion it cannot be otherwise.

Q. Is a dealer in uncertified Khadi eligible to hold office in a Congress Committee?

A. It is beyond my conception as to how a dealer in uncertified Khadi can be a Congressman, leave alone an aspirant for holding office in any Congress Committee.

Q. You say that a dealer in uncertified Khadi cannot even be a Congressman much less an office holder. But what about those who are office holders in Congress and who deal in mill and even sell foreign cloth?

A. My answer to the second question is equally applicable to the persons referred to in the third. It is for these very reasons that I have recommended the removal of the relevant clauses from the Congress constitution. Experience has taught us that we are unable to adhere to the rules in question.

Simla, 8-5-'46

( From *Harijansevak* )

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

Gandhiji has given many things to India, but probably very few people realize that one of the biggest things that she has received at his hands is the idea of national language. Although she could boast of several languages there was none which was universally accepted as her national language.

English came to us through the Government, but soon it so dominated the country that it became the medium for higher education and social intercourse among the educated class. They were ashamed to speak in their national language and considered it a mark of honour and distinction to speak in English only on all occasions. Even in their private conversations they could not put away their English.

A new political awakening came over the country towards the close of the last century when the Indian National Congress was founded. The sessions of the Congress were held to make the demands and decisions of the nation heard to the world. But even this voice was not in the national tongue. We wanted to proclaim to England that India was for Indians and for none other. But to say that, we could find no language of our own and were content to express our longing in a borrowed tongue.

The entry of Gandhiji in the political field spelt a complete revolution—the country began to speak in its own tongues. To speak in the national tongue ceased to be regarded as a shame. Gandhiji reminded the people that the thing to be ashamed of was to forget one's own tongue. He toured all over the country in 1920-21 and delivered hundreds of speeches but without exception they were in Hindustani.

When I was under detention at Ranchi during the Great War, I remember having read in the newspapers the report of the War Conference which Lord Chelmsford had summoned in 1917. Gandhiji participated in it, but he had made it a condition that he would speak in Hindustani. At that time this was regarded by the Press as a strange innovation. But the innovation was soon to become the common thing in the country and today we see that Hindustani has taken the place that English held twentyfive years ago.

(From *Harijansevak*) ABUL KALAM AZAD

[The foregoing is a translation of the article of Maulana Saheb written for the Hindustani edition of 'Harijan'. He is a Hindustani scholar and

believes in a simple combination of Hindi and Urdu to be the standard national speech of all India which millions can easily understand. He believes that such a combination is natural. By way of illustration of what he says, he will contribute a short weekly article to the Hindustani edition of 'Harijan' called 'Harijansevak'.

New Delhi, 21-5-46

M. K. G.]

## HYPNOTISM OF ENGLISH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"You are making a tireless effort for the propagation of Hindustani. You do not like that Indians should speak or write in any foreign tongue in preference to Hindustani. May I draw your attention to the attitude of the owners of the so-called nationalist English newspapers towards their Indian languages editions? May I ask how this kind of invidious discrimination on their part helps the spread of the national tongue? You have only to compare the scale of salaries paid to the staff working on the English dailies with that of their Indian languages editions respectively to see the glaring disparity between the two. The former get nearly ten times as much as the latter. The editor of an English daily some times gets as much as Rs. 2000/- per month but that of a Hindi daily does not get even Rs. 200/-. An English newspaper is provided all the facilities. It gets the news straight from the teleprinter and has only to set it to type, whereas its Hindi counterpart must get the news translated before it can be printed. Thus it has to put in double the labour and yet receives neither encouragement nor appreciation. Why should they, who work on these newspapers then, care for the Indian languages, when they find that English is everywhere in demand and they have to starve in spite of their pains? Another thing to be noted is that the circulation of Indian languages newspapers is by no means less than that of the English ones. But just as on the Indian railways, in spite of the fact that they derive the bulk of their revenue from the third class passenger traffic, all the amenities are reserved for the first and second class passengers, even so the owners of English newspapers mete out a step-motherly treatment to the readers of their Indian languages editions."

The foregoing letter is from a fellow worker in the cause. He knows what he is writing about. Nor are the facts referred to by him unknown to the Indian public. The question is how to break the spell that the English language exercises over us.

It is an essential part of our struggle for Swaraj or else we shall have to revise our definition of Swaraj. In slavery, the slave has to ape the manners and ways of the master, e. g. dress, language, etc. Gradually he develops a liking for it to the exclusion of everything else. When the British yoke is lifted and we are independent, this infatuation, with the English language, will automatically go. In the meantime, let those who have realized the harm that this infatuation has done to the country make it a point to use Hindustani or their mother-tongue only.

It is a fact that the editors of English newspapers earn ten times as much as the editors of newspapers in the Indian languages. The remedy for it also lies in our hands. The market value of English will find its natural level, once the British empire over India goes, for the simple reason that India cannot afford to pay on a lavish scale. India is a poor country, and so long as the lot of the poorest of the poor remains unameliorated, we have no right to draw fat salaries. The fact, however, is that it rests with the newspaper reading public to raise or reduce the prestige and price of the Indian languages newspapers. If they will cease to regard English papers as their gospel and transfer their patronage to Indian languages newspapers instead, the proprietors will be compelled soon to take note of the change and adjust their policies accordingly. Something like that is happening already. There was a time when Indian languages newspapers had a poor circulation compared to English. Now the scales are reversed. Indian languages newspapers are increasing both in number and circulation.

But those who are running Indian newspapers in Indian languages also owe a duty in the matter even like the newspaper reading public. The language of the newspapers in the Indian languages is often poor and the writings appearing in them lack originality. Newspapermen alone can remove these defects.

New Delhi, 21-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

By M. K. Gandhi

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## **KHADI SCIENCE SCHOOL IN BOMBAY**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Vitthaldas Jerajani is one of those who will do his utmost to put into practice what he is once convinced is the right thing to do. When I returned home in 1915 from South Africa after 20 years' exile, he was at that time running a large Swadeshi Stores in Bombay. I explained to him that he was dealing in what was 'swadeshi' only in name. It was not difficult for him to understand that he had been labouring under a delusion but it was not clear to him what he should do. Beyond pointing out the flaw I too was unable to give him practical guidance straightaway. But I could not remain content without making efforts to put into practice what I believed. As soon as possible I threw myself heart and soul into producing Khadi and Shri Vitthaldas started business in Khadi sales. At that time all the Khadi that was produced was sold in Bombay. Khadi weavers in the production areas could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The history of the gradual growth of Khadi is very interesting but I may not dwell on it here.

Now that it has been realized that Khadi merely as a commercial commodity has been a mistake, Shri Vitthaldas has taken another step forward. I give below the gist of his account of his doings which he has described in a Gujarati letter to me :

"I have already informed you that two out of the original four Khadi Bhandars in Bombay have been converted into teaching centres. Instead of windows dressed with attractive Khadi for purposes of sales, people are treated to look at all the implements of Khadi production beginning from cotton right up to yarn. Those who are tempted to gain practical knowledge enter the showrooms and are given instruction should they so desire. Up till now there are 209 pupils and the attendance is fairly good for learning all the processes. Shri Kakubhai has taken up the work with zest and is devoting all his time to it.

"For weaving we could only get one place in Andheri where we have put up looms. Owing to the difficulty of procuring accommodation in Bombay, half the shop in Kalbadevi Road has been turned into a weaving centre also. The services of an expert have been obtained. It remains to be seen how far we can progress in this line.

"During the war Khadi sales mounted high owing to cloth shortage. Today also cloth for everyday needs is hard to get and other cloth has gone into the black market and fetches fantastic prices. Khadi is, therefore, still considered cheap and if it weren't for the fact that yarn currency even to a limited extent is in vogue we simply could not meet the demand nor cope with the rush on our stores. The danger of Khadi going to the black market might even have been there.

"Political awakening has always connoted a *pari passu* increase in the demand for Khadi and it is good that those who really believe in it and yet have been lazy about spinning will now have to take to the wheel. Conditions for teaching spinning are therefore favourable."

There is nothing striking about the figures given by Shri Jerajani. Those who think that the world

is full of crazy people have every right to say that Bombay has its full quota of such folk. Men of faith believe that the world is the better for them. The man who strives for the impossible may be looked upon as a burden. But the crazy man who is possessed by some special idea is the crazy man who is prized by society. I place Shri Viththaldas in this category. To find even a few people in a pleasure-loving city like Bombay who realize the power of Khadi is no small matter for satisfaction. Khadi will grow to its full height of course only when it is manufactured in every village and in every home and used there.

Just as Bombay is the foremost city where giving money in charity is concerned, so it can play a leading part in the difficult task of producing Khadi. Who would not like Bombay to hold this coveted position? Shri Viththaldas and his colleagues are working hard for this goal. If they die in the attempt to bring their dreams to fruition their death will be worth while. They must, however, hasten slowly in order to avoid mistakes. If they are watchful and mend their errors at once all will surely be well with their work.

Simla, 9-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## AN EXPERIMENT IN NATIONAL DIET

A striking experiment was carried out in Denmark in the last year of the Great War which has a moral for us in the present food crisis. The Danes as a people were, in the first instance, largely lacto-vegetarian in their diet. Then about 1870-1880 American wheat and barley from the virgin soil of the prairies began to pour in and forced the Danes to change their agricultural methods quickly. They began to raise pigs and poultry and became exporters of eggs and bacon and butter to England. They also became big eaters of meat and eggs themselves.

The blockade following the entry of the United States into the war created a serious situation for the Danes. Denmark had a population of 35,00,000 human beings and 50,00,000 domestic animals. Grain and fodder used to come from America. The sudden stoppage of the American imports created an acute shortage of these articles. Professor Mikkel Hindhede, Superintendent of the State Institute of Food Research, was appointed Food Adviser to the Danish Government to deal with the crisis. The question which he was called upon to decide was this. So far the pigs had provided ham and bacon for the English as well as the Danes. Would it be wise in this crisis to get rid of the pigs and let men eat the grain which otherwise the pigs would eat? Hindhede decided it would be wise and so some four-fifths of the pigs and about one sixth of the cattle were killed. The pigs gone, the bran which was fed to them was set free and was utilized for making whole meal bread with the entire coarse bran incorporated. This was the celebrated Kliebrot which was made official for the whole country. In addition to it the Danes ate porridge, green vegetables, milk, butter and fruit. "No grain or potatoes were allowed for distillation of spirits, so there were no spirits." Half the previous quantity of beer was permitted. Only people on the farms got meat. The people in the cities, about

40 per cent of the population got very little meat. Only the rich could afford beef.

The food regulations were begun in March 1917, and were made stringent from October 1917 to October 1918.

An amazing result followed from the enforcement of this national diet. Death rate which had been 12.5 in 1913-14 now fell to 10.4 per thousand "which is the lowest mortality figure that has been registered in any European country at any time" (Hindhede). To express the results in another way, taking the average from 1906 to 1916 as 160, in the October to October year it was 66. "Even in men over 65 the figure fell to 76."

Before the fiat the Danes ate fine meal bread and whole meal bread. Hindhede made them eat only whole meal bread with extra bran. Its proportions were given out as 67% rye, 21% oats and 12% bran.

"Except for the bran which added vegetable meat for those who were animally meatless or meat short," observes Hindhede, "this bread was the bread which the Danes used to eat before the invasion of American wheat," and which had been the "national bread of Denmark for centuries."

Hindhede attributed the remarkable improvement in the national health of the Danes to (1) less meat, (2) less alcohol. "The bran largely filled the gap of the scanty or absent meat, bran having a good proportion of vegetable meat protein." He regarded his experiment as a "triumph of his previous teaching." "The reader knows," he wrote in *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* of March 1920, "how sharply I have emphasized the advantages of a lacto-vegetarian diet. I am not in principle a vegetarian but I believe I have shown that a diet containing a large amount of meat and eggs is dangerous to health."

Delhi, 9-5-'46

PYARELAL

## Still Worse

Last week I appealed to women to pull their full weight in trying to alleviate the sufferings of our Harijan brothers and sisters everywhere and asked a band of sisters to go to the Harijan quarters in Reading Road, New Delhi and minister to the needs of the inhabitants, in particular of the women and children there.

Since then Gandhiji has visited the Harijan quarters in Ajmeri Gate and I was one of the party who accompanied him. I had visited this place ten years ago with Mahadevbhai and his facile pen had then tragically described this *basti* in 'Harijan'. It was sad to find these unfortunate human beings still wallowing in the mire with the pigs who share their lot. Their woeful state needs to be seen to be believed. The committee in charge of this particular area and the M. O. H. ought to be relieved of their duties if they are incapable of fulfilling them. The residents of Delhi ought also to be ashamed of themselves for being callous in regard to these plague spots. Concerted public agitation can never fail if it is arrayed against manifest evil. This is surely a matter on which both Indian and European, official and non-official can join hands. These plague spots, truth to tell, exist all over our country and the blame for them must be shared by us all. Women will acquit themselves to some extent if they get Harijan *bastis* everywhere reformed and made as habitable as their own homes.

Simla, 3-5-'46

A. K.



# HARIJAN

May 26

1946

## AN ANALYSIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After four days of searching examination of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances. It reflects our weakness, if we would be good enough to see it. The Congress and the Muslim League did not, could not agree. We would grievously err if at this time we foolishly satisfy ourselves that the differences are a British creation. The Mission have not come all the way from England to exploit them. They have come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule. We must be brave enough to believe their declaration until the contrary is proved. Bravery thrives upon the deceit of the deceiver.

My compliment, however, does not mean that what is best from the British standpoint is also best or even good from the Indian. Their best may possibly be harmful. My meaning will, I hope, be clear from what follows.

The authors of the document have endeavoured to say fully what they mean. They have gathered from their talks the minimum they thought would bring the parties together for framing India's charter of freedom. Their one purpose is to end British rule as early as may be. They would do so, if they could, by their effort, leave a united India not torn asunder by internecine quarrel bordering on civil war. They would leave in any case. Since in Simla the two parties, though the Mission succeeded in bringing them together at the Conference table (with what patience and skill they could do so, they alone could tell), could not come to an agreement, nothing daunted, they descended to the plains of India, and devised a worthy document for the purpose of setting up the Constituent Assembly which should frame India's charter of independence, free of any British control or influence. It is an appeal and an advice. It has no compulsion in it. Thus the Provincial Assemblies may or may not elect the delegates. The delegates, having been elected, may or may not join the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly having met, may lay down a procedure different from the one laid down in the Statement. Whatever is binding on any person or party arises out of the necessity of the situation. The separate voting is binding on both the major parties, only because it is necessary for the existence of the Assembly and in no otherwise. At the time of writing, I took up the Statement, re-read it clause by clause, and came to the conclusion that there was nothing in it binding in law. Honour and necessity alone are the two binding forces.

What is binding is that part of it which commits the British Government. Hence, I suppose, the

four members of the British mission took the precaution of receiving full approval of the British Government and the two Houses of Parliament. The Mission are entitled to warm congratulations for the first step in the act of renunciation which the Statement is. Since other steps are necessary for full renunciation, I have called this one a promissory note.

Though the response to be made by India is to be voluntary, the authors have naturally assumed that the Indian parties are well organized and responsible bodies capable of doing voluntary acts as fully as, if not more fully than, compulsory acts. Therefore, when Lord Pethick-Lawrence said to a press correspondent, "If they do come together on that basis, it will mean that they will have accepted that basis, but they can still change it, if by a majority of each party they desire to do so," he was right in the sense that those who became delegates, well knowing the contents of the Statement, were expected by the authors to abide by the basis, unless it was duly altered by the major parties. When two or more rival parties meet together, they do so under some understanding. A self-chosen umpire (in the absence of one chosen by the parties, the authors constitute themselves one) fancies that the parties will come together only if he presents them with a proposal containing a certain minimum, and he makes his proposal, leaving them free to add to, subtract from or altogether change it by joint agreement.

This is perfect so far. But what about the units? Are the Sikhs, for whom the Punjab is the only home in India, to consider themselves against their will, as part of the section which takes in Sindh, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province? Or is the Frontier Province also against its will to belong to the Punjab, called "B" in the Statement, or Assam to "C" although it is a predominantly non-Muslim province? In my opinion, the voluntary character of the Statement demands that the liberty of the individual unit should be unimpaired. Any member of the sections is free to join it. The freedom to opt out is an additional safeguard. It can never be a substitute for the freedom retained in paragraph 15(5) which reads:

"Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common."

It is clear that this freedom was not taken away by the authors by section 19 which 'proposes' (does not order) what should be done. It presupposes that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly at its first meeting will ask the delegates of the Provinces whether they would accept the group principle and if they do, whether they will accept the assignment given to their Province. This freedom inherent in every Province and that given by 15 (5) will remain intact. There appears to me to be no other way of avoiding the apparent conflict between the two paragraphs as also the charge of compulsion which would immediately alter the noble character of the document. I would, therefore, ask all those who are perturbed by the

group proposal and the arbitrary assignment, that, if my interpretation is valid, there is not the slightest cause for perturbation.

There are other things in the document which would puzzle any hasty reader who forgets that it is simply an appeal and an advice to the nation showing how to achieve independence in the shortest time possible. The reason is clear. In the new world that is to emerge out of the present chaos, India in bondage will cease to be 'the brightest jewel' in the British crown, it will become the blackest spot in that crown, so black that it will be fit only for the dustbin. Let me ask the reader to hope and pray with me that the British crown has a better use for Britain and the world. The 'brightest jewel' is an arrogation. When the promissory note is fully honoured, the British crown will have a unique jewel as of right flowing from due performance of duty.

There are other matters outside the Statement which are required to back the promissory note. But I must defer that examination to the next issue of 'Harijan'.

New Delhi, 20-5-'46

### MANGO SEED KERNEL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend has sent me an extract from "Current Science" showing how mango seed kernel is a fair substitute for cereals and fodder.

"According to a recent estimate, the concentrates available in India are sufficient only for 29.1% and fodder for 78.5% of adult bovine population. This does not take into account the requirements of goats, sheep and equines. The shortage is further accentuated during periods of famine. In order to meet the shortages, the Nutritional Research Laboratory at Izat-Nagar have been exploring new sources of foodstuffs. This investigation relates to the use of mango seed kernel as a cattle and human food. At present the material is thrown away as a waste. From chemical analysis of kernels it has been found to be rich in carbohydrates and fats (crude protein 8.5%, ether extract 8.85% and soluble carbohydrates 74.49% on dry basis.)

"The observations credit mango seed kernel with a place in the category of food grains and make available every year about 70 million lbs. digestible protein and 780 million lbs. of starch equivalent from a hitherto unutilized source. It has been also calculated that the digestible protein obtained from 80 lbs. of oats is equal to that of 100 lbs. of the kernel and the starch equivalent for 86 lbs."

I have known this use from my early youth. But no one seems to have thought of conserving this seed for food. The mango season is upon us and though much time has been lost, it will be a good thing if every mango seed was saved and the kernel baked and eaten in the place of cereals or given to those who need it. Every ounce of food saved is so much gained.

Delhi, 21-5-'46

### NATURE CURE IN KANCHANGAON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I settled down and started work in Uruli Kanchan in response to the invitation of the inhabitants there in the hope of making it a model nature cure centre for the villages of India. The people of the village had promised their co-operation. They were to have provided the land and erect buildings on it. But that has not yet materialized. They have given the money. But that is not enough for buying land and buildings. They have to find the land and to erect the buildings on it. Their active interest in it is more important than mere monetary aid.

According to the reports received from co-workers there, the inhabitants of Kanchangaon have begun to understand and appreciate nature cure. And the workers have developed such self-confidence that they won't mind, if I do not return there before June. They say that the people are co-operating with them so wholeheartedly that they can well afford to wait till I descend from Mahabaleshwar and Panchgani at the end of the warm season. All this has filled me with hope.

Nature cure consists of two parts. Firstly, to cure diseases by taking the name of God or *Ramanama* and secondly, to prevent illness by the inculcation of right and hygienic living. The report from the village says that the inhabitants are co-operating with them in keeping the village clean. I hold that where the rules of personal, domestic and public sanitation are strictly observed and due care is taken in the matter of diet and exercise, there should be no occasion for illness or disease. Where there is absolute purity, inner and outer, illness becomes impossible. If the village people could but understand this, they would not need doctors, *hakims* or *vaidyas*.

In Kanchangaon there are hardly any cows. That is unfortunate. There are some she buffaloes. But all the evidence that has come to me so far shows that buffalo's milk is no match for cow's in the health-giving quality. The *vaidyas* specially recommend cow's milk for patients. I, therefore, hope that the people of Uruli Kanchan will keep a herd of cows to insure a supply of fresh clean cow's milk to all. Milk is an absolute necessity for health.

Then, the sooner the buildings are erected the better. In the first place, it is a question as to how long we ought to go on using Shri Datar's bungalow. Secondly, and that is more important, so long as there is not adequate housing accommodation, proper treatment of patients is not possible. Accommodation for indoor patients is a necessity, I shall always hope that Kanchangaon will become an ideal village. Nature cure implies an ideal mode of life and that in its turn presupposes ideal living conditions in towns and villages. The name of God is, of course, the hub round which the nature cure system revolves.

Delhi, 21-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## WEEKLY LETTER

## BACK IN SWEEPERS' COLONY

Gandhiji was glad to be back once more in the Sweepers' Colony at Reading Road where he feels far more at home than on the Simla heights. Public prayer was resumed from the very first day of his arrival. But the prayer gatherings are now held not on the *Ramalila* grounds near the Ajmeri Gate but in the *Mehtar* compound itself. The Quranic prayer was led by the Fakir Badshah Khan. (He is now gone to his province.) Twice during the week he addressed the prayer gathering. On the first day he explained that all prayer, in whatever language or from whatever religion it was, was prayer addressed to one and the same God and taught mankind that all belonged to one family and should bear love to one another.

Echoing Badshah Khan's words at the end of the prayer, Gandhiji said it was a travesty of true religion to consider one's own religion as superior and others, as inferior. All religions enjoined worship of the One God who was all pervasive. He was present even in a droplet of water or in a tiny speck of dust. "Even those who worship idols, worship not the stone of which it is made; they try to see God who resides in it." Similarly it was a libel to call the Parsis fire-worshippers or sun-worshippers. The Parsi hymn which Dr. Dinshah Mehta had recited corresponded to the *Gayatri* of the Hindus. It was nothing but pure worship of God. Various religions were like the leaves on a tree. No two leaves were alike, yet there was no antagonism between them or between the branches on which they grew. Even so, there is an underlying unity in the variety which we see in God's creation.

## SPECULATION FEVER

Speculation as to the contents of the impending announcement of the Cabinet Mission had reached a feverish height with the return from Simla of the Mission and other members of the Tripartite Conference. Friends had been asking, remarked Gandhiji, as to what the message was likely to contain. He did not know, nor did he speculate. It was no use giving a thought as to what it would contain. A man of prayer could not do otherwise. Good or bad, they would know all in another twentysix hours. It would then be open to them to accept or reject it. Instead of looking outwards let them search inward and ask God what their duty was in either event. For him and them in the meanwhile, it should be enough to know that the Cabinet Delegation had come all the way leaving their hearth and home to find out in what manner British rule was to end and when the last British soldier was to leave India, and not whether or not to leave India. It was necessary for them to find out whether the Congress and the Muslim League could be brought together. British rule had separated them and if they (the Cabinet Mission) failed it was small wonder. They were bound to come together soon after British hold on India had demonstrably ceased. The Cabinet Dele-

gation's concern was to quit India without a moment's delay.

## NO PAROCHIAL OUTLOOK

"But supposing the reverse happens," he continued, "they will be the losers, not we. We have chosen the path of self-suffering. We rise through our suffering. That is nature's law. He who clings to his sordid self or family interests loses. Man is sent into the world to perform his duty even at the cost of his life if necessary. We must therefore be braced for any suffering that may come in the performance of duty.

"All of us, Hindus and Musalmans, constitute an integral whole. If someone errs all must suffer for it. God has so ordered this world that no one can keep his goodness or badness exclusively to himself. The whole world is like the human body with its various members. Pain in one member is felt in the whole body. Rot in one part must inevitably poison the whole system. Let us, therefore, cease to think in terms of individuals and think in terms of the whole country. We must put faith in God and be careful for nothing. We hold our destiny in our own hands and no one but ourselves can make or mar it."

## ON THE EVE

The after-prayer address on the following day, too, was devoted to preparing the people's mind for a just and dispassionate examination of the forthcoming announcement. He asked the gathering not to allow themselves to be led away by prejudice or hearsay, but to study the document itself carefully and then form their own opinion. He deprecated the habit of borrowing opinions from newspapers. "Newspapers should be for the study of facts. They should not be allowed to kill the habit of independent thinking." The English language, he warned them, was a difficult medium to master. Even he, after his residence for nearly twenty years among English speaking people, could not claim to have full mastery over it. They should therefore study the document in Hindustani to be able to grasp its full meaning. Whether they liked the announcement or not, it was going to be a most momentous one in the history of India and therefore deserved careful study. As men of prayer it further behoved them to put themselves entirely in the hands of God and pray to Him to illumine and purify them so as to fit them for understanding the document aright.

## NOT AN AWARD

The Cabinet Delegation's announcement was published on Wednesday the 18th. The following day's discourse, therefore, naturally contained an examination of that document.

Taking as his text the song sung by Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani about "the land that was without sorrow and suffering," he proceeded to examine the Cabinet Mission's pronouncement in the light of the ideal set forth in that song. How far was the Cabinet Mission's pronouncement calculated to

enable them to realize that ideal? "The poet says we are citizens of a country in which there is neither sorrow nor suffering. Where is such a country to be found in this world? I confess, throughout my wanderings I have not come across such a country so far. The poet has later described the conditions for the attainment of that ideal state. It is easy to observe them individually. For one who really and truly is pure at heart, there is no sorrow or suffering. But it is a difficult state for the millions to attain. Nevertheless we want India to be such a country." He had asked them on the previous day to examine independently of other people's opinions the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation when they saw it. They should examine it from the point of view of a country which would be without sorrow or suffering. He would give them his own reactions. He, however, did not want to contradict himself by asking them to follow his ideas if they did not appeal to them. Everyone should think for himself and herself. They were to weigh opinions and adopt only those they had assimilated.

He had glanced at the document casually on the previous night as soon as it was received. He had read it carefully in the morning. It was not an award. The Mission and the Viceroy had tried to bring the parties together but they could not bring about an agreement. So they had recommended to the country what in their opinion was worthy of acceptance by the Constituent Assembly. It was open to that body to vary it, reject it or improve upon it. There was no 'take it or leave it' business about their recommendations. If there were restrictions, the Constituent Assembly would not be a sovereign body, free to frame a constitution of independence for India. Thus the Mission had suggested for the Centre certain subjects. It was open to the Assembly by the majority vote of Muslims and non-Muslims separately, to add to them or even reduce them. And it was open to the Assembly to abolish the distinction which the Mission had felt forced to recognize. Similarly about grouping. The provinces were free to reject the very idea of grouping. No province could be forced against its will to belong to a group, even if the idea of grouping was accepted. He instanced only two things to illustrate his point. He had not exhausted the list of things which seemed to him to be open to objection or improvement.

Subject to the above interpretation, which he held was right, he told them that the Mission had brought forth something of which they had every reason to be proud.

#### SPIRIT OF C. F. A.

There were some, he proceeded, who said the English were incapable of doing the right thing. He did not agree with them. The Mission and the Viceroy were as God-fearing as they themselves claimed to be. It was beneath their dignity as men to doubt a person before he was proved to be untrue to his word. "The late Charlie Andrews was every inch of him an Englishman who had

died slaving for India. It would be grievously wrong to doubt in advance every one of his countrymen." Whatever the wrong done to India by British rule, if the statement of the Mission was genuine, as he believed it was, it was in discharge of an obligation which they had declared the British owed to India, namely, to get off India's back. It contained the seed to convert this land of sorrow into one without sorrow and suffering.

#### THE LESSON OF THE TREES

Pursuing the theme of the previous day's song, Gandhiji asked in his next prayer discourse how they were to convert India, which was today the home of sorrow and suffering, into the ideal country about which the poet had sung. The reply he said was furnished by the song about the sermon of the trees which had just been sung. "In that song one is asked to take the lesson from the trees which themselves suffer the fierce rays of the sun and give shade to those who take shelter under them. To those who throw stones at them they respond by dropping fruit. That is true philanthropy. To learn that philanthropy we are asked in that song to go to Harijans. Today society has condemned Harijans to a life of filth and degradation. That is not their shame but our shame. Society has treated them as untouchables and condemned them to live in ghettos and yet they continue to render invaluable services to society for a mere pittance. It was open to them to take to more lucrative avocations as some of them have done. The fact that the vast majority of them have chosen not to, rebounds to their credit." If they could show that spirit of service in spite of their ignorance and backwardness, he asked, how much more spirit of selfless service and sacrifice ought the so-called *savarna* classes to show?

#### THE ANNOUNCEMENT X-RAYED

He had remarked in his previous day's address that he saw the germs of the realization of the ideal envisaged by the poet in the song that had been sung on that day, in the announcement of the Cabinet Mission. But it was subject to the condition that it meant what it said. He likened that announcement to a promissory note, whose worth depended entirely on its genuineness and validity. "If the promise inscribed on a promissory note is not honoured, the note is worth nothing and fit only to be torn to pieces and thrown away." Truth meant everything to him. He had said that he would not purchase even Swaraj at the cost of truth, because Swaraj so purchased would be illusory. It was his hope and prayer, in which he invited the audience to join him, that the announcement of the Cabinet Mission would be finally honoured in letter and in spirit and that God would help the members of the Mission to discharge their promissory note even as He had done for His devotees in days of old.

#### MEANING OF PRAYER

On Sunday the 19th Fakir Badshah Khan again addressed the prayer gathering. His theme was the



meaning and significance of prayer. The object of prayer, *prarthana*, or *namaz*, he said, was the same, viz. to purge ourselves of all dross and baseness so as to enable us to realize the bond of unity with the entire human family. Unfortunately, mankind had today lost its essential oneness and had got divided up into mutually antagonistic groups. All this was the result of a tragic delusion. "Prayer should fit one for service not of any particular section or community but of God's entire creation, for which he has sent us into this world."

Commenting on it Gandhiji said that if they had carefully followed and assimilated Badshah Khan's remarks they would know that the object of prayer was not to please God, who does not want our prayers or praise, but to purify ourselves. "God is omnipresent. There is not an atom in the universe without His presence. The process of self-purification consists in a conscious realization of His presence within us. There is no strength greater than that which such realization gives."

It had pleased him to see so many of them coming to attend the prayers, he said. But it would hurt him if he found that they had come just for fun, or, what would be worse still, to hear his political views. As a rule, politics should not be permitted to intrude upon prayer. He, however, could not avoid referring to current political topics sometimes in the course of his after-prayer discourses because life could not be divided into water-tight compartments. Presence of God had to be felt in every walk of life. If they thought that as soon as they left the prayer ground they could live and behave anyhow, their attendance of the prayer was useless. If their interest in prayer was genuine, the next day's prayer, he hoped, would be as numerously attended as on the day he spoke, although he would not be speaking on account of his Monday silence.

Monday is always the day of self-examination and prayer with Gandhiji. The silence enables him to be alone with God. Never has he felt the need to wait on the inner light for guidance more than on the present momentous occasion. And so, although he is now surrounded by his 'family', his thoughts are continually turned inward. Out of the depth of his silence and repose came his written message to the prayer gathering yesterday. "I only want to say to you that for India it is a day for deep and serious thinking. We should do nothing in haste. For, we are dealing with the destinies of dumb millions. It therefore becomes our bounden duty that, with God as witness, we should think only of the country with its 40 crores of people, not of our petty selves nor of our respective communities or groups. And whatever we decide we should act upon without fear or shame."

New Delhi,  
21-5-'46

PYARELAL

## A FAIR HIT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"A report from New Delhi dated 16th April, published in the 'Times of India' of the 18th says that at a prayer meeting held on Tuesday evening you said :

"1. 'The machinery and even engineers were all foreign. He had no enmity with machinery. Mills, he said, could not remove the poverty of India, but on the other hand had deprived crores of villagers of their work and practically ruined them. Those Indians responsible for ruining the villages had become foreigners and as such they should live in foreign countries.'

"How can you reconcile this statement with the gentlemen who form the Board of Trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund, the primary aim of which is to improve conditions in villages. Majority of these gentlemen are industrialists and owners of mills. Can they, who are responsible for ruining the villages, and still continue to ruin them by their mills, be ever capable of sincere help in improving the condition of villagers ?

"2. You have so often talked and written against the curse of black markets. How many of the trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund can lay their hands on their hearts and say they have not dealt in the black market either as buyers or sellers ?"

This is a fair hit. That mill-owners and such others have joined the Kasturba Trust is a compliment to my *ahimsa*. Though I express my opinions strongly, there is no sting in them, nothing personal. I have no sense of shame in befriending mill-owners whose business, I hold, should be stopped, not forcibly but by reason. Education of the public could bring about results which no force can. I must say in favour of the capitalist class trustees that they never interfered with the decision of non-capitalist trustees. Indeed, they have always helped by their knowledge. The combination is good and beneficial to the Trust. Their sincerity cannot be questioned; for, they have faith in their capacity and the modern trend.

As to black markets, I do not know that any of the Trustees have black market dealings. But should I discover any, I should think twice before inviting them to leave the Trust. They have not imposed themselves on the Trust.

Delhi, 21-5-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 17]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 1946

[ TWO ANNAS

## SALARY OF M. L. A.'s

(By M. K. Gandhi)

*Q.* The monthly salary of an M. L. A. is Rs. 200/-. He is a mofussil member and, as such, is entitled to a daily allowance of Rs. 15/- when the Assembly is in session. Besides that, he may draw a conveyance of Rs. 2/8/- for any day on which he attends the meeting of the Assembly. Moreover, he is entitled to 'travelling allowance' for his journey from the usual place of residence to the City at the rate of one and a half times first class fare but he cannot draw 'travelling allowance' and 'daily allowance' for the same day.

1. (a) Should such a person as a representative and servant of the poor draw the salary?

(b) Would he be absolved from the wrong if he gave the whole amount to the local Congress Committee or the institution under which he is working for constructive work?

(c) If so, would it not mean that the end justifies the means?

2. He will have to live in the City when the Assembly is in session and has to incur some other expenditure for discharging his duties and responsibilities as an M. L. A.

(a) In the circumstances, may he, consistently with his ideal, draw the daily allowance to meet the expenses?

(b) If so, and if it be not permissible to draw a part of it, should he draw the whole of it and give the balance to the institution under which he is working?

(c) In that case, may he, consistently with his ideal, spend the balance or part thereof for his family, which will have otherwise to depend upon the charity of friends to make the two ends meet?

3. (a) Should he draw the conveyance allowance (meant for his conveyance inside the city for attending meetings) when the daily allowance will be more than sufficient to cover all his expenses including the conveyance?

(b) Should he avail of costly conveyance for attending meetings, if he usually travels in tram cars and buses?

4. If such a member travels third class on principle, who should he do regarding drawing 'mileage allowance' if it is not permissible to draw at lower rate than one and a half first class fares?

*A.* In my opinion, the salary and allowances drawn by the gentlemen of the various Assemblies are out of all proportion to the services they render to the country. The scales fixed are on the English pattern, not at all compatible with the income of this country — the poorest in the world. Therefore, the answer I suggest is that the Ministers should, with the consent of the Assemblies, reduce the whole scale in accordance with requirements and, in the meantime, either the amount taken should be handed to the party to which the member belongs, drawing what the party has fixed or, if that be not possible, drawing what his conscience thinks just for himself and his family and devoting the balance to some item of the constructive programme or some such public activity. The money allowed has to be drawn but nobody is obliged to use it for oneself except to the extent needed. No question here arises of end justifying the means.

New Delhi, 25-5-'46

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Indian Deputation from South Africa have made a great stir in India. They propose to approach the U. N. O. with a view to enlist the latter's sympathy. But the legislation is going through. The Indian High Commissioner will be withdrawn as he should be. What little aid he can render is nothing compared to the indignity of representing a country whose inhabitants are to be treated as an inferior race. This new caste is worse than the ancient but dying institution of India which has some redeeming features, even while it is dying. But the new civilized edition has none. It shamelessly proclaims that white civilization requires the erection of legal barriers in order to protect itself against Asiatics and Africans. The Indians in South Africa are bearing a heavy burden which they are well able to discharge. Satyagraha, the mightiest weapon in the world, was born and bred there. If they make effective use of it, it will be well with the sacred cause they are handling. It is not one of making it easy for a handful, to be permitted to live and trade there if they wear the badge of inferiority called years ago by an Englishman of South Africa 'dog's collar'. The cause is the cause of the honour of India and through her of all the exploited coloured races of the earth, whether they be brown, yellow or black. It is worth all the suffering of which they are capable.

New Delhi, 27-5-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

WHO IS RAMA ?

Q. You have often said that when you talk of 'Rama' you refer to the Ruler of the universe and not to Rama, the son of Dasharatha. But we find that your *Ramadhun* calls on 'Sita-Rama' 'Raja Rama' and it ends with 'Victory to Rama the Lord of Sita'. Who is this Rama if not the son of the King Dasharatha ?

A. I have answered such questions before. But there is something new in this one. It demands a reply. In *Ramadhun* 'Raja Rama', 'Sita-Rama' are undoubtedly repeated. Is not this 'Rama' the same as the son of Dasharatha ? Tulsidas has answered this question. But let me put down my own view. More potent than Rama is the Name. Hindu Dharma is like a boundless ocean teeming with priceless gems. The deeper you dive the more treasures you find. In Hindu religion God is known by various names. Thousands of people look doubtless upon Rama and Krishna as historical figures and literally believe that God came down in person on earth in the form of Rama the son of Dasharatha, and by worshipping him one can attain salvation. The same thing holds good about Krishna. History, imagination and truth have got so inextricably mixed up. It is next to impossible to disentangle them. I have accepted all the names and forms attributed to God, as symbols connoting one formless omnipresent Rama. To me, therefore, Rama described as the Lord of Sita, son of Dasharatha, is the all powerful essence whose name inscribed in the heart, removes all suffering, mental, moral and physical.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## PEACEFUL STRIKES

Q. How should a strike be conducted so that hooliganism and violence are avoided ?

A. A strike should be spontaneous and not manipulated. If it is organized without any compulsion there would be no chance for goondaism and looting. Such a strike would be characterized by perfect co-operation amongst the strikers. It should be peaceful and there should be no show of force. The strikers should take up some work either singly or in co-operation with each other, in order to earn their bread. The nature of such work should have been thought out beforehand. It goes without saying that in a peaceful, effective and firm strike of this character, there will be no room for rowdyism or looting. I have known of such strikes. I have not presented a Utopian picture.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

## WHY DOCTORS ?

Q. Why do you go to the doctors for examination and diagnosis and not to the *vaidyas* ?

A. The *vaidyas* do not possess the knowledge of the human body as the doctors do. The basis of diagnosis in *Ayurveda* is the theory of *tridosh*. They have not got to the bottom even of that. The doctors are ever carrying on research and making

new discoveries. One either goes forward or backward. Nothing remains static in the world. Those who become static, become lifeless. God alone is static, but amazing as it may sound, He is described both as motionless and full of motion.

Moreover, doctors and *vaidyas* are my friends. The doctors have clung to me. One of them has become more than my own daughter. One's own daughter can leave her father; how can one who has chosen to become daughter ? The *vaidyas* themselves use though indifferently the methods of diagnosis used by the doctors or else they advise the patient to go to the doctors for it. The *vaidyas* possess the knowledge of certain drugs which they use effectively.

But the doctors, *vaidyas* and *hakims* all slave for money. They do not take to the profession purely from a spirit of service. That some of them have that spirit does not contradict my statement. Nature cure is the only thing which has come into existence purely from the point of view of selfless service. Today even that has become a means of making money. Thus money has taken the place of God. The doctors examine me, but I depend on none but God. He is the Master of every breath I take. If He wills it, He will keep me up to 125 years. If not, He might carry me off any moment, leaving the medical friends staring as helpless spectators.

New Delhi, 27-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

[ The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on May 24, 1946, at New Delhi. ]

The Working Committee have given careful consideration to the Statement dated May 16, 1946, issued by the Delegation of the British Cabinet and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, as well as the correspondence relating to it that has passed between the Congress President and the members of the Delegation. They have examined it with every desire to find a way for a peaceful and co-operative transfer of power and the establishment of a free and independent India. Such an India must necessarily have a strong central authority capable of representing the nation with power and dignity in the counsels of the world. In considering the Statement, the Working Committee have kept in view the picture of the future, in so far as this was available to them from the proposals made for the formation of a Provisional Government and the clarification given by members of the Delegation. This picture is still incomplete and vague. It is only on the basis of the full picture that they can judge and come to a decision as to how far this is in conformity with the objectives they aim at. These objectives are: independence for India; a strong, though limited, central authority; full autonomy for the provinces; the establishment of a democratic structure in the centre and

in the units; the guarantee of the fundamental rights of each individual so that he may have full and equal opportunities of growth; and further that each community should have opportunity to live the life of its choice within the larger framework.

The Committee regret to find a divergence between these objectives and the various proposals that have been made on behalf of the British Government, and, in particular, there is no vital change envisaged during the interim period when the Provisional Government will function, in spite of the assurance given in paragraph 23 of the Statement. If the independence of India is aimed at, then the functioning of the Provisional Government must approximate closely in fact, even though not in law, to that independence, and all obstructions and hindrances to it should be removed. The continued presence of a foreign army of occupation is a negation of independence.

The Statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contains certain recommendations and suggests a procedure for the building up of a Constituent Assembly, which is sovereign in so far as the framing of the constitution is concerned. The Committee do not agree with some of these recommendations. In their view it will be open to the Constituent Assembly itself at any stage to make changes and variations, with the proviso that, in regard to certain major communal matters a majority decision of both the major communities will be necessary.

The procedure for the election of the Constituent Assembly is based on representation in the ratio of one to a million, but the application of this principle appears to have been overlooked in the case of European members of Assemblies, particularly in Assam and Bengal. Therefore, the Committee expect that this oversight will be corrected.

The Constituent Assembly is meant to be a fully elected body, chosen by the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures. In Baluchistan, there is no elected assembly or any other kind of chamber which might elect a representative for the Constituent Assembly. It would be improper for any kind of nominated individual to speak for the whole province of Baluchistan, which he really does not represent in any way.

In Coorg, the Legislative Council contains some nominated members as well as Europeans elected from a special constituency of less than a hundred electors. Only the elected members from the general constituencies should participate in the election.

The Statement of the Cabinet Delegation affirms the basic principle of provincial autonomy and residuary powers vesting in the Provinces. It is further said that Provinces should be free to form groups. Subsequently, however, it is recommended that provincial representatives will divide up into sections which 'shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution

shall be set up for the Provinces'. There is a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions, and it would appear that a measure of compulsion is introduced which clearly infringes the basic principle of provincial autonomy. In order to retain the recommendatory character of the Statement, and in order to make the clauses consistent with each other, the Committee read paragraph 15 to mean that, in the first instance, the respective provinces will make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed. Thus the Constituent Assembly must be considered as a sovereign body with final authority for the purpose of drawing up a constitution and giving effect to it.

The provisions in the Statement in regard to the Indian States are vague and much has been left for future decision. The Working Committee would, however, like to make it clear that the Constituent Assembly cannot be formed of entirely disparate elements, and the manner of appointing State representatives for the Constituent Assembly must approximate, in so far as is possible, to the method adopted in the Provinces. The Committee are gravely concerned to learn that even at this present moment some State governments are attempting to crush the spirit of their people with the help of armed forces. These recent developments in the States are of great significance in the present and for the future of India, as they indicate that there is no real change of policy on the part of some of the State governments and of those who exercise paramountcy.

A Provisional National Government must have a new basis and must be a precursor of the full independence that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. It must function in recognition of that fact, though changes in law need not be made at this stage. The Governor-General may continue as the head of that Government during the interim period, but the Government should function as a cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature. The status, powers and composition of the Provisional Government should be fully defined in order to enable the Committee to come to a decision. Major communal issues shall be decided in the manner referred to above in order to remove any possible fear or suspicion from the minds of a minority.

The Working Committee consider that the connected problems involved in the establishment of a Provisional Government and a Constituent Assembly should be viewed together so that they may appear as parts of the same picture, and there may be co-ordination between the two, as well as an acceptance of the independence that is now recognized as India's right and due. It is only with the conviction that they are engaged in building up a free, great and independent India, that the Working Committee can approach this task and invite the co-operation of all the people of India. In the absence of a full picture, the Committee are unable to give a final opinion at this stage.



# HARIJAN

June 2

1946

## VITAL DEFECTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Intrinsically and as legally interpreted, the State Paper seems to me to be a brave and frank document. Nevertheless, the official interpretation would appear to be different from the popular. If it is so and prevails it will be a bad omen. During the long course of the history of British rule in India, the official interpretation has held sway. And, it has been enforced. I have not hesitated before now to say that the office of the lawgiver, judge and executioner is combined in one person in India. Is not the State Document a departure from the imperialistic tradition? I have answered 'yes'.

Be that as it may. Let us try to glance at the shortcomings.

The Delegation, after a brief spell in Simla, returned to Delhi on the 14th instant, issued their statement on the 16th, and yet we are far from the popular government at the Centre. One would have thought that they would have formed the Central Government before issuing the Statement. But they issued the Statement first and then set about the search for the formation of the Interim Government. It is taking a long time coming, whilst the millions are starving for want of food and clothing. This is defect No. 1.

The question of paramountcy is unsolved. It is not enough to say that paramountcy will end with the end of British rule in India. If it persists without check during the interim period, it will leave behind a difficult legacy for the independent Government. If it cannot be ended with the establishment of the Interim Government, it should be exercised in co-operation with it and purely for the benefit of the people of the States. It is the people who want and are fighting for independence, not the Princes who are sustained by the alien power even when they claim not to be its creation for the suppression of the liberties of the people. The Princes, if they are true to their professions, should welcome this popular use of paramountcy so as to accommodate themselves to the Sovereignty of the people envisaged under the new scheme. This is defect No. 2.

Troops, it is declared, are to remain during the interim period for the preservation of internal peace and protection against external aggression. If they are kept for such use during the period of grace, their presence will act as a damper on the Constituent Assembly and is more likely than not to be wanted even after the establishment of independence so-called. A nation that desires alien troops for its safety, internal or external, or has them imposed upon it, can never be described as independent in any sense of

the term. It is an effete nation unfit for self-government. The acid test is that it should be able to stand alone, erect and unbending. During the interim period we must learn to hop unaided, if we are to walk when we are free. We must cease from now to be spoon-fed.

That these things are not happening as we would wish is to be accounted as our weakness, be the causes whatever they be, not the cussedness of the British Government or their people. Whatever we get, will be our deserts, not a gift from across the seas. The three ministers have come to do what they have declared. It will be time to blame them when they go back upon the British declarations and devise ways and means of perpetuating British rule. Though there is ground for fear, there is no sign on the horizon that they have said one thing and meant another.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

## RIDICULING RAMANAMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You know we are so ignorant and dull that we actually begin to worship the images of our great men instead of living up to their teachings. *Ramalila*, *Krishnalila* and the recently opened Gandhi temple are a living testimony of that. The *Ramanama* bank in Benares and wearing clothes printed with *Ramanama*, is, in my opinion, a caricature and even insult of *Ramanama*. Don't you think that under these circumstances your telling the people to take to *Ramanama* as a sovereign remedy for all ailments is likely to encourage ignorance and hypocrisy? *Ramanama* repeated from the heart can be a sovereign remedy, but in my opinion religious education of the right type alone can lead to that state.

A. You are right. There is so much superstition and hypocrisy around that one is afraid even to do the right thing. But if one gives way to fear, even truth will have to be suppressed. The golden rule is to act fearlessly upon what one believes to be right. Hypocrisy and untruth will go on in the world. Our doing the right thing will result in their decrease if any, never in their increase. The danger is that when we are surrounded by falsehood on all sides we might be caught in it and begin to deceive ourselves. We should be careful not to make a mistake out of our laziness and ignorance. Constant vigilance under all circumstances is essential. A votary of truth cannot act otherwise. Even an all-power remedy like *Ramanama* can become useless for lack of wakefulness and care, and become one more addition to the numerous current superstitions.

New Delhi, 25-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

By J. C. Kumarappa

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## FAMINE NOTES

### ABUSE OF FOOD GRAINS

Now that the expectation of consignment of food grains arriving from America has receded into the background and we are threatened with the breakdown of our rationing system by the third week of June, most stringent measures must at once be taken to prevent a single grain of foodstuffs from being wasted or put to any other use than that of saving human lives threatened with starvation. The use of enormous quantities of food grains for the manufacture of dextrine and starches for industrial use, was commented upon in these columns some time back. A friend has now sent a detailed note showing that not only one lakh and sixtyone thousand and odd tons of food grains are diverted to this use, but also a considerable proportion is wasted. It could either be greatly reduced or eliminated altogether. He writes:

"At present as far as I could gather, there are 13 starch factories manufacturing starches, dextrines, flour etc. on a large scale all over British India and the States. The raw material used for manufacturing starches and dextrines are maize, wheat, rice, tapioca, potato, barley, etc.

"These starches and dextrines find application in many industries for various processes but I touch upon only three main uses of these on a very huge scale:

1. AS "SIZE" OR "SIZING PRODUCT" IN THE TEXTILE TRADE. In order to give sufficient winding and/or weaving strength to fibre and/or fabric "Sizing" is the process generally employed. As far as I could collect details, the total all India consumption of such sizing products made of starch or dextrine by various textile mills and handloom societies and factories is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,32,000 tons a year. The percentage of "Sizing" or "Size" depends on the counts of yarn used, the quality of textile material manufactured, the price at which it is marketed and particularly the whims and fancies of the manufacturers. The cheaper varieties of textiles are given very heavy sizing to fetch better prices, the burden of which ultimately falls on the lower class who go in for cheap consumer goods. To manufacture 1,32,000 tons of sizing products, 70,200 tons of starch or dextrine are necessary on a 60% basis every year, which in turn consumes double the raw materials. In other words, yearly 1,40,400 tons of foodstuffs mentioned above are used up in the manufacture of sizing products. Here in India, starch is made of all essential foodstuffs given above and the starch contents range between 30 to 60% of the raw materials. But for our calculations, I have taken an average of 50%.

2. IN MANUFACTURING GUMS OR PASTES. Though the statistics are not available, the flour of wheat and rice, and tapioca powder used in manufacturing gums, pastes, etc. for various purposes including sticking or affixing etc. can be estimated at about 1,500 tons a year from 2,000 tons of raw materials (foodstuffs).

3. IN REDUCING THE STRENGTH OF DYE-STUFFS. Use of dextrine as a reducing agent in

the "Dyes" or "Colours" trade is a well-known fact. As far as I could gather, the consumption of the reducing agent in various provinces is approximately 5,500 tons, Bombay Province leading the list with 2,500 tons. These figures I fear may be on the lower side as I could not get accurate consumption. The necessary data can only be collected by the Government machinery.

"Reducing dyestuffs for the bazar consumers is a common practice with all leading firms like Imperial Chemical Industries, Ciba (India) Ltd., Shaw Wallace, and Geigy as also many Indian firms. Fine dextrine or starch is used as a reducing agent. Only 30% dextrine can be manufactured of raw materials that is to say, to prepare 5,500 tons of dextrine 19,000 tons of raw material are consumed.

"Thus for all the three purposes a total of 1,61,400 tons of foodstuffs are consumed.

"I have gathered these statistics from the actual consumers of starch and dextrines and my assumption is based on the actual consumption and not on the manufacturers' production. To these must be added another 20% for wastage, the stocking and storing tendencies of the manufacturers and so on. The actual quantity of foodstuffs used for these purposes may thus be about 2,00,000 tons a year."

The correspondent then goes on to describe the wastage due to mismanagement and corrupt practices in mills and factories.

"There is a lot of wastage of these sizing products in textile mills and colour factories, merely because of corruption. The sizing master or the mixer or the manager of the establishment is generally offered a *bakshis* or *illegal gratification* or commission depending on the quantity he orders or recommends. Sometimes and in some places there are chains and the margin of commission is more. In some cases the master or manager becomes greedy and goes on ordering the quantity, always stressing the importance of such products. Enormous quantities are wasted to show huge consumption.

"In some cases textile material costing 6 to 8 annas, by giving a very thick and heavy size, can be sold at 10 to 14 annas to very poor but ignorant consumers. This can be checked or remedied by appointing textile experts to fix the minimum and maximum sizing for a particular kind of textile of a particular count of yarn. I think this will have to be tackled by the National Government.

"So also points 2 and 3 can be controlled by offering suitable substitutes or at least prohibiting the use of all these in colour-reducing by colour importers, mixers and packers. Here again there is corruption on one side and duping the consumers on the other. Colours which may normally cost Rs. 3 to 6 are even sold at a higher if not the same price after reducing the strength by 50% by the addition of dextrine, thus deriving over 100% profit."

This enormous use of huge quantities of grains and roots, etc. can either be prohibited forthwith or at least restricted to a very great extent, thus making a considerable quantity available for human consumption. This step, it is suggested, would not

in the least affect or paralyse the textile industry or the colour trade as suitable substitutes in the form of coffee-dextrine, tamarind-starch, mango-seed-starch, and a score of other forest products can take its place. At present hundreds of tons of tamarind seeds are being exported to foreign countries.

#### AN UNWELCOME INTRUDER

Even more startling are the facts about the spread of tobacco cultivation at the expense of food crops, to which a correspondent from Gujarat has drawn attention. The following is the gist of his letter:

"While on the one hand you are asking people to dig up flower gardens to grow vegetables and food grains and to sink more wells and repair old ones for cultivation, lakhs of acres of land are being used for growing tobacco, which not only has no food value but is positively harmful to health. Thus tube wells and oil engines and quantities of crude oil which could serve to grow more food to alleviate famine are being used for growing tobacco for the black market.

"In 1942 the British Government imposed a tax of as. 9/- per lb. or Rs. 23/- per maund on tobacco and with a view to obtain the maximum revenue from it encouraged the cultivation of tobacco. This has resulted in an enormous increase of the acreage under tobacco.

"In States where the tobacco tax was not levied the State authorities offered free land and tobacco seed and engaged the services of tobacco growers from outside by paying salaries to grow tobacco within their territories. Thus nearly 3,000 families of tobacco growers migrated from Gujarat and engaged themselves in tobacco growing in the neighbouring States of Bhavnagar, Junagadh, Morvi, Jamnagar etc. Tobacco growing has also spread to the States of Udaipur, Jodhpur, Khetri, Neemuch, Piplode, Ratlam, Gwalior, Bhopal, Dewas, Indore, Ujjain and Sirohi in Marwar. In Hyderabad, Sukkur and Kharej in Sind, 90,000 *bighas* have been put under tobacco. In the Nizam's territory and Palanpur State a tax on tobacco has been levied and tobacco growing is encouraged for the sake of revenue. In Amaraoti, Yeotmal and Khamgaon in C. P., Patidars from Charotar are engaged for tobacco growing. In Mehsana in Baroda State, tobacco yield has increased from 1,000 bags to 7,00,000 bags."

The correspondent ends by suggesting that all tobacco cultivation should be stopped by law while the threat of famine lasts and that in the case of areas assigned to food crops preference should be given to growing oil seeds and cotton, so that the oil-cake and cotton seed might be fed to milch cattle, instead of grain.

#### A WAIL FROM GUNTUR

Shri Sitarama Shastry from Guntur writes:

"I discussed the question of tobacco cultivation in the Guntur District with the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Guntur, last month. The Government called for suggestions regarding the stopping of the tobacco crop and utilizing the lands, thus released, for foodcrops. Virginia tobacco is grown on about 70,000 acres of land and country tobacco is grown on about the same extent. The total area under tobacco is thus 1,40,000 acres of land. It was calculated that tobacco crop of either variety will yield about Rs. 150/- per acre and

that a food crop will yield about Rs. 80/- per acre. The money crop cultivator has thus an advantage apparently of about Rs. 70/- per acre. It was then proposed that a subsidy of Rs. 70/- per acre should be given to the cultivator of tobacco on the basis of acreage as shown in the cultivation accounts for the current fasli.

"There are vested interests in tobacco and to minimize the damage caused to them by total prohibition, it was also suggested at the time that 50% of area might be converted into food crops this year and the other half might be switched over to food crops next year.

"The Director of Agriculture speaking at Bapatla the other day hinted that Government contemplated measures to check tobacco cultivation.

"The extent of 1,40,000 acres, above referred to, is exclusive of the extent on which Virginia seedlings are grown; such seedlings are grown on about 1000 acres of land in this district. That extent also will be available for foodcrops.

"It is unnecessary to dilate upon the evil effects of tobacco. It affords neither food nor drink to any man or beast or bird.

"This tobacco is an all India question and concerted action should be taken by all the provinces and states. The matter may be considered by the Working Committee and a definite lead may be given to the whole country."

There can be no question as to the desirability of prohibiting by law the raising of this most exhausting of money crops at a time when dire famine threatens the land. The proposal about paying compensation to tobacco growers, however, is preposterous and can arise only in a capitalistic order that has made money its God. Vested interests can have no claim on famine and starvation. Cultivation like other production should primarily be for use. The invasion of our economy by 'money crops' has become a national menace. In a well ordered society land will belong only to those who till it and will be worked in answer to the people's needs, not for making money. Agriculture must be freed from the octopus of vested interests which enslaves it today.

#### TWO VALUABLE SUGGESTIONS

Two valuable suggestions have been made for growing more food which are worthy of immediate attention of the Government. An engineer from Quetta writes:

"If the Government are really in earnest about growing more vegetables, wherever practicable, to supplement the rations that could be made available immediately by human effort in India, I would suggest you to request the Viceroy to persuade the provincial governments to order their Public Works Departments to put into commission, for the growth of vegetables, all those pieces of land along the canals called *berms*. A *berm* of a canal is from six to twenty feet in width, on either side and is about six inches above the level of water.

"The area of *berms* if put into use will mean thousands of acres of virgin and fertile land needing no extra expenses of making new water courses

or regulation of water. The soil of these *berms* keeps always sufficiently moist for the purpose and in practice it has been found very workable. In Sind, at least, on almost all the regular sites (where there is a P. W. D. establishment stationed for the purposes of regulation of water) vegetables are grown by the P. W. D. staff for their own consumption.

"If the facilities of approach to the *berms* are given to certain local farmers of adjoining lands they would gladly employ their spare time usefully in the plantation of vegetables and look after them. The P. W. D. only has to overlook the encroachment of the "foreigners" on their area; but this should not be objected to considering the immediate good that will accrue to the country at this critical time.

"The provincial governments have also to make necessary arrangements for transport of the vegetables to the railway stations or nearby markets for further disposal. This can be done exactly as was being done during the war period for the supply of vegetables to the army camps. The lease lend lorries given to many contractors could be put into commission at a reasonably fixed rate; (this is one of the conditions of the issue of these lorries to the contractors). The existence of a service road along every canal, its branches and distributaries will be usefully employed by these lorries and no further charges have to be borne for making any new roads etc. Of course the road has to be maintained which also can be easily done through the farmer who would be willing to look after that length of the road which comes in his jurisdiction.

"There is no article of food so quickly grown as vegetables. If the Government could only organize it, it would not be difficult to dehydrate (by sunshine only) most of the vegetables."

#### ARMY TO THE RESCUE

The other suggestion is from a British army man. He writes in a letter to Gandhiji:

"It is with concern and regret that I find the Indian people have now to face yet another famine. I have followed this matter in the press and read your published letter of 21st February to Mr. G. E. B. Abell, Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

"The Indian Army should certainly be used as you suggest, and I also think both the British and Indian Army and Air Force should start growing food in cantonments and all other permanent stations and camps. There is ground that can be set aside for this purpose, there is the labour and there is usually a fairly plentiful water supply at such places. The Army in Britain was called upon to do this during the war and the present position in India warrants that similar steps be taken in India now.

"It was with interest that I noted you also suggested the distribution of food should be through co-operative societies or similar organizations. In civilian life I am connected with the Co-operative Movement in Britain, and whilst I have been in India I have been observing the position here. There are, of course, some big differences, one of the most important that you will appreciate being that in Britain the Co-operative Societies are of the people, whereas in India they are mostly Government-sponsored. However,

from my contacts with the Societies in India I think the retail stores that have been set up mostly during the war have been doing good work in ensuring the people of their supplies of *atta*, sugar, oil cakes etc. at fair prices and I was interested to see some recognition of this in your suggestion."

Delhi, 11-5-'46

PYARELAL

#### PROGRAMME FOR THE CONGRESS MINISTERS

Now that the Congress has once again accepted office in the Provinces, it is very essential that the Ministers should have before them a definite programme of constructive work in terms of the Congress Election Manifesto. This programme should be completed within six months, if not earlier; the Ministers should, then, be free to plunge into another struggle if and when necessary. It would have been in the fitness of things if the Congress Working Committee or the Central Parliamentary Board had chalked out such a programme for the Ministries. Since this may not be done in the near future, I venture to place before the Ministers in all humility a concrete programme of national reconstruction. The following items constitute only the barest outline of this programme:

1. The Village Communities should be resuscitated and revitalized by devolving maximum local autonomy on the *Gram Panchayats*. A bold policy of decentralization should be carefully formulated with due regard to local conditions.

2. The Ministries should plan to make the Village Communities, more or less, self-sufficient in regard to food, cloth and other necessities of life. To this end a vigorous policy of rehabilitating and subsidizing cottage industries like spinning, weaving, paper-making, paddy-husking, oil-pressing etc. should be adopted. The Ministers should immediately seek the guidance and assistance of the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.

3. Intensive efforts should be made to introduce and popularize co-operative farming and co-operative marketing. Cheap credit facilities for both short and long terms should be arranged.

Drastic steps should be taken to scale down rural indebtedness.

4. The existing land tenure systems should be radically overhauled so as to provide full security to the actual tillers of the soil. I suggest that the *Mausawari* (Village tenure) system should be introduced, as far as possible, in all the provinces with necessary modifications to suit local conditions. (Details of the *Mausawari* system will be found in the "Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India".)

5. Intoxicating drinks and drugs should be totally prohibited except for medicinal purposes.

6. Basic education or *Nayee Taleem* should immediately be given the fullest scope in the primary and secondary educational system. Even during the period of transition, the existing primary and secondary courses of study need radical recasting.

7. The medium of instruction at all stages of education must be the predominant language or languages of the territorial area. The English medium



has had its day and should now cease to be. The Education Ministers should abolish the English medium up to the high school stage immediately. A definite policy of imparting college education as well through the medium of the provincial language or languages should be announced by them. Immediate steps should be taken to prepare and publish suitable text books in the Indian languages.

In this connection, it is gratifying to note that the Nagpur University has accorded the necessary permission to the authorities of the Seksaria Commerce Colleges at Nagpur and Wardha to introduce Hindustani and Marathi media of instruction from the ensuing session.

8. The Provincial Governments should, as far as possible, directly control primary or basic education and try to transfer existing Government high schools and colleges to private educational societies or universities.

In the domain of higher education, the Governments should maintain only technical and research institutions.

9. The Ministries should fully exploit the natural and mineral resources of their respective provinces and wherever possible develop key industries which should be State-owned.

10. With a view to promoting public health, especially in the rural areas, indigenous systems of medicine and naturopathy should be encouraged and popularized. Cottage dispensaries and maternity centres should be established as far as possible in every village. Special medical institutes for training doctors and midwives for rural areas should be started.

11. The system of public taxation should be overhauled in order to make it more direct and equitable. Whenever necessary, the provincial Governments should raise public loans and not be "fastidious" about "balancing the budget".

12. Special attention should be devoted to schemes of labour welfare.

13. Ministers are expected to lend impetus to the propagation of Hindustani in both the styles and scripts.

14. The present judicial system encourages unnecessary litigation. It should be decentralized in order to render it cheap, just and speedy. Settlement of disputes by arbitration through local *panchayats* should be the usual practice.

15. British jails are monstrous institutions; they are breeding places of crime. The existing jails should become veritable reformatories.

The above list is not exhaustive; it could be multiplied according to immediate local needs and circumstances. Needless to mention that the impending food famine should be the first concern of the Ministries. But without tackling the fundamental problems of India's poverty and social degeneration, permanent results could never be achieved. Hence the need for intensive constructive work in different sectors of national life.

Wardha,

6-5-'46

SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL

## TRUE PHILANTHROPY

Great truths are universal. They are not confined to any particular race or religion. Every schoolboy knows the story of the dying Sir Philip Sydney passing on the cup of water, just as he had lifted it to his lips to slake his thirst, to a fellow soldier whose need he felt was greater than his. A correspondent draws attention to the story of Rantideva in the 9th *skandha* of the *Bhagawata* bearing on the same theme. He writes:

"The story of Rantideva as narrated in the epic of *Bhagawata* in the 9th *skandha*, will be interesting to you and your readers of 'Harijan' from the point of view of the food situation:

वियद्वित्तस्य ददतो कृष्णं कृष्णं बुभुक्षतः ।

निष्किञ्चनस्य धीरस्य सकुटुम्बस्य सीदतः ॥

Rantideva used to give whatever he possessed to the needy and did not mind the starvation of his own family.

व्यतीयुरष्टचत्वारिंशद् भहान्यपिबतः किल ।

घृतपायससंयावं तोयं प्रातरुपस्थितम् ॥

कृच्छ्राप्राप्तकुटुम्बस्य क्षुत्तृभ्यां जातवेपथोः ।

अतिथिर्ब्राह्मणः काले भोक्तुकामस्य चागमत् ॥

तस्मै संन्यभजत् तोऽन्नम् आदृत्य श्रद्धयान्वितः ।

हरिं सर्वत्र संपश्यन् स मुक्त्वा प्रययौ द्विजः ॥

He passed fortyeight days without water. One morning ghee, pudding and water were brought before him. He was just about to partake the food, when one *Brahmin* suffering from hunger and thirst came to him. Knowing that God was everywhere, he gave some food and water to the *Brahmin*.

अयान्यो भोक्ष्यमाणस्य विभक्तस्य महीपतेः ।

विभक्तं व्यभजत् तस्मै वृषलाय हरिं स्मरन् ॥

Rantideva was about to eat what was left, when a *Shudra* came to him for food and he gave him also a part of the food.

याते शुद्धे तमन्योऽगाद् अतिथिः श्रमिरावृतः ।

राजन् मे दीयताम् अन्नं सगणाय बुभुक्षते ॥

स आदृत्यावशिष्टं यद् बहुमानपुरस्कृतम् ।

तत् च दत्त्वा नमश्चक्रे श्रम्यः श्रपतये विभुः ॥

Another guest came with dogs and beseeched Rantideva for food. Rantideva granted his request and gave him food.

पानीयमात्रमुच्छेषं तच्छैकपरितर्पणम् ।

पात्यतः हुत्कसोऽभ्यागाद् अपो देहशुभस्य मे ॥

न कामवेऽहं नतिमीश्वरात्परां अष्टर्दियुक्तामपुनर्भवं वा ।

भार्तिं प्रपद्येऽखिलदेहभाजाम् अन्तःस्थितो येन भवन्त्यदुःखाः ॥

So only water was left just sufficient to quench the thirst of one man. Just then a *Chandala* came and said he was thirsty. Rantideva said that he was not desirous for attaining salvation i. e. *siddhi* or *moksha* but it was his life's desire to remove the distress of the needy even at the cost of suffering to himself.

क्षुत्तृदृश्रो गात्रपरिश्रमः च दैन्यं क्लमः शोकविषादमोहाः ।

सर्वे निवृत्ताः कृपणस्य जन्तोः जिजीविषोः जीवजलार्पणान् मे ॥

He said to the *Chandala* that his own hunger and thirst had disappeared since he had quenched the thirst of the *Chandala* who might otherwise have died."

Delhi, 11-5-'46

PYARELAL

## DR. MEHTA'S INSTITUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received several questions about Dr. Dinshah Mehta's institution. Two of them are worth noticing. They are given below :

"In order to make the institution more scientific, more modern and more useful for the public, is it not desirable that some capable enthusiastic nature cure man or men should be sent abroad for higher studies in nature cure ? Would not such experts on their return evolve a system of nature cure suitable for our country and enable it to become popular and stand on its own feet ?

"You want a simple and cheap method of nature cure for our villages. Can the methods described by Kuhne, Just and Kneip etc. serve that purpose ? Can these methods be useful and suitable for village work ?"

The clinic at Poona could not serve the purpose of village nature cure in the opinion of the Trustees. Therefore, it was closed down and an experiment in village nature cure started at Uruli Kanchan. There the work is going on satisfactorily, though on a small scale. There is nothing there worth seeing as yet. Even the land has not been bought and no buildings have been built.

Now let us take the main question. The tendency of looking to the West in order to make progress in whatever we do, should be checked. If we have to go to the West to learn nature cure, it cannot be of much use to India. Nature cure is a thing which everyone can practise in the home. The advice of nature cure experts should not be necessary for all time. It is such a simple thing that everyone can learn it. If we have to go to Europe to learn to recite *Ramanama*, it simply will not do. *Ramanama* is the very foundation of nature cure of my conception. Nor should it be necessary to go across the seas in order to learn the use of earth, water, ether, sun and air. This is self-evident. Whatever other knowledge is required in this direction can be had in our villages. For instance, if herbs are used, they must be village herbs. *Ayurveda* teachers know all about them. If some *Ayurvedic* physicians are scoundrels, they cannot become good men and servants of the people by going abroad. The knowledge of anatomy and physiology has come from the West. It is very useful and necessary for all physicians. But there are plenty of means of learning it in our own country. In short, whatever useful contribution to knowledge has been made by the West, it has reached everywhere and can be learnt everywhere. I might add here that the knowledge of anatomy and physiology is not essential for learning nature cure.

The writings of Kuhne, Just and Father Kneip, are simple, popular and useful for all. It is our duty to read them. Practically every nature cure physician knows something about them. Nature cure has not been taken to the villages so far. We have not thought deeply and no one has thought of it in terms of the millions. This is just the beginning. No one can say where we shall stand in the end.

As in all great and good enterprises, sacrifice and dedication are required to make this successful. Instead of looking up to the West, we should turn the searchlight inwards.

New Delhi, 24-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## NATURE CURE FOR THE POOR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

*Q.* Is it not a cruel joke to ask the poor villager to live on orange juice when he cannot afford even ordinary diet ? He has to work throughout the day to feed his wife and children. His land and his children mean more to him than life itself. Nature cure is meant for the rich who have plenty of money and time at their disposal.

If you really wish to serve the villagers through nature cure, you should see that the right type of nature cure homes are started everywhere. At these homes the patients should get free food, clothing and bedding. And, if the patient happens to be a wage earner, arrangements should be made to support his family.

You have said nature cure means re-orientation of the way of living. Is it not necessary that education in that direction should form a necessary part of nature cure treatment ?

*A.* The question betrays the correspondent's ignorance. He has not taken the trouble to read carefully what I have written on the subject. Nature cure implies that the treatment should be the cheapest and the simplest possible. The ideal is that such treatment should be carried out in the villages. The villagers should be able to provide the necessary means and equipment. What cannot be had in the villages should be procured. Nature cure does mean a change for the better in one's outlook on life itself. It means regulation of one's life in accordance with the laws of health. It is not a matter of taking the free medicine from the hospital or for fees. A man who takes free treatment from the hospital accepts charity. The man who accepts nature cure never begs. Self-help enhances self-respect. He takes steps to cure himself by eliminating poisons from the system and takes precautions against falling ill in the future.

The central feature of nature cure treatment is *Ramanama*. But it must come from the heart, if it is to be a remedy for all one's ailments.

Orange juice is not an essential part of nature cure treatment. Right diet and balanced diet are necessary. Today our villages are as bankrupt as we are ourselves. To produce enough vegetables, fruits and milk in the villages, is an essential part of the nature cure scheme. Time spent on this should not be considered a waste. It is bound to benefit all the villagers and ultimately the whole of India.

It is true that nature cure homes of the right type should be opened in the villages and the cities. God willing, this will be done. The individual should rest content by doing his own duty leaving the rest to God.

New Delhi, 25-5-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## WEEKLY LETTER

## CONDITIONS OF REDEMPTION

The Working Committee's deliberations have been engaging practically the whole of Gandhiji's time during the week following upon the Cabinet Mission's pronouncement. The resolution of the Working Committee will be found reproduced elsewhere in these columns. Whilst the charter of independence that is to be framed by the popular Constituent Assembly, if its deliberations are successful, will launch us on the path of sovereignty, the contents of that sovereignty and independence will be realized solely through and to the extent of our own effort. In his first prayer discourse after his silent day's written message last week, Gandhiji described the conditions of individual and national redemption. In the song that had been sung by some of the Harijan girls of the Balika Ashram, Okhla, at the prayer, it was said that since God was known as the Redeemer he would redeem us some day. "The orthodox conception of redemption," remarked Gandhiji, "is redemption in the life to come. What I want to tell you is that redemption in that song is promised us here and now, if we fulfil the necessary conditions. They are firstly, self-purification and secondly obedience to the Law. It is vain, it is demoralizing to expect that in the life to come God will vindicate his title as Redeemer by saving us while we continue to carry the load of sin on our heads in this life. A businessman who lies and cheats his simple-minded, ignorant customers cannot hope to be saved."

It had been said, continued Gandhiji, that to one who is good the whole world becomes good. "That is true so far as the individual is concerned. But goodness becomes dynamic only when it is practised in the face of evil. If you return good for good only, it is a bargain and carries no merit, but if you return good for evil, it becomes a redeeming force. The evil ceases before it and it goes on gathering volume and momentum like a snowball till it becomes irresistible."

So much for the individual. How could a slave country like India be redeemed?—he next asked. His reply was that a slave country owes the continuation of its slavery to the vices which slavery engenders. The way of self-purification, therefore, is also the way of redemption for a slave country. It was no use putting off hopes for redemption to a future state. If they failed to gain redemption here they would probably miss it in the hereafter too. "Let us therefore turn the searchlight inward and purge ourselves of all dross. If we shed our petty quarrels and animosities and forget all communal differences and petty distinctions the foreign troops would find their occupation gone and nobody would be able to keep us in servitude for a day."

## SUN AND SHADE

The picture of "the land without regrets and sorrow" which he presented in the course of his discourses during the last week has gripped him. He

got that song printed and distributed at the prayer meeting.

A gentleman had donated Rs. 51/- for free distribution of the printed copies of that song but Gandhiji did not want it to be treated as a hand-bill and therefore decided that people should show their appreciation of it by paying the price of one pice. He was under the impression that the amount of the promised donation was Rs. 101/- and he had announced that figure accordingly. But when it was pointed out to him that the donation was Rs. 51/- only, he retorted that he could not allow the Harijans to be done out of the full amount which he had announced and therefore the donor should come forward and make up the balance. He apologized for the delay in the printing and distribution of the leaflet and twitted the Imperial City for its dilatoriness. He twitted too the printers of the leaflet for their 'greed' in charging for paper and printing. When he was told that nothing had been charged for printing, he twitted them still for charging the price of paper. The gentleman concerned thereupon announced that paper also would not be charged for.

Gandhiji had been told that he had been coming to the prayer meeting late. That was not so, he explained. Only his watch was slow and he kept time by it. Unpunctuality was not his weakness. Still less could he afford wilfully to be unpunctual at the prayer gathering where they assembled for the solemn purpose of renewing their covenant with God. "If we have to catch a train, we try to reach the station well in time because the train waits for nobody. That is even more true of God—the wheel of His Law never stops nor slows down."

## LAND WITHOUT REGRETS

Coming back to the text of the song that had been distributed, he once again explained in detail the inner meaning of the ideal set forth in it. The conception of a country where there was no suffering and no sorrow, might at first sight strike one as Utopian. Nevertheless, they wanted their country to be such a country and he had even allowed himself to say the other day that the announcement of the Cabinet Mission contained in it the germs of that fulfilment. The poet in that song, had not only set forth the ideal but also mentioned the conditions for its realization. Those conditions were freedom from illusions and regrets, delusion and desire. Such a country, however, was nowhere to be found on this earth. The poet, therefore, in order to be logical and true, had said that it was within us,—it was identifiable with the realm of the spirit within. It connoted Swaraj, that is to say, self-rule or rule over self. A person who had perfect mastery over self could realize in his own person the ideal depicted in the song. As he had remarked on the previous day, to a person who is good the whole world becomes good. If millions did that, the Kingdom of God would be realized on earth. But even if all did not, there was no need for the individual to despair. He could make

a beginning with himself straightaway in the faith that what he did today the rest would do tomorrow.

#### A SUBTLE TEMPTATION

As result of Gandhiji's remarks on Wednesday last the gentleman who had donated Rs. 51/- brought an additional fifty rupees to make up the balance of Rs. 101/- announced by Gandhiji in his previous day's prayer discourse. All the printed copies of the song being sold out a fresh lot was printed for distribution. Gandhiji, however, decided that it should be sold at the fixed price of one pice for each copy and on no account at a fancy price. Similarly, he said that he would hereafter insist on the printer receiving his due charge for printing and stationery. He did not want to be greedy. It was a subtle snare in which humanitarian workers sometimes fell. If he charged more for the *bhajan* than its fixed price, the money would become tainted and would hinder instead of helping the cause of the removal of untouchability. Untouchability could not be eradicated by the expenditure of crores of rupees. But it could be eradicated in the twinkling of an eye without spending a penny if there was a true change of heart among the so-called Caste Hindus. That would elevate both the Harijans and the *Savarnas*. "Today the '*Savarnas*' ride on the backs of the so-called Untouchables. That degrades them both. For, it is nature's law that one cannot degrade another without degrading himself." They should not tempt him, said Gandhiji, by offering fancy prices. If any one wanted to pay the price for more than one copy of the *bhajan* leaflet, he or she would have to produce a corresponding number of bona fide purchasers. Just as the leaflet would not be distributed free so it would not be sold for more than its fixed price. The way to earn merit was to translate into their lives the teachings of that *bhajan*.

#### BONDAGE OF LOVE

Commenting next on the *bhajan* of the evening "*Sabase unchi prem sagai*" he said that in that song the poet had sung of the bondage of love or *ahimsa*. There was no bond higher or stronger than that of love. Under the power of Sudama's love Lord Krishna had accepted the former's gift of broken rice taken out of a dirty rag and had preferred to partake of the simple greens and herbs of Vidura in preference to Duryodhana's rare and luscious fruit. Again, it was in return for Arjuna's loving devotion that he had forgotten his royalty and became Arjuna's charioteer and we are told that it was the mastery of his art that contributed more to Arjuna's victory than the might of the latter's bow. Service of love was the highest service one could render to another. It asked for no consideration or return. "Love becomes a sordid bargain when it asks for return or compensation; it degrades. Spontaneous service of love purifies and elevates."

#### SUPERSTITION

Gandhiji's next two discourses were devoted to the subject of nature cure or the cure of ailments spiritual, mental and physical, by the application prin-

cipally of *Ramanama*. A correspondent had written to him, pointing out how some people superstitiously wrote *Ramanama* on their clothes so as to wear it 'next to the heart'! Others wrote *Ramanama* millions of times minutely on a piece of paper which they afterwards cut up into small bits and swallowed so that they could claim that *Ramanama* had entered into them! Another correspondent had asked him whether he had prescribed *Ramanama* as the sovereign remedy for all ills because Rama was God's anointed and was a descendant of Dasharatha, the illustrious King of Ayodhya. There were people who thought that he was self-deluded and was trying to delude others by adding one more to the thousands of superstitions which filled this superstition-ridden land. He had no answer to such criticism. He only said to himself, what did it matter if truth was abused and fraud practised in its name by others? So long as he was sure of his truth he could not help proclaiming it for fear of its being misunderstood or abused. "Nobody in this world possesses absolute truth. This is God's attribute alone. Relative truth is all we know. Therefore, we can only follow the truth as we see it. Such pursuit of truth cannot lead anyone astray."

#### WHO IS THIS RAMA ?

He reiterated that Rama whose name he prescribed as the infallible remedy for all ills was neither the historical Rama nor the Rama of those who used the name as a charm or black magic. Rama whose name he prescribed as a cure-all was God, by taking whose name devotees attained purity and peace, and he claimed that it was the one infallible remedy for all ailments whether mental, spiritual or physical. It was, of course, possible to cure physical ailments by going to doctors and *vaidyas*. But *Ramanama* enabled one to become one's own doctor or *vaidya* and to find the elixir of healing within oneself. Even when the ailment could not be cured, because physically it was incurable, it enabled one to endure it with equanimity and peace of mind. "A person who has faith in *Ramanama* would not run from pillar to post and dance attendance at the doors of celebrated doctors and *vaidyas* in order to prolong existence anyhow. Nor is *Ramanama* meant to be taken only when the doctors and *vaidyas* have failed. It is meant to enable one to do without them altogether. For a believer in *Ramanama* it is the first as well as the last remedy."

#### HOW TO RECITE RAMANAMA

Continuing the theme Gandhiji in his next day's discourse explained the conditions under which alone *Ramanama* could become an effective remedy for the three-fold malady, to which man was subject. The first condition was that it should come from the heart. What did that mean? People did not mind going to the ends of the earth to find a cure for their physical ailments which were much less important than the mental or spiritual. "Man's physical being is after all perishable. It cannot, by its very nature, last for ever. And yet men make a fetish of it while neglecting the immortal spirit



within." A man who believed in *Ramanama* would not make a fetish of the body but would regard it only as a means of serving God. And for making it into a fit instrument for that purpose, *Ramanama* was the sovereign means.

To install *Ramanama* in the heart required infinite patience. It might even take ages. But the effort was worthwhile. Even so success depended solely on the grace of God.

*Ramanama* could not come from the heart unless one had cultivated the virtues of truth, honesty and purity within and without. Every day at the evening prayers they repeated the *shlokas* describing the man with a steadfast intellect. Every one of them, said Gandhiji, could become a *sthita prajna*—man with steadfast intellect—if he kept his senses under discipline, ate and drank and allowed himself enjoyment and recreation only to sustain life for service. If one had no control over one's thoughts, if one did not mind, for instance, sleeping in a hole of a room with all doors and windows shut, and breathing foul air or drinking dirty water, his recitation of *Ramanama* was in vain.

That, however, did not mean that one should give up reciting *Ramanama* on the ground that one had not the requisite purity. For, recitation of *Ramanama* was also a means for acquiring purity. "In the case of a man who repeats *Ramanama* from the heart, discipline and self-control will come easy. Observance of the rules of health and hygiene will become his second nature. His life will run an even course. He will never want to hurt anyone. To suffer in order to relieve others' suffering will become a part of his being and fill him with an ineffable and perennial joy." Let them therefore, said Gandhiji, persevere and ceaselessly repeat *Ramanama* during all their waking hours. Ultimately, it would remain with them even during their sleep and God's grace would then fill them with perfect health of body, mind and spirit.

#### A BRIEF HOLIDAY

A lull in the Cabinet Mission's deliberations has enabled Gandhiji to take a brief holiday for rest and recuperation. He had been advised by his doctors some time ago to pass two months of the hot weather at some hill station to enable him to build up a reserve for the rest of the year. He could not do so this year for reasons that all know. He has decided to go to Mussorie in preference to Panchgani or Simla as it is nearer. He will return when the Maulana Sahab or the Cabinet Mission require him again.

In announcing his plans to the prayer gathering on Sunday he said that they had been coming to the prayer gathering daily in order to join him in reciting *Ramanama* or rather in learning how to do so. *Ramanama* could not be taught by word of mouth. But more potent than the spoken word was the silent thought. "A single right thought can envelop the world. It is never wasted. The very attempt to clothe thought in word or action limits it. What

man has ever succeeded in expressing fully a thought in word or in action?"

"Then, why not go into perpetual silence, one might ask", proceeded Gandhiji. "In theory that is possible," he replied. "But it is very difficult to fulfil the conditions by which silent thought can wholly replace action." He for one could not claim to have attained the requisite intensity or control over thought. He could not altogether keep out useless or irrelevant thoughts from his mind. It required infinite patience, vigilance and *tapashcharya* to attain that state.

He was not indulging in a figure of speech, he continued, but had meant it literally when on the previous day he had told them that there was no limit to the potency of *Ramanama*. But in order to experience that, *Ramanama* had to come from a heart that was absolutely pure. He himself was striving to attain that state. He had envisaged it in the mind but had not fully realized it in practice. When that stage was reached, even the recitation of *Ramanama* would become unnecessary.

He hoped they would continue to recite *Ramanama* in their homes severally and in company during his absence. The secret of collective prayer was that the emanation of silent influence from one to the other could be of help in their spiritual striving.

New Delhi, 27-5-'46

PYARELAL

#### Flags and Uniforms

A correspondent writes:

"During the recent election meetings I was astonished at the number of flags—not to speak of the special uniforms worn by Congress volunteers for the occasion. In these days of cloth shortage, is not the use of cloth for flags and special uniforms a criminal waste?"

Flags and uniforms are in order when they are in their time and place. They are easily an abomination when they take the place of bread. Satisfaction of hunger has precedence over everything. Similarly, flags and uniforms cannot replace cloth for wear. Hence, if the correspondent is right, congressmen and others will have to be strictly economical in the use of flags and uniforms for demonstrative purposes.

New Delhi, 26-5-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## EXCESSIVE PRAISE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus an army officer to a friend:

"... And what a pity it is that, in all democratic countries, politicians are so ignorant of and uninterested in the army. The army could teach them much. Is it not at least worthy of deep thought as to why it is, that the army has held the loyalty and affection of the man serving in it to a far greater degree than any other Government service? And held it moreover under conditions of danger and discomfort and trial far exceeding those of any other service. You have a fine army and it will be finer still when your best men come forth in large numbers to officer it. Find the right officers and you need have no fears about it. It will be second to none. But put in the wrong officers or get it mixed up with politics and you will have a heavy bill to pay. India is bound to have many troubled years ahead, but I am convinced that the one thing which can pull you through them most quickly and with the minimum bloodshed is your present army, provided you find officers for it and keep politics and religious differences out of it."

It is not a matter for pity if it is true that in all democratic countries politicians are uninterested in the army. The pity of it is that they are wrongly interested in it. The democracies regard army men as their saviours. They bring wealth and subjugate other countries and sustain authority in times of civil disturbance. What is, therefore, to be wished is that democracy to be true, should cease to rely upon the army for anything whatsoever.

What has the army done for India? It is for that army that the writer pleads. I fear that in no sense has it served India's interest. It has kept millions of inoffensive and disarmed people under subjection. It has impoverished them. It is an army of which the sooner the British part is sent away and better employed, the better for both India and England, and the world. The sooner the Indian part is turned away from its destructive purpose and its talent employed for constructive purposes, the better it will be for democracy in India. It will be a poor democracy that depends for its existence on military assistance. Military force interferes with the free growth of the mind. It smothers the soul of man. Thanks to years of foreign domination brought about by the "highly efficient" army, India, in spite of the efforts of the Mission, might have to pull through a long or short civil war which, I shall hope, will bring to an end all infatuation for armed forces. They are a brutalizing process after you have isolated discipline which should be common for any social

order. If Free India has to sustain the present military expenditure, it will bring no relief to the famishing millions.

Mussoorie, 30-5-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE LENGTHENING SHADOW

Gandhiji left for Mussoorie under the lengthening shadow of communal disturbances in many cities of India. The senselessness of these riots oppresses him. He knows that very often they are either directly engineered by unscrupulous persons to serve as a weapon for blackmail and intimidation or are the result of mass hysteria let loose by unthinking propaganda. And it is always the deluded man in the street who is the victim while the real culprit sits secure behind the facade of respectability.

A celebrated English writer describing the panic-stricken years of the Popish Plot of 1678-80 has recorded how in his times, "there were a hundred stout fellows ready to fight to death against Popery without knowing whether Popery was a man or a horse." The same holds good in regard to our present day communal riots. What is a man of prayer to do under such circumstances, asked Gandhiji, in his silence day's written message which was read out at the last prayer meeting that he had at Delhi. "It is obvious," he remarked, "that one cannot go to all the places where the riots may break out. But one can refuse to encourage them by word, deed or thought. If riots should break out before one's eyes, one should try to prevent them even at the risk of one's life, but never by taking the life of another. As I said yesterday, more potent than the spoken word is a pure thought. Do you believe it? And if so, will you act according to your belief?"

### MUSSOORIE

Mussoorie with its cool, pine-scented breezes, shady walks and thickly wooded crags and hill-sides has afforded welcome relief after the broiling heat and dust storms of the Imperial City. This is Gandhiji's third visit to this hill station—the last one being eighteen years ago on the eve of the Independence Resolution that was passed in the Lahore Congress that year. A deep note of resignation, sadness and introspection ran through his first public utterance at the evening prayer gathering which was held in the compound of the Birla House where he is putting up. How could he feel at home amidst the endless saturnalia of fashions that is Mussoorie? He recalled his previous visits to Mussoorie, which were in connection with Congress work. This time he had come purely on his own. "As you know I

am not even a four-anna member but only a humble servant of the Congress like the unnamed crores who are not on its rolls but serve it all the same humbly and quietly to the best of their capacity without expectation of name or reward. And why? Because the thirst of freedom has taken possession of their souls. They do not know how it can be won. But they have heard that the Congress is the one organization that has for the last sixty years been fighting the good fight that would bring freedom to all without distinction. That is why they are devoted to it. I have come to Mussoorie as one of them—a humble, private individual." He did not want anyone to be bothered with taking care of him. "God alone is my protector. How can puny man, who is not sure even of his own tomorrow, presume to protect another? I am content to be under God's care. He may protect or destroy. I know He sometimes even destroys to protect."

He had been told before, and again since his arrival at Mussoorie, of the life of the fashionable rich in Mussoorie. Like other Himalayan hill stations, Mussoorie was no place for the poor. "The poor slave for you. They draw your rickshaws. It hurts me, and it ought to hurt you too, that a fellow human being should pull the rickshaw of a healthy and able-bodied person. I say this not to criticize you but to remind you of those whose very existence you are otherwise apt to forget, but who nevertheless are India. It is up to you to think of them and enter into their lives.

"I long for the day when *Ramanama* would save me from the necessity of having to go to hill stations during the summer. Crores cannot go to the hill stations. They are born to live and die on the plains.

I have not come here for pleasure but only under medical necessity so that I might be able to serve you the more. Give me your blessings and let me have a little quiet so that I can attend to my work and commune with the Maker undisturbed."

#### A SANCTUARY FOR THE POOR

He did not allow the matter to rest there. On the following day he again took it up and suggested that Mussoorie should have a place where the poor could come and avail themselves of the benefits of the hill climate whenever necessary. "I myself have become a Harijan by choice. I would love to be in a place where Harijans too can come and dwell. A Harijan by birth may repudiate his *varṇa* but how can I who has become a Harijan by choice? I have not hesitated to suggest to Caste Hindus that today they have all to become *atishudras*, if the canker of caste feeling is to be eradicated from Hinduism and Hinduism is not to perish from the face of the earth." If there were such a place in Mussoorie itself, where even Harijans would be welcome, he would rather stay there. In answer to a similar suggestion at Panchgani, the people there were planning to have a place of that type. He was glad to inform the gathering that there was some talk already of a committee of the citizens of Mussoorie being formed for that purpose.

#### COFFIN AT THE FEAST

What, however, exercised his mind even more was the impending famine. He reminded his fashionable audience of the coffin at their feast. As a matter of fact the famine was already in the land. Crores were not getting enough to eat. Rich people were perhaps ready to give money, but no one could eat money. There was not enough food in the country. Whatever there was could not be transported quickly to the deficit areas. Such was the bankruptcy of Government. Then again there were places where people went hungry in spite of the fact that the food was stored on the spot. The reason was all round corruption and the greed of our own people. He appealed to those who were well off and could afford to get somehow whatever they wanted, to spare every grain of foodstuffs, that they could. If the people co-operated and there was no black-marketing and corruption, possibly there was enough food in the land to enable them to tide over the crisis. There were some who did not agree with him and maintained that if we did not get food from other countries we could not avoid starvation and death. He was not of that opinion. It would take time for the supplies to reach India in the first instance and even after they were landed in the ports, it would take about six weeks to transport them to the needed areas. The only real remedy was self-help and co-operation among all and disappearance of corruption. He appealed to the well-to-do men and women of Mussoorie to save every grain they could for the famishing people. If all voluntarily restricted themselves absolutely to what was needed for their health, they would be well able to tide over their difficulties.

Mussoorie, 1-6-'46

PYARELAL

#### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. What can one do if in spite of putting in a full day's labour, one cannot get enough to eat?

A. The labourer is worthy of his hire. This law is as old as the hills. All useful labour ought to bring in the same and adequate wages to the labourer. Till that time comes, the least that should be done is to see that every labourer gets enough to feed and clothe himself and his family. A government that does not ensure this much is no government. It is anarchy. Such a state should be resisted peacefully. Looting of grain shops and rowdiness is not the remedy. It leads to needless loss and death. Even if the authorities give in out of fear, it does not really help them or the people. It does not remove anarchy and things remain as they were. A look round the world will confirm what is here stated.

If, in spite of the collections of food grain in the depots, the hungry cannot get it, they can offer peaceful Satyagraha. They should not take by force what has not been given to them. They can go on a fast unto death and thus secure relief for themselves and for others. If they have patience, the method suggested by me is sure of success.

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## IS LYING EVER JUSTIFIABLE ?

Q. What do you say to the following from Bertrand Russell? "I once in the course of a country walk saw a tired fox at the last stages of exhaustion still forcing himself to run. A few minutes afterwards I saw the hunt. They asked me if I had seen the fox, and I said I had. They asked me which way he had gone, and I lied to them. I do not think I should have been a better man if I had told the truth."

A. Bertrand Russell is a great writer and philosopher. With all respect to him I must dissent from the view attributed to him. He made the initial mistake of admitting that he had seen the fox. He was not bound to answer the first question. He could even have refused to answer the second question unless he deliberately wanted to put the hunt off the track. I have always maintained that nobody is bound always to answer questions that may be put to him. Truth-telling admits of no exceptions.

## ADDRESSES AND FLORAL TRIBUTES

Q. A correspondent complains: "In many of the provinces there are Congress ministries, and the public is proud of the fact. So when any Minister visits any place, the local bodies or local institutions show their respect by presenting addresses of value. In almost all the cases, these things become the property of the Minister. This practice, in my opinion, is not good. Either this system of receiving addresses must be stopped or the things presented should go, say, to the local Congress Committee. There should be some definite policy regarding the garlanding of the Ministers or the Congress leaders. I have seen several cases where these Ministers have been honoured with flowers costing not less than 300 to 400 rupees. This is mere waste of money."

A. The complaint is valid. No public servant should receive for his own use addresses of value or costly floral tributes. These things have become a nuisance, if they are not much worse. The argument is often trotted out that costly frames and flowers put money into the pockets of artisans. The latter are well able to take care of themselves without the aid of Ministers and the like. These gentlemen do not travel for pleasure. Theirs are business tours undertaken often for listening to what the people have to say. The addresses presented to them need not extol their virtues which are their own reward. They should express accurately local wants and grievances if any. In these times the Ministers and their secretaries have a hard task before them. Public adulation instead of being a help will become a hindrance.

Mussoorie, 31-5-46

By M. K. Gandhi

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## FAITH CURE v. RAMANAMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is fine banter from a friend :

"I have read your 'Confession and Cure' in *Harijan* of 17-3-'46. I wonder whether this Nature Cure has any close relation to what is being called Faith Cure. Of course one should have faith in treatment. But there are some exclusive faith cures, for example, small-pox, stomach pain, etc. For small-pox as you might know, especially in the South, no treatment is given but it is considered Divine Play. We do *poojas* to Goddess Mariamma and it is almost miraculous to see most of the cases come out successful. For stomach pain, even chronic cases, many make vows before the deity at Thirupathi and finding themselves cured fulfil their ablutions and other obligations. To give you a fitting example, my mother had the same pain and after her visit to Thirupathi she is now free from that disease.

"Will you kindly enlighten me on this and may I ask why people should not have such faith in Nature Cure also and save the recurring expenditure to the doctors who, as Chaucer said, maintain a fine conspiracy with the apothecary to keep a patient always a patient which is part of the natural order of things."

The examples that have been quoted are neither Nature Cure nor yet *Ramanama* which I have included in it. But they do show how nature cures without any treatment in many cases. They are undoubtedly cases which show the part superstition plays in Indian life. *Ramanama* which is the centre of Nature Cure is the enemy of superstition. Unscrupulous men will abuse *Ramanama* as they will any other thing or system. Mere lip recitation of *Ramanama* has nothing to do with cure. Faith cure, if I know it correctly, is blind cure, such as the friend describes and thereby ridicules the living name of the living God. The latter is not a figment of one's imagination. It has to come from the heart. It is conscious belief in God and a knowledge of His Law that make perfect cure possible without any further aid. That law is that a perfect mind is responsible for perfect health of the body. A perfect mind comes from a perfect heart, not the heart known by a doctor's stethoscope but the heart which is the seat of God. It is claimed that realization of God in the heart makes it impossible for an impure or an idle thought to cross the mind. Disease is impossible where there is purity of thought. Such a state may be difficult to attain. But the first step in the ascent to health is taken with its recognition. The next is taken when the corresponding attempt is made. This radical alteration in one's life is naturally accompanied by the observance of all other nature's laws hitherto discovered by man. One cannot play with them and claim to have a pure heart. It can be said with justice that possession of a pure heart should do equally well without *Ramanama*. Only, I know no other way of attaining purity. And it is the way trodden by the sages of old all over the world. They were men of God, not superstitious men or charlatans.



If this is Christian science, I have no quarrel with it. The way of *Ramanama* is not my discovery. It is probably much older than the Christian era.

A correspondent questions whether *Ramanama* avoids *bona fide* surgical operations. Of course, it does not. It cannot restore a leg that is cut off in an accident. In many cases surgical operations are unnecessary. Where they are required they should be performed. But a man of God will not worry if a limb is lost. Recitation of *Ramanama* is neither an empirical method nor a makeshift.

Mussoorie, 30-5-'46

## HARIJAN

June 9

1946

### RELIGION v. NO RELIGION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes:

"In the *Harijanbandhu* of the 5th May you have written that your non-violence contemplates destruction of animals dangerous to mankind, such as leopards, wolves, snakes, scorpions etc.

"You do not believe in giving food to dogs etc. Several other people besides the Gujaratis look upon the feeding of dogs as a meritorious act. Such a belief may not be justifiable in times of food shortage like the present. Yet we must remember that these animals can be very useful to man. One can feed them and take work out of them.

"You had put 27 questions to Shri Raichandbhai from Durban. One of these questions was: 'What should a seeker do when a snake attacks him?' His answer was: 'He should not kill the snake and, if it bites, he should let it do so.' How is it that you speak differently now?"

I have written a lot on this subject in the past. At that time the topic was the killing of rabid dogs. There was much discussion on the subject but all that seems to have been forgotten.

My non-violence is not merely kindness to all living creatures. The emphasis laid on the sacredness of sub-human life in Jainism is understandable. But that can never mean that one is to be kind to this life in preference to human life. While writing about the sacredness of such life, I take it that the sacredness of human life has been taken for granted. The former has been overemphasized. And, while putting it into practice, the idea has undergone distortion. For instance, there are many who derive complete satisfaction in feeding ants. It would appear that the theory has become a wooden, lifeless dogma. Hypocrisy and distortion are passing current under the name of religion.

*Ahimsa* is the highest ideal. It is meant for the brave, never for the cowardly. To benefit by others' killing and delude oneself into the belief that one is being very religious and non-violent, is sheer self-deception.

A so-called votary of non-violence will not stay in a village which is visited by a leopard everyday. He will run away and, when someone has killed the leopard, will return to take charge of his hearth and home. This is not non-violence. This is a coward's violence. The man who has killed the leopard has at least given proof of some bravery. The man who takes advantage of the killing is a coward. He can never expect to know true non-violence.

In life it is impossible to eschew violence completely. The question arises, where is one to draw the line? The line cannot be the same for everyone. Although essentially the principle is the same, yet everyone applies it in his or her own way. What is one man's food can be another's poison. Meat-eating is a sin for me. Yet, for another person, who has always lived on meat and never seen anything wrong in it, to give it up simply in order to copy me will be a sin.

If I wish to be an agriculturist and stay in the jungle, I will have to use the minimum unavoidable violence in order to protect my fields. I will have to kill monkeys, birds and insects which eat up my crops. If I do not wish to do so myself, I will have to engage someone to do it for me. There is not much difference between the two. To allow crops to be eaten up by animals in the name of *ahimsa* while there is a famine in the land is certainly a sin. Evil and good are relative terms. What is good under certain conditions can become an evil or a sin under a different set of conditions.

Man is not to drown himself in the well of *Shastras* but he is to dive in their broad ocean and bring out pearls. At every step he has to use his discrimination as to what is *ahimsa* and what is *himsa*. In this there is no room for shame or cowardice. The poet has said that the road leading up to God is for the brave, never for the cowardly.

Finally, Raichandbhai's advice to me was that if I had courage, if I wanted to see God face to face, I should let myself be bitten by a snake instead of killing it. I have never killed a snake before or after receiving that letter. That is no matter of credit for me. My ideal is to be able to play with snakes and scorpions fearlessly. But it is merely a wish so far. Whether and when it will be realized I do not know. Everywhere I have let my people kill both. I could have prevented them if I had wished. But how could I? I did not have the courage to take them up with my own hands and teach my companions a lesson in fearlessness. I am ashamed that I could not do so. But my shame could not benefit them or me.

If *Ramanama* favours me I might still attain that courage some day. In the meantime, I consider it my duty to act as I have stated above. Religion is a thing to be lived. It is not mere sophistry.

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## MORE SUGGESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a good sign that food shortage is taxing many minds. Suggestions for meeting it come in from all quarters. A friend, who knows what he writes about, sends the following:

"(1) When there is an acute shortage of cereals why need non-vegetarians, who can take animal food, be given the same ration of cereals as vegetarians? A substantial saving in cereals should be possible by reducing the ration of cereals to non-vegetarians to the extent that it is possible to supplement equal nutrition value by non-vegetarian food.

"(2) Ration of cereals has been reduced. I expect that a large number of men who do manual work find difficulty in satisfying hunger with the reduced rations. Several supplement the reduced quantity by adding *mung*, gram and barley to wheat and then have the mixture made into flour. But the cost of these three is higher than that of wheat. Many cannot afford it. It, therefore, follows that to the extent that cereals are reduced to non-vegetarians, animal food, having equal nutrition value, should be substituted and that also for the same cost as that of the cereal reduced. I have calculated the cost and it is not likely to exceed 15 crores during the next few months. No amount can be too large to save human life. It is mentioned that 10 to 15 millions may die in India due to food shortage.

"(3) Taking of life is very repugnant to me. But when the choice lies between human life and animal life, I think that the former should have preference. There is a large damage to crops by deer, rabbit, boar, pig and pigeon. I am a vegetarian. But non-vegetarians tell me that these have food value and can be used for food. By a proper organization, though difficult, but not impossible, it should be possible to organize, shooting of these animals so as to provide regular supply in certain areas, particularly in large cities. Incidentally, destruction on a large scale of these would be reflected in reduced destruction of field crops.

"(4) To save food in order that it will be available for famine areas under the present system of ration appeals to very few. There is so much of black-marketing and corruption that one feels that what one saves would find its way to the black market. There would be a good psychological appeal if the food-grains saved are collected and guaranteed to be sent to the famine areas. This will have to be organized. But I feel that substantial quantities will be forthcoming."

Whether the authorities act up to the first or not, it is one which those honest meat-eaters who draw full vegetarian rations can. They can easily part with a portion of their cereals for the benefit of those in need. Mutual aid is the swiftest way of reaching relief to the needy in such cases.

The second follows from the first.

The third is contentious. In a country where all life is largely held sacred and even when it is not, habit has made people reluctant to take any life, the suggestion may be difficult of adoption even by non-vegetarians. But a confirmed respecter of all life though I am, I have no difficulty in recommending for acceptance by meat-eaters the suggestion that

the correspondent's wisdom has dictated. I hope to examine an argument in "*Harijanbandhu*" advanced against the taking of even noxious life without any connection with food

The fourth suggestion, though sound, is not likely to produce any tangible result because of the ruling corruption and the inefficiency and irresponsibility of the Government. The difficulty will only be met when there is a national government which is responsible to the people and to which the people may look forward with confidence. It has been long coming. Will it ever come?

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

## Notes

### Wholesale Releases

Responsible ministries in the provinces have naturally meant wholesale releases of political prisoners. These include convicts sentenced for murder, arson, robbery etc. Correspondents ask how far these releases should be acclaimed by the public as of heroes and martyrs.

It is one thing to release, for a variety of reasons, persons who were convicted of such crimes. It is wholly another thing to praise the acts as of heroes to be received with every mark of honour. I have no doubt that it is thoughtless and wrong. If I am in need of money for a public purpose and commit robbery I do not cease to be a robber, because the robbery committed by me is for public use. This indiscriminate praise of every crime, so long as it is dignified by the name of patriotism, is a boomerang bound to return with redoubled force to the nation which will have to pay heavily for it. Independence, though it includes the freedom even to commit a crime, may easily prove a curse, if it does not carry a voluntary rigid restraint. The public approbation referred to, is wrong education of the people and a harmful preparation for the independence that is coming much sooner than many of us expect.

Mussoorie, 31-5-'46

### Uruli Kanchan

My co-workers from Uruli Kanchan inform me that patients from far distances are coming there for treatment. I have already written in '*Harijansevak*' that up till now there is nowhere any permanent arrangement for anyone to live and no room for in-patients. I have just heard that some land has been made available but the work of building huts on it remains. There is no house available in the village either where patients from outside could be taken in and, in any event, it has never been the intention to turn a village into a city. The real aim is for every village to have a nature clinic to adorn it just as it should have a school.

Readers should bear in mind that my co-workers in Uruli Kanchan are unable to guide patients through correspondence. Persons who live far away can carry out their own nature cure treatment. Who cannot recite *Ramanama* in his own home? It is also possible for everyone to have sitz baths etc., wherever he is.

Mussoorie, 2-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

## I. N. A. MEN'S DILEMMA

Between 50 to 60 senior officers of the I. N. A. met Gandhiji in the Sweepers' Colony the other day during his stay in Delhi. They first sang in a chorus the I. N. A. Hindustani adaptation of Gurudev's song "*Janaganamana adhinayaka jaya he Bharata-bhagyavidhata*" just as they had sung during Gandhiji's visit to them behind the barbed wire fence in the Kabul Lines when their fate still hung in the balance. Gandhiji then addressed them a few words in Hindustani.

"Other friends have placed before me," he began, "the dilemma which, I am told, faces many of you too. The Congress creed is, of course, that of winning Swaraj through non-violence and peaceful means but there are many men outside, and even within the Congress, who have begun to doubt whether that policy of the Congress has not exhausted its purpose and now become effete for the tasks that lie ahead, especially in view of the changed and changing times.

"You who have served under Subhash Babu as veteran fighters have proved your mettle on the battlefield. Success and failure are, however, not in our hands, but in God's hands alone. Netaji told you when bidding good-bye to you that, on your return to India, you must put yourself under the Congress discipline and act according to its policy. Your object, as I have been told, was only to free India, never to help the Japanese. You failed in your direct objective, *i.e.* to defeat the British. But you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have been stirred into a new political consciousness and have begun to think in terms of independence. You have achieved a complete unity among the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs in your ranks. That is no mean achievement. What, however, you realized under conditions of freedom outside India, you have now to sustain and keep alive under Indian conditions. That will be your real test.

"If you have imbibed the spirit of non-violence, you will remain free men at heart even here. For instance, no government on earth can make men, who have realized freedom in their hearts, salute against their will. If they threaten to kill them they will offer their necks to them, but refuse to submit. The odds are that a soldier's spirit will revolt against such cold-blooded murder. Thus, whether they live or die it will be as free men. They will never be slaves. If you all become free men at heart, the whole of India will be free. They might imprison you. You will welcome it or you can tell them that you will be a corpse before they can put you into prison. Both alternatives are open to a non-violent soldier and both call for bravery of the highest order. Our task is no less than to reinfuse life into the 400 millions of India. We have to dispel fear from their hearts. On the day they shed all fear, India's fetters shall fall and she will be free.

"Years ago I said at Nankanasahib: 'Sikhs have given proof of their martial valour. But the consummation of Guru Govind Singh's ideal will be reached only when they will substitute for their *kirpans* the sword of the spirit or non-violence.' So long as one wants to retain one's sword, one has not attained complete fearlessness. No power on earth can subjugate you when you are armed with the sword of *ahimsa*. It ennobles both the victor and the vanquished. Netaji has fired you with a new spirit. That spirit can now be kept alive only through non-violence."

Having thus explained to them the significance of *ahimsa* in terms of martial courage, Gandhiji proceeded to place before them the higher type of courage that is required of a Satyagrahi soldier to become an ideal, self-respecting citizen. "Above all, you must never beg or throw yourself on anybody's charity. Because you have risked your lives for India's sake and fought for her on the Imphal plain, you must not expect to be pampered in return. If you do that, you will lose all worth like the salt that has lost its savour. You should prefer to earn your bread by the sweat of your brow, but refuse to beg or accept charity. In short, you have to show the same degree of bravery and courage of the non-violent type as you have done in the use of arms hitherto.

"If you want land you will have it. You will clear it and turn it into model farms. You have to overcome the inertia of ages which weighs down our masses. That you will be able to do only by setting an example of industry and hard work. You must be able to wield the bucket and the broom with skill and diligence and not consider the cleaning of latrines as dirty or beneath your dignity. Graduation in this work is more heroic than winning the Victoria Cross."

Then followed questions and answers.

Q. How can one who has spent his whole life in fighting take to *ahimsa* with success? Are not the two incompatible?

A. I do not agree. Badshah Khan is a Pathan. But today he has become a soldier of non-violence. Tolstoy too served in the army. Yet he became the high priest of non-violence in Europe. We have not yet realized fully the power that is in non-violence. If the Government had not arrested me in 1942, I would have shown how to fight Japan by non-violence.

Q. Surely, it is no breach of *ahimsa* to use the sword in self-defence?

A. Even Wavell, Auchinleck or Hitler does not use the sword without necessity. But that does not make it *ahimsa*. It is *himsa*, whatever its justification.

Q. You cannot take the world along with you if you adopt *ahimsa*. You have to choose the one or the other.

A. There again I disagree. A reformer has to sail not with the current, very often he has to go against it, even though it may cost him his life. You must not be carried off your feet by unthinking, popular applause. The essential part of your message

to the country is not how to wield the sword but to cease to be afraid of it.

Q. What would you have done if Subhas Babu had returned to you victorious?

A. I would have asked him to make you put away your weapons and stack them before me.

Mussoorie, 30-5-'46

PYARELAL

### THE IDEAL WOMAN

"A virtuous woman who can find?  
For her price is far above rubies.  
The heart of her husband trusteth in her,  
And he shall have no lack of gain.  
She doeth him good and not evil  
All the days of her life.  
She seeketh wool and flax,  
And worketh willingly with her hands.  
She is like the merchant ships;  
She bringeth her food from afar.  
She riseth also while it is yet night,  
And giveth meat to her household,  
And their task to her maidens.  
She considereth a field and buyeth it;  
With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.  
She girdeth her loins with strength,  
And maketh strong her arms.  
She perceiveth that her merchandise is profitable;  
Her lamp goeth not out by night.  
She layeth her hands to the distaff,  
And her hands hold the spindle.  
She spreadeth out her hand to the poor;  
Yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.  
She is not afraid of the snow for her household;  
For all her household are clothed with scarlet.  
She maketh for herself carpets of tapestry;  
Her clothing is fine linen and purple.  
Her husband is known in the gates,  
When he sitteth among the elders of the land.  
She maketh linen garments and selleth them;  
And delivereth girdles unto the merchant.  
Strength and dignity are her clothing;  
And she laugheth at the time to come.  
She openeth her mouth with wisdom;  
And the law of kindness is on her tongue.  
She looketh well to the ways of her household,  
And eateth not the bread of idleness.  
Her children rise up and call her blessed;  
Her husband also, and he praiseth her, saying:  
Many daughters have done virtuously,  
But thou excellest them all.  
Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain;  
But a woman that feareth the Lord,  
She shall be praised.  
Give her of the fruit of her hands;  
And let her works praise her in the gates."

The above picture is centuries old. It is Hebrew, drawn from Solomon's wisdom. It is possible to get similar descriptions from Indian seers. It would appear that in those days women must have worked with skill and ability and shared the burden and heat of the day equally with men and thus made life worth-while. The words of wisdom were meant not so much for the poor as for the well-to-do. In any event the ideal is there for every woman today to turn her attention to. The strength depicted in the picture, the variety of woman's

activities, her position as a builder not only of the home but of society, all have gone from her in the East, at any rate. Instead of being the mainstay of her home, woman has become a weak dependent. It is high time she returned to the spindle and sought wool and flax in order to mend the broken tapestry of life. If woman in India can rise to the heights described by the seer, she will certainly contribute greatly towards the regeneration, not only of her own country but also of the world. It is not much use planning for a new world unless one tries forthwith and firstly to make oneself worthy to fit into a true structure.

Mussoorie,

29-5-'46

A. K.

### HARIJAN WORK IN BHUSAWAL TALUKA

(By M. K. Gandhi).

Shri Thakkar Bapa writes:

"It has been decided to carry on sound and extensive Harijan work in the Bhusawal Taluka. For that purpose two meetings were arranged on the 14th of May. Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta, Shri Ganapatrao Tapase, Shri Barve, Shri Dastane and myself were present. We aim at having all the public wells opened to Harijans. The villagers showed great enthusiasm and we are hopeful of success. The circumstances are favourable."

What Bapa says is true. By favourable circumstances, Shri Thakkar Bapa probably means the establishment of a Congress ministry. That does not mean that henceforth reforms will be imposed upon the people. There is the least room for the use of force in such things. An evil like untouchability which has found its way to the very marrow of the people's bones, and that too in the name of religion, cannot be removed forcibly. But an alien government uses its influence to further suppress the suppressed by force. And when it tries to help them from a motive, pure or selfish, that too is done by the exercise of force. The Congress has not established its position through force. It is a purely democratic organization. Therefore, it is hoped that the Congress ministers will educate public opinion and win popular support for all its progressive measures. This should result in an impetus to reforms like Harijan work in their province and the forces standing in the way of such reforms would automatically disappear. Moreover, intensive work in the limited area of the Bhusawal Taluka is likely to prove very fruitful. We cannot reach the whole of India at one and the same time. Wherever the workers have the requisite ability and influence, the work will proceed at a quicker pace. Sound work in a small area is therefore likely to be copied by others and thus lead to an early success. Let us hope that will be the result of the work which has been started in Bhusawal.

Mussoorie, 29-5-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## INSTRUCTIVE CONVERSATION ON KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Khadi worker writes:

"I give below a recent conversation between the manager of a Khadi Bhandar and some customers. Should Khadi be sold to such persons?"

"Q. 'Is this yarn spun by you?'"

"A. 'No. I have bought these 8 hanks for Rs. 10."

"Q. To a second customer: 'Are you able to spin all this yarn?'"

"A. 'No. This is spun by my daughter. We sell yarn too at the rate of 12 annas per hank.'"

"Q. To a third: 'You cannot buy Khadi unless you produce the requisite quantity of yarn.'"

"A. 'It does not matter. So long as I cannot get the yarn, I will buy uncertified Khadi.'"

"Q. To a fourth: 'Why do you buy Khadi?'"

"A. 'Because it is easy to procure.'"

"Q. To a fifth: 'You are not a regular wearer of Khadi. What will you do with what you have bought?'"

"A. 'Today Khadi is looked upon as being in the fashion.'"

"Q. To a sixth: 'You do not spin yourself. From where then comes this yarn?'"

"A. 'A good friend of mine always provides me with yarn.'"

"Q. To a seventh: 'Why do you always wear either silk or wool Khadi?'"

"A. 'Because I do not have to give yarn for these.'"

"Q. To an eighth: 'You have bought a large quantity of Khadi. What will you do with it all?'"

"A. 'This will last me two or three years. After that it will be seen whether I can get any or not.'"

The above questions and answers are revealing. If the new policy in regard to Khadi is correct and Khadi customers are of the above nature, it proves the necessity for the abolition of the Khadi clause from the Congress constitution. It is worthy of note that the questions and answers concern eight persons. The Charkha Sangh need not cater for the needs of a single one of them. The Spinners' Association exists only for the poor. Those who wear Khadi, do so either for the sake of the poor or for winning Swaraj or both. The eight customers mentioned above are concerned with neither. If the Charkha Sangh is to prove the rightness of the ideal for which Khadi stands, then its workers must be loyal enough to the new policy and not fear even the closing down of the sales Bhandars. They must have the strength to bear any consequences in order to set right the mistakes of the past.

The above conversation also holds a warning to the managers of the Bhandars to be wide awake. They should become experts in the science of Khadi and be prepared to teach customers the inner meaning of Khadi with patience and humility. This may take time but it is worth-while. If there is faith in the power of Khadi I have no doubt that we shall remain steadfast and thereby inspire others to the belief also. But if workers themselves lack faith then the claim for Khadi will fall to the ground.

I have taken for granted that the conversation has been truly reported.

Mussoorie, 1-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## MINISTERIAL SALARIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have to pay heavily for the caution with which I wrote the other day the paragraph in 'Harijan' in regard to increase in ministerial salaries. I have to go through long letters bemoaning my caution and arguing with me to revise my view. How can ministers make large increases in their own original fat salaries when the poor *chaprasis* and clerks get an increase which hardly meets the occasion? I have re-read my note and I claim that the short note includes all that the various correspondents desire. But, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I expand my meaning.

I have been twitted for not referring to the Karachi Resolution. The lower scale of ministers' salaries rests on much higher ground than the authority of a resolution. In any event, so far as I am aware, the Congress has never varied that resolution. It is as binding today as it was when it was passed.

I do not know that the increase in the salaries is justified. But I must not offhand condemn the increase without knowing the case of the ministers. Critics should know that I have no authority over them or any one else except myself. Nor am I present at all the meetings of the Working Committee. I attend only when required by the President. I can only give my opinion for what it is worth. And, if it is to have any weight, it must be well-conceived and based on ascertained facts.

The question of the hideous inequality between the rich and the poor and the lower services and the higher is a separate subject requiring drastic and well thought out method and could not be merely incidental to the lowering of the salaries of the few ministers and their secretaries. Both subjects require to be dealt with on merits. The question of salaries could be and should be easily disposed of by the ministers concerned. The other is a much vaster subject requiring a thorough overhauling. I would any day agree that the ministers should tackle the subject in their own provinces without delay and that the lower ranks should before everything else have their salaries fully reconsidered and increased wherever necessary.

Mussoorie, 31-5-'46

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 19

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## URDU, THE LANGUAGE OF BOTH ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. "You are making strenuous efforts to get every Indian, particularly Hindus with whom you naturally come most in daily contact, to learn Urdu. Similarly, is any Mohammedan striving to induce Muslims to learn Hindi? If not, will not the result of your labours be that Urdu will become the language of both and Hindi remain the medium solely for Hindus? Will not this be a disservice to Hindi?"

2. "The Urdu equivalent of the Hindi word is invariably given in brackets in the Hindustani Prachar publications, but the converse is not done. Does that not signify a desire to teach Urdu by force to Hindus?"

3. "There are any number of Persian and Arabic words used in these publications. Do you think they are understood by the general run of people? For example *adab* (अदब), *ādāb* (आदाब), *etahad* (एताहाद).

4. "If Hindustani is in fact a language, why in your educational readers is there such a difference in terminology in the Urdu and Hindi editions?"

5. "My fear is that the lakhs of Southern Indians who have so far been trying to learn Hindi will be so scared of the Urdu script that they will learn neither and in the end the work hitherto done by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be completely wiped out."

1. Efforts are being made that those who are unacquainted with the Urdu form should learn it and vice versa with those who do not know the Hindi form. It is true that my contacts are more with Hindi knowing Hindus. But that does not worry me. Hindus are not likely to forget their Hindi. In fact I believe that their Hindi will be enriched by their knowledge of Urdu. The majority of Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, generally know best the languages of their provinces which contain a large number of Sanskrit words. I myself have neither the fear nor the desire that everyone will, as a result of my efforts, learn the Urdu form to the exclusion of Hindi. Desire or no desire, whatever is natural will happen. The attempt to have a wise blending of the two forms for a national tongue is, in my opinion, a good venture in every way.

2. I have not read all the publications of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. It is commendable if the Urdu equivalent of some Hindi words is given in brackets. This only means that in the opinion of the writers of the books these words are not commonly known. That the Hindi equivalents are not given signifies that those Urdu words have become current coin in Hindi. It is a pity that a learned person like the correspondent should have such suspicions. Suspicion is not an attribute of learning.

3. This does not seem to be a correct charge. And even if it were true, what harm can there be? The introduction of new words into any language enriches it. The words of Latin origin that came into the English language after the Norman Conquest added to its virility. Whatever was not good or unnecessary or forced did not remain. The words given by way of example by the correspondent are known to all Hindi lovers in the North and have taken their rightful place in Hindi. It is true that they are new for Southern Indians and therefore their Sanskrit equivalents should be and are given. The truth is that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha has neither antagonism towards one nor partiality towards the other. Both forms are there and will remain and these should not present any difficulty. But, of course, if there is jealousy and antagonism between the two, Hindustani will never come into being. And such an eventuality will be a bad thing for India.

4. Hindustani existed at one time. The present effort is directed to revive it through a wise mixture of Hindi and Urdu and let it grow thereby. Neither Hindi nor Urdu lovers should sorrow over this. Hindi and Urdu are sisters. What harm, therefore, if they mix with each other? It cannot be a matter of surprise that in this transition stage there should be a difference of terminology in Hindi and Urdu books.

5. My experience is quite contrary to that of the writer. I have not known anyone who has given up learning either script because of the insistence on the Urdu script. Nor do I fear that this will ever be so.

My appeal to the writer is to divest himself of his prejudices.

Mussooree, 4-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## MINDFULNESS, THE REMEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"It is your insistence on truth and non-violence that has attracted me to you so powerfully. The realization that the mere desire for truth and non-violence is not sufficient to make people non-violent made me think that mere preaching of non-violence is not enough and that a way must be taught, which would enable people to rebuild themselves fundamentally.

"Just being fascinated by non-violence and wanting to be non-violent does not make a man truly non-violent. The sub-conscious does not react easily to the movements of the conscious mind and remains unaffected even when the conscious mind has been apparently soaked in the idea. The cause of this opacity of the unconscious lies in the hidden desires and fears which do not allow contrary ideas to become spontaneously active. Unless the sub-conscious is cleared and the hidden resistances removed, the man's real nature, which is wise and kind, cannot be revealed.

"Therefore, it is necessary to give to those who are earnest correct advice as to how to proceed to clear themselves of the unknown inner obstacles to truth and non-violence and to make truth and non-violence really reliable, spontaneous and effective.

"External observances like prayers, handicrafts etc. are not the efficient means for truth and kindness. The proof of it is in the whole history of mankind. Only by inner and well directed effort can a man rebuild himself. Good intentions are not enough—the correct means have to be used. Fortunately such means, well tested as correct and efficient and in harmony with the structure of the human psyche, are known, although practised by very few. I have in mind the way of mindfulness, recommended by Buddha in glowing terms, as supremely efficient. Sober and reticent as He was, He has gone to the point of saying that this way can bring a man to perfection in seven days.

"In case you have not read about the way of mindfulness, I am giving a short account of it.

"The way of mindfulness consists in being constantly observant, conscious, attentive, watchful, awake, uninterruptedly aware of the mental and emotional content of our consciousness and of its expressions through the body. Man must set himself into an attitude of constant observation, awareness, alertness. It is very important that he should maintain this awareness fully impersonal, detached, non-judging, non-condemning, non-approving, just awareness and nothing else. You will catch the point easily if you watch for a moment your breathing as it moves up and down, because not having any desires and fears attached to mere breathing you can watch it impersonally.

"If a man maintains this intense and perpetual awareness of the movements of his mind and feelings and of their expressions through the body, very soon things begin to happen to him. The mind becomes

clear, translucent, as if void and into the clarity of the conscious mind the unconscious tangles begin to emerge. They melt away in the light of awareness allowing deeper, still less accessible layers of the unconscious to emerge and get dissolved.

"The entire process, if carried out correctly, is effortless and accompanied by a sense of release and intense happiness. Man grows wiser and kinder from day to day and his wisdom and kindness are not self-imposed, but self-revealed. Therefore they are reliable, because there is nothing in the subconscious to oppose them.

"I am purposely avoiding quoting Western and Indian classics to prove that the way of mindfulness was well known to the ancients. It needs no authority for support. It stands by its own simplicity and ease with which a man can test on himself its efficacy. You can easily try it out on yourself. Within a week you will be convinced that Buddha has left with us a tool of unparalleled efficacy for rebuilding ourselves truly and permanently.

"We cannot have truth and non-violence in the world unless we as individuals are truthful and non-violent. Therefore, the problem of becoming truthful and non-violent is of the utmost importance. There is a way well spoken of by the great and tested by many as sound, correct, efficient, direct. You can have it tested again and again in small groups of friends, who will concentrate on it intensely and compare notes. You will see for yourself the result. The test can be made as scientifically accurate as you wish.

"There is also another aspect to consider. You have come across honest and earnest people, who have been defending falsehood and cruelty on the grounds of higher efficiency and quick results. Teach them only the way of mindfulness and they will see for themselves the roots of stupidity and hatred of which their methods are but a rationalized expression. The way of mindfulness will lead even the dull and cruel to wisdom and kindness, because it will dispel the very causes of dullness and cruelty, which are in craving and in the fear born out of craving.

"Please do not judge the message by the messenger. The message, although poorly conveyed, is of supreme importance to your work."

Thus writes Mr. Frydman, better known to the public as Bharatanand. I reproduce it for what it is worth. I have not fallen in love with it because this too has not caught on. If it was a seven days' work, why is it that it has so few witnesses in the world today? In so far as it is an aid, it is in general vogue and takes its place among the other remedies, whether it is called mindfulness, vigilance or meditation. It does not take the place of prayer or the '*mala*' or any other outward practice. It is in addition to these outward observances so long as the latter are not for show. Indeed, prayer is purely an inward act. Those who found in *Ramanama* the talisman knew mindfulness and found by experience that *Ramanama* was the best of all the remedies adopted for the practice of Truth and Non-violence.

Mussooree, 4-6-'46

## KASTURBA WORK IN ASSAM

The following is a synopsis of Shrimati Amalprabha's report of her work in Sarania:

16 Village girls, mostly teachers and two of whom are Harijans are receiving training. There are two permanent members of the staff who live with the girls and share their life as one of them. All the house and cooking work is done by the girls under the supervision of the staff and Shrimati Amalprabha, the only outside help taken being for fetching water, which has to come from some little distance necessitating a climb.

The main handicraft is *muga* reeling and weaving. As this work was new the production in the first 1½ months was small but even so one *than* worth Rs. 30 has been woven and yarn for two more worth Rs. 120 has been prepared. After deducting the price of cocoons the net profit is reckoned at Rs. 82. Cotton Khadi is also being made and the girls are being taught all the processes. Gardening is included in the programme. During the month of February, 35 seers of vegetables were produced. Physical drill forms a daily feature of the training and once a week the trainees go to serve the people there.

Hindustani, elementary science relating to diet, cooking and gardening, hygiene and sanitation and the principles of the Constructive Programme are subjects taught in the theoretical classes. Some friends from outside have helped in lectures.

The food is simple but wholesome. With an increase in the number of reeling machines and looms it is hoped in time to attain self-sufficiency in the matter of cloth.

### Errata

In Harijan of May 19, 1946, in article 'An Exaction and Oppression', page 141, para 4, line 3, salt requirement for cattle should read *sixteen* (16) pounds instead of *eighteen* (18). In the same para, line 9 total requirement of salt should read *thirteen* (13) crores instead of *seventy-three* (73) crores and seventy-three lakhs maunds.

In Harijan of May 5th, in article 'A Light in Darkness', page 120, col. 1, para 2, line 10, read 1½ months instead of 1½ years.

Col. 2, para 2, line 8, read Anasuya Desai instead of Anasuya Mehta.

Same page, col. 1, last line, the figures for income and expenditure should be as being for 2 years instead of as being for 6 months.

By M. K. Gandhi

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## NOT ENOUGH

Since Gandhiji's appeal to Gujarat to expiate for the wrong in keeping away the Harijans from fetching water from public wells and denying them the other social amenities, to which Shri Hemantkumar had drawn his attention, there has been a stirring in the 'Savarna' Hindu conscience in many places. Shri Parikshitlal of the Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati, in his letter to Gandhiji reporting the experiences of his recent tour in some of the Gujarat villages, writes:

"I had the opportunity in the course of my recent tour of the Surat District to visit the places where the villagers gladly gave permission to the Harijans to use the village wells. Both the incidents took place during the National Week and in both places a public function was held to take the Harijan families to the public wells. *Kolis* constituted the bulk of the population in both the villages in question.

"In Budiya village in Choryasi taluka a programme of interdining on a small scale was held after the visit of the Harijans to the public wells in the village. As there is a separate well for the Harijans in this village they still feel hesitation in going to the public wells newly thrown open to them. But I have learnt that they are satisfied that the bulk of the village people are in full sympathy with them. A public meeting was also held in the village, at which Harijan women were accorded a welcome.

"The other village was that of Hajira in the same taluka. It is a well-known sea-side health resort in the Surat District. Since the 1942 struggle, young men of the village have started a successful Bal Mandir. A weaving school is being run by the Charkha Sangh. Besides, there are classes for adult education. There is only one Harijan family in this village. The auspicious tilak mark was put by the village people on the forehead of the sweeper sister representing this family and she was taken to the public well to fetch water. As the poor woman was too poor to afford a rope for drawing water, a rope was lent by a 'Savarna' woman of the village. On inquiry since I have learnt that she can now use the public village well without any let or hindrance.

"In Vadadla village in Kaira District also, young men of the village had arranged a programme during the National Week for securing this right to the Harijans and had invited the workers of the district on the occasion. But it was found that the orthodox section was not fully ripe for the reform. The spokesman of the youth thereupon declared that so long as the public wells of the village were not thrown open to the Harijans, he would himself (he was from a Patidar family) fetch water from only the Harijan well. His wife joined him in his resolve. Several other young men in the village expressed their desire to follow suit. In the public meeting that was held in this connection water from the Harijan well was served and drunk. This softened



down the opposition of the orthodox section and the village well was declared open to the Harijans. But the Harijans have not so far ventured to avail themselves of their right."

All this is good so far as it goes, but not good enough, if Gujarat aspires to be in the vanguard of the freedom struggle. A vigorous campaign with a definite time limit for the complete removal of all the disabilities under which the Harijans suffer ought to be launched. Emancipation of the Harijans can no longer be postponed to an indefinite distant date. It has to be realized here and now even like Independence. Independence itself will turn into bitter ashes in our mouth if the most useful section of the community is baulked of its essential rights.

Mussooree, 7-6-'46

PYARELAL

## HARIJAN

June 16

1946

### THE UNKNOWN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some learned men describe Him as Unknowable, some others as Unknown, yet others as 'Not This.' 'The Unknown' is good for the present purpose.

When yesterday (9th June) I said a few words to the prayer audience, I could say nothing more than that they should pray for and rely upon the strength and the guidance that this big X could give. There were difficulties to be overcome by all parties in the great Indian drama that was being enacted before them. They were all to rely upon the Unknown who had often confounded man's wisdom and in the twinkling of an eye upset his tin-pot plans. The British party claimed to believe in God, the Unknown. The Muslim League did likewise. They delighted in saying Allah-o-Akbar. The Congress naturally had no single equivalent cry. Nevertheless, if it sought to represent the whole of India, it represented the millions of believers, no matter to what compartment in the House of God they belonged.

At the time of writing, in spite of my irrepressible optimism, I am unable to say decisively that at least in political parlance, the thing is safe. All I can say, therefore, is that if, with the best efforts of all the parties, the unsafe happens, I would invite them to join with me in saying that it was as well and that safety lay in unsafety. If we are all children of God, as we are, whether we know it or not, we will take in good part whatever happens and work with zest and confidence for the next step whatever it may be. The only condition for that zest is that each party does its honest best for the good of the whole of India. For that is the stake and no other.

New Delhi, 10-6-'46

### TAKE CARE OF PENNIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have discovered honourable members of Assemblies using most expensive embossed note paper even for private use. So far as I know, office stationery cannot be used for private purposes such as writing to friends or relatives or for letters from members of Assemblies to constituents outside matters of public business. So far as I know, this is a universal objection in every part of the world.

But for this poor country my objection goes deeper. The stationery I refer to is too expensive for us. Englishmen belonging to the most expensive country in the world and who had to flourish on the awe they could inspire in us introduced expensive and massive buildings for offices and bungalows requiring for their upkeep an army of servants and hangers-on. If we copy their style and habits we will be ruined ourselves and carry the country in this ruin. And what was tolerated in the case of the conquerors will not be tolerated in ours. There is, too, paper shortage. I am of opinion, therefore, that all these expensive habits should be given up. Hand-made paper with ordinarily printed letterheads in Nagari and Urdu should be used. The embossed stationery already printed can easily be cut up and put to better use, and should not be used up under cover of economy. Surely village products cannot be made to wait till the expensive and possibly foreign stuff is used up. Popular Governments should signalize their advent by adopting popular measures and inexpensive habits.

Mussooree, 8-6-'46

### Notes

#### Its Language

A correspondent writes:

"You must be aware that when constitutions have been drawn up in any of the countries of the world they have been invariably drafted in the language of the country concerned, e. g. France, Germany, Ireland, Egypt, Japan, etc.

"It would be fitting, if our constitution were to be drawn up in our national language. But one difficulty will be that few, if any, of the judges of our High and Federal Courts know Hindustani. They will, therefore, have to have an English translation for their use.

"The other question that will arise is as to whether the members of the Constituent Assembly will know enough Hindustani to grasp its essentials."

This letter appeals to me. Why should our constitution be in English? It should certainly be in an Indian language and, in my opinion, that language can only be Hindustani which crores can easily understand. In addition such an act will electrify the masses. As circumstances are, it is right that the Constituent Assembly should make an English translation of the document and, indeed, there should be translations also in every one of the provincial languages.

The second point raised by the writer is also apt. But since the members of the Constituent

Assembly will be chosen by the present legislative bodies, it will be open to the latter to elect, so far as possible, only those persons as are conversant with Hindustani and thus act on the correspondent's letter. Mussooree, 3-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### True but not New

Maulvi Hamidullah Sahib of Lucknow came to see me in Mussooree and handed two of his pamphlets. They are an attempt to prove the necessity of making obligatory up to the high school standard a knowledge of both Hindi and Urdu and Nagari and Persian scripts, whether for boys or girls. The idea appeals forcibly to me. My effort has always been directed to this end. Time was when Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Babu Purshottamdas Tandon were working for the same objective but alas! we did not meet with success. Nevertheless, I neither abandoned hope nor effort and the result was the creation of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. The Maulvi Sahib's request, therefore, is nothing new for me.

If the U. P. Government is able, with the general consent, to make the attempt, they will have rendered a great service. I am of opinion that in all the provinces where Hindi or Urdu is the mother tongue, a knowledge of the other should be made compulsory. I have no doubt that the natural outcome of such a step will be the easy birth of Hindustani, in which the two will blend into one. The present controversy between the two sisters will then cease. Another advantage that will accrue is that tuition up to the high school will be in the national language instead of English.

Mussooree, 5-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### No Publicity Required

A Brahmin correspondent asks me to publish the fact that he has become a Harijan and wants to eliminate his name as a Caste Hindu from the census too. This is a sequence to my having asked all Caste Hindus to look upon themselves as Harijans of the so-called lowest stratum. But what is the point in giving publicity to an inner change? The real proof is for the convert to practise the change in his daily life. He will, therefore, mix freely with *Bhangis* and take an active part in their life. If possible, he will live with them or get a *Bhangi* to live with him. He will give his children in marriage to Harijans and on being questioned he will say that he has become a Harijan of his own free will and will register his name either as a Harijan or *Bhangi* in the census when he has to classify himself. But having done so he will on no account arrogate to himself any of the rights of Harijans as, for example, he will not enter his name as a voter on their list. In other words, he will undertake to fulfil all the duties of a Harijan without seeking any of the rights that pertain to them. So long as separate voting lists are maintained he will cease to be a voter.

New Delhi, 9-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### Petrol and the Black Market

A correspondent writes as follows:

"Owing to lack of time it is not always possible to do all the necessary touring by rail. Workers have, therefore, to travel long distances by car. As petrol is rationed and the required quantity is not available recourse is had to the black market. It is either brought through someone or the taxi-driver is commissioned to obtain it from the black market and payment per mile is given to him according to the price paid for the petrol.

"Is it right for workers to use a car under these circumstances?"

"It is possible that if they do not, they will have to cut down their touring which will seemingly be harmful to the work. Am I right in believing that there is no alternative?"

I am of opinion that the worker who believes in truth should not use a car under these conditions. Even if he is not a believer but tries to render service thoughtfully he should not do so. If he does, he knowingly encourages black marketing and nothing but harm can come of such action. I go further and say that to use a car at all times for service is wrong in itself.

New Delhi, 10-6-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### Decimal Coinage

It seems that I inadvertently allowed to be printed in the last paragraph of Shri K. Mashruwala's article on this subject the statement that a second instalment would follow showing how, if at all, decimal coinage without loss to the poor could be promulgated. As a matter of fact I do not think the time has come for a serious consideration of the contemplated reform. I am quite clear that however attractive any scheme of decimal coinage may be, it should not be considered before there is an independent national Government. Therefore, the publication of any such scheme is wholly premature. There are many more pressing and urgent problems occupying the best mind of the country. Surely the country can easily wait for a more fortunate moment for a proper understanding of a scheme before legislation on the subject is undertaken. If England has waited for years and is still waiting, why should poor famishing India have a radical reform in coinage sprung upon it without the man in the street being instructed in the pros and cons of the subject? It is not a matter which has nothing to be said against it. It will certainly not add one grain of corn to the existing stocks. Whether a rupee is to contain 100 cents or 64 pice is a problem that can await solution for a happier day. Democracy demands patient instruction on it before legislation. Hence I intended to erase the announcement of the second article in order to avoid raising a hope I had no desire to satisfy.

New Delhi, 9-6-'46

M. K. G.

## WEEKLY LETTER

## HIS LIBRARY

Perhaps very few people besides his close companions know that Gandhiji calls his lavatory 'library'. It is not merely a matter of nomenclature but is so in fact. He has done more reading in his 'library' than an average man does in his lifetime. It is also the place where he has done some of his hardest thinking—I can recall at least three occasions when decisions of a most far-reaching character were either taken or reversed in the solitude of that sanctum, the only solitude that he could have. The expression 'library' was borrowed from an esteemed friend. Gandhiji often loves to describe how this friend kept his lavatory so clean that one could sit and read in it without discomfort. He had even got fixed over the seat of his lavatory a book shelf which was put to its full and legitimate use. "The lavatories of even the poorest of the poor ought to be as clean and neat as a library or the kitchen. There should not be a trace of dirt or foul smell in it," remarked Gandhiji before the prayer gathering at Mussooree on Sunday last. He was speaking to them about the necessity of building a sanctuary or a *musafarkhana* at Mussooree for the poor folk, where they could avail themselves of the cool hill climate in case of need. "You might think that I am speaking with my tongue in my cheek. The fact is that a meticulous sense of cleanliness, not only personal but also in regard to one's surroundings, is the alpha and omega of corporate life. We in India have made a ritual of cleanliness. But we have yet to make good our claim that we possess the sanitary instinct. I have seen how we foul the banks of our holy rivers. Ganges water is regarded by us as holy, capable of washing off our sins. The idea is symbolical. Just as water washes the body clean, a devotee prays and hopes for the cleansing of the heart by the water of life. But if we contaminate our holy rivers as we do, how can their water effect inner cleansing?"

He had heard that the living conditions of the labourers in Mussooree were deplorable. They lived in small, overcrowded, dirty and evil smelling rooms. No one could afford to overlook that. All life was one. If they cleaned their own homes and neglected their neighbours' they would have to pay the price in the form of epidemics and the like. In the West they had been able to rid their countries of plague. He himself had witnessed in South Africa how by prompt and energetic action the Johannesburg Municipality was able to arrest the outbreak of plague so effectively that it never came back. But in India it returned again and again—it had become almost endemic. "The remedy lies in our own hands. We must not only observe the rules of health and hygiene in our own persons but we must see that our poor neighbours do so too. To neglect to do so is a sin for which we cannot escape the penalty. I do not grudge the rich their riches provided that they do not forget the poor and share their riches with them and provided

their riches are not gained at the expense of the impoverishment of others."

## THE GADFLY

Socrates described himself as a gadfly, the mission of whose life was to shake the complacency and quicken the conscience of the rich and the powerful. Gandhiji did not allow the conscience of the fashionable rich of Mussooree any rest or respite. Only he accompanied it with the healing message of *Ramanama*. "*Ramanama* is not for the few; it is for all," he told them on the following day. "He who takes His name lays by a rich store for himself, and it is inexhaustible. The more you draw upon it, the more it increases. It is infinite. As the Upanishad says, you take out infinite out of infinite and infinite remains behind. It is the unfailing panacea for all the ills, physical, mental and spiritual to which man is subject. *Ramanama* is only one of the numerous names of God. In fact there are as many names of God as there are human beings in the world. You may substitute Krishna for Rama or you can substitute for it any of His countless names and it will make no difference." He himself had got the mantra of *Ramanama*, he said, from his nurse when he was a child. "I used to be frightened of ghosts and evil spirits in the dark. My nurse told me, 'If you repeat *Ramanama* all the ghosts and evil spirits will vanish.' I accepted her advice with all the unquestioning faith of a child. That cured me of my cowardice." If that was the experience of a child, how much more would the grown-ups stand to gain by it if they repeated *Ramanama* with understanding and faith, he asked.

But the condition was that it must come from the heart. "Do evil thoughts possess you or, are you tormented by lust or greed? Then there is no charm against it like *Ramanama*." And he illustrated his meaning by a parable. "Supposing you are tempted to amass a big fortune by some easy and dishonest means. If you have faith in *Ramanama* you will say to yourself, 'Why should I amass for my wife and children riches which they might squander away—why not leave them a legacy in the shape of sound character and sound education and training that will enable them to earn their living by honest industry and body labour?' Ceaseless repetition of *Ramanama* will dispel your delusion and false attachment and the living realization will dawn on you that you were a fool to hanker after millions for the sake of your dear ones instead of offering them the priceless treasure of His name which frees one from all bondage and wandering. Filled with the joy of that realization such a person will tell his wife and children, 'I have not brought for you the treasure I had set out for but something infinitely richer.' 'Where is it, show it to us?' they will say incredulously. 'It is the Name which is richer than all treasures' he will reply, 'because it quenches the thirst for all riches. It is enshrined in my heart.'"

## SKELETONS IN THE CUPBOARD

As at Simla so at Mussooree, he more than once rattled the skeletons in their cupboards. He

spoke to them of the poor rickshaw pullers and load carriers there. They should be everyone's concern. They made life possible for the wealthy and yet the latter, while willing to take from them even the inhuman service of rickshaw-pulling, did not care to see where and how they lived, what they ate and what they earned. He had heard that these poor men lived in tiny rooms without adequate light and air; they did not want to reveal how many herded together into one room lest they should be evicted or fined. They were dirtily clad as could be seen from the little crowd of them that had come to attend the prayers that evening. But perhaps they had not the wherewithal to afford a change of clothes. They might be like the woman in Bihar, when he first went there, who, when asked to wash herself and her clothes, said to Ba: "How can I bathe when I have not another sari to put on?" It was the bounden duty of those to whom God had given more than their needs to spend the extra on those who were in want. He had been told that the Congress Government was now in power and would see to it that labour quarters everywhere were rebuilt. If they did so it would be a good thing. It would be no more than their bare duty. That would not, however, exonerate rickshaw riders from *their* duty. Doctors had told him that these poor people pulled these vehicles for four years or so and the work was so hard that they died soon after of lung and heart trouble. How could the users be so callous as not to see that they were properly housed and sufficiently paid and clothed and not overworked.

#### AN ERROR AND CONFESSION

In the mirror of Satyagraha what might appear as trifles to others, some times assume gigantic proportions. Not satisfied with what he had heard from others about the condition of the load bearers and rickshaw coolies of Mussooree, he deputed one of his party to visit their slums and study at first hand the conditions of living there. In the course of his report, the friend who had been deputed, mentioned to him, what he had been told by some rickshaw pullers, that they had been turned out from the prayer gathering on account of their dirty clothes. On the basis of that report he had allowed himself to address a few remarks to the prayer gathering. His remarks were taken to heart by one of the workers who was in charge of the meeting. On subsequent inquiry Gandhiji learnt that the information which he had received was of doubtful authenticity. As a Satyagrahi he felt he had fallen from grace in accepting a statement made to him without full scrutiny and by basing his public remarks thereon. Making a public confession of his mistake in his address after the prayer on the following day, he stressed the importance of speaking only when necessary and uttering every word after the most careful thought. A Satyagrahi could not afford to be credulous or to be careless in his speech. There is a Sanskrit verse saying that not to begin is the first sign of wisdom, but

once you begin a thing you should do it well. "It would have been best not to have made use of the unsifted information. But having done so I should end it well by making the admission that on inquiry I found that the accusation could not be supported." He next told them of his three *gurus*—the three Japanese monkeys, a replica of which he always kept before him on his desk. "There is a great piece of sculpture in Japan depicting three monkeys. One of them is shutting his mouth with his hands, the second is shutting his ears and the third is shutting his eyes. The lesson of the first one is not to speak unless absolutely necessary and then too, to weigh every word before speaking. The message of the second is not to hear evil things, of the third not to let one's eyes wander here, there and everywhere." Therefore, when going along the road, one should either contemplate the beauty of nature or else fix his gaze on the ground before one. He carried about the three *gurus* with him wherever he went and he advised them all to bear their instruction in mind.

#### ANOTHER LESSON

Accidental delay of a few moments at the prayer meeting provided Gandhiji with another theme for his after-prayer discourse on Thursday last. An important visitor had detained him beyond the stipulated time, so that when he reached the prayer-grounds the prayer had already commenced. Apologizing for the delay in his address at the end of the prayer, he told the audience how pleased he was that Shri Kanu Gandhi had started the prayer without waiting for him. "It should be the general rule that prayers must not be delayed for anybody on earth. God's time never stops. From the very beginning the wheel of His time has gone ceaselessly on. As a matter of fact there is no beginning for Him or His time.

"God is not a person. No one can describe Him as no one has seen Him. He is the Law and the Law-giver combined into one. The author of the Vedas, after the profoundest search has described him as *Neti, Neti* (not this, not this). He moves all and yet no one can move Him. Not a blade of grass moves without His will. For Him there is no beginning and no end.

"Everything that has a beginning must end. The sun, the moon and the earth must all perish one day even though it might be after an incalculable number of years. God alone is immortal, imperishable. How can man find words to describe Him? How can anyone afford to miss the time of offering prayers to Him whose watch never stops?" Had Kanu Gandhi waited for him it would have hurt him, he said. He had felt ashamed of disturbing the meeting by walking up to the dais when the prayer was going on. If others came late during the prayers he inwardly fretted against them: why did they not stand at the far end of the gathering instead of walking in and disturbing the meeting? He would have liked to



wait outside but he knew that people were waiting for him. They might feel worried over his absence. Therefore, he had dared to walk to the dais and take his seat there though not without trembling. His car had not failed him. But he could not rudely tear himself from his visitors.

He wanted them all to learn a lesson from the incident. If they kept the time for the prayers the habit would be reflected in all that they did. "A man who works regularly in a systematic fashion never feels overworked or tired. It is not hard work that kills a man, but irregularity or lack of system."

New Delhi, 11-6-'46

PYARELAL

## HINDUSTANI CRITICIZED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jivanji Desai has sent me samples of some criticisms of the edition in Urdu Script of 'Harijan-sevak' from both Hindi and Urdu newspapers. They have made fun of its Hindustani. Hindi critics opine that the articles are deliberately filled with unnecessary Urdu words and Urdu critics complain of the use of Sanskrit words which Muslims cannot understand.

I am glad of these criticisms. Thus, why should the paper be called 'Harijansevak' instead of 'HarijanKhidmatgar'? Why 'Sampadak' and not 'Editor' or 'Mudir' and so on? Lovers of Urdu believe that Hindustani and Urdu are synonymous. Lovers of Hindi feel the same conversely even when it is written in the Urdu script. Presumably they hope that this criticism will go home and make me give up the Urdu script in sheer despair. But the hope is not likely to be fulfilled. In fact neither Urdu nor Hindi is to be termed Hindustani. Though not in vogue today Hindustani is a wise mixture of the two. If newspaper and other critics will exercise a little forbearance they will presently see that it is not difficult to understand what is Hindustani as distinguished from Hindi and Urdu. I admit that those who write for 'Harijansevak' are still struggling but they are determined to reach the desired goal. Readers must bear kindly with what may today seem a hotch-potch of the two forms. If God spares my life, I hope to prove to the readers of 'Harijansevak' that Hindustani can be as sweet as either Urdu or Hindi. The seeming quarrel of today will shortly disappear when the two forms, it is realized, are sisters and that through their joint effort will come into being a stately language which will serve the crores of India.

In the interim I hope critics will point out what to them may appear as mistakes. Taken in a friendly spirit such criticism will help to improve the language of 'Harijansevak'.

Mussooree, 5-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## DURING MUSSOOREE SOJOURN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During the prayer meetings in Mussooree I suggested that the gay people of the place might well think of the poor among them, and make their living comfortable, clean and hygienic as also enable the poorest of all classes to find an abode where it would be possible for them to receive the benefit of the hill climate. Both the suggestions have been taken up with enthusiasm. An influential committee has been formed to carry out the idea of a *dharmashala* or *musafarkhana*. I write this note to suggest that much the most important thing would be to have a committee of workers or even one worker who would make it his business to run the guest house in a becoming manner. Seeing that the place will be free of rent it will be no small task to choose the guests who may occupy the premises. Care will have to be taken to exclude those who are at all able to pay a reasonable rent. The visitors must be those who have nothing wherewith to pay. If the place is to be kept absolutely clean, there will have to be rules to be rigidly enforced in the interests of the visitors themselves. And yet the occupants will have to be treated with perfect courtesy. They must never be allowed to feel that poverty is a crime. Every third class traveller knows that the poor receive rough treatment in the railway carriages and at railway stations. It is a sad commentary that in this poor country where according to books poverty carries with it a certain dignity, in public places the poor are treated almost with contempt and they are made to pay for receiving it. It is in this unfortunate atmosphere that this guest house is to be built. Let the committee seek out from now an ideal caretaker who will answer the requirements of the office which are undoubtedly onerous. If such a person is found, the project is bound to be a pattern for all such places on hill stations.

Mussooree, 8-6-'46

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

### HOPES AND FEARS

After a brief rest Gandhiji returned from Mussooree by motor at past midnight on Saturday last, very much refreshed, to resume his interrupted labours. Hopes have alternated with fears in the breasts of the people during the days that have followed. Speaking to expectant gatherings at the evening prayer, day after day since his arrival, he has been counselling faith and patience. Just as a cook never puts before the guests things that were half cooked, even so he could not speak on unfinished subjects. It was strange that they could not settle among themselves their own quarrels. But if they were strong enough, they would not blame the rulers for the mishap. It was better to blame themselves than the rulers. Further elaborating the idea in his Hindustani written message on his silence day he remarked: "So long as we believe that all is from God, we should have no cause for perturbation. The only condition is that whatever we do, we should do with God as witness. It is He who makes the world go and we only reap the consequences of our actions. Therefore, ours is only to obey His law and then be indifferent as to the result."

The three parties concerned, he resumed on the next day, were striving to prevent a breakdown. "People must not, therefore, lose hope. The reputation of the Cabinet Mission is at stake. They cannot afford a breakdown. And there ought to be no breakdown on the side of the Congress and the League either, if the goal of all is the same, as it is claimed that it is, namely, independence of India." He, therefore, pleaded for patience. "It is easy to destroy, but to build is a slow and laborious process. The independence of 400 millions is no mango trick." The Congress Working Committee was still labouring away in order to avoid a breakdown. If, however, in spite of their best efforts, a breakdown did occur in the end, said Gandhiji, he would ask them to accept it as God's will in a proper spirit of resignation without perturbation or despondency, if they had a living faith in God.

### ROCKS AHEAD

His optimism and faith were, however, soon put to a severe test. "A nameless fear has seized me that all is not well," he remarked in the course of a casual talk with a friend. "As a result, I feel paralysed. But I will not corrupt your mind by communicating my unsupported suspicions to you." The declaration of the Europeans that they were

going to exercise their right to take part in constitution-making—a right which is not theirs at all—was the first warning signal of the rocks ahead.

Gandhiji has dealt with the question at length elsewhere in these columns. The Constituent Assembly has to be formed by the elected members of the Provincial Legislatures. The Government of India Act of 1935 has given a number of seats in the legislatures to Europeans. For instance, in Bengal alone there is a solid block of 25 Europeans. In Assam there are 9. Quite a number of them are multi-millionaires or their representatives. They are foreigners, members of the ruling race. As such they can have no place in the Constituent Assembly as candidates, nor can they as voters return members. The Cabinet plan has said clearly that Indians are to form India's constitution.

Lawyer friends had told Gandhiji that if the matter were taken to a law court the verdict would surely be against the Europeans. But from the papers he had gathered that they intended to exercise the right, which they thought, they had. Till now they had used their vote to uphold the British power and acted as a wedge between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. He appealed to them, therefore, apart from the question of legalities, to abstain from interference. No Congressman would wish to drag them to the law court. They should recognize the signs of the time and make a voluntary declaration that the newspaper report was wrong and that they had no wish to interfere in the affairs of Indians which ought to be settled by Indians themselves and that they would not exercise their votes for the selection of candidates for the Constituent Assembly, nor would they stand as candidates. They should no longer impose themselves upon India. Whatever they might have done in the past, they should alleviate communal bitterness, not accentuate it. They should wish India to win her freedom as early as possible. Such a statement would be graceful for the Europeans.

It was up to the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, concluded Gandhiji, to see that this foreign element was not used to affect the elections in any way whatsoever.

### THE CHILD IS DYING

The I. N. A. people discovered for themselves that under conditions of independence brought face to face with the realities, they thought and acted altogether differently from the way, which they had been taught, was inherent in Indian character. The communal problem was completely liquidated

in the I. N. A. ranks. The vain labours of the Cabinet Mission have proved the converse. They have been working away from morn till night at bringing the Muslim League and the Congress together. But they are attempting what may be considered to be well-nigh impossible. "I have often written that true Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be expected while the third party is there," remarked Gandhiji in one of his after-prayer discourses. "The slaves and their masters are both in an unnatural state. They cannot think and act naturally."

He likened the Cabinet Mission to a mother who saw that her child was dying. "Still she does not give up hope. She keeps on trying the prescriptions of  *vaidyas*  or  *hakims*  till the last moment." Similarly, the Mission did not wish to give up striving.

"They are trying to bring the Congress and the League together. They went to Maulana Saheb, they went to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, they are striving with the Europeans to do the right thing. The Europeans have said they are going to exercise their right, which is not theirs at all. But if the Congress and the League appealed to them they might consider their request." "Let it be understood," continued Gandhiji, "there is no question of going to them with the beggar's bowl. They have no place in the Constituent Assembly according to the legal interpretation of the Cabinet Mission's Paper."

"To enslave another country is unnatural," he concluded. "Merely by making a pious resolve you will not get off India's back. Corresponding action is required. They are striving and there is no reason for India to doubt their  *bona fides* . Their task is difficult." The Congress, the League and the British were all labouring under unnatural conditions.

#### THE VICEREGAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The Viceregal announcement that invitations had been sent to fourteen individuals by their names to help H. E. the Viceroy to form his cabinet was made on the 16th. Having failed in their attempt to bring the two major parties together, the Mission had to devise some way of removing the deadlock. H. E. the Viceroy's statement was the result. Their failure was nothing to be surprised at. "What is surprising is that instead of following the democratic procedure of inviting the one or the other party to form a national government, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission have decided to impose a government of their choice on the country. The result may well be an incompatible and explosive mixture. There are, however, two ways of looking at a picture. You can look upon it from the bright side or you can look upon it from the dark." Gandhiji has declared that he believes in looking at the bright side and has invited others to do likewise. "Thus regarded, what appear to be blemishes in the Viceregal statement, would be seen to be really its beauty." It might however be, commented Gandhiji in the course of his after-

prayer address on the day the statement was published, that there was no bright side. Then the Mission would stand exposed. They would lose nothing by trusting. He had suggested to the Working Committee some tests by which the Statement might be tested. He held the view firmly that fulfilment of those conditions was essential for Congress acceptance. But he could not say whether they would be agreeable to either party. It was, therefore, very difficult to say with certainty what the Congress Working Committee would decide. One thing, however, he could say without hesitation. At no stage had the Congress showed any dilatoriness. It was a democratic organization and could not carry things by an executive fiat like the Viceroy for instance. It could proceed only by consulting and satisfying even the weakest minority whom it claimed to represent. "You should bear with the Mission too," he pleaded. "They have inherited the traditions of Imperialism which they cannot outgrow all at once. And poor India has to suffer. We must not blame them, however, for not throwing it overboard overnight. Let us trust their  *bona fides* . Let us not act upon mere suspicion. But let us all join in the prayer that God may bless all the parties with wisdom and cleanness of heart."

#### THE CRITERIA

While this is being written the Congress Working Committee is still busy examining the tests suggested by Gandhiji. Congress has always claimed to be a national organization. It can not barter for any tactical consideration its right and duty to represent all communities and classes without committing political suicide. That right is based on service. Similarly, it cannot let down for political gain its tried and faithful friends. Such opportunism would sap its moral being and inevitably prove fatal. Did not Yudhishtira refuse to enter heaven without his faithful dog? To gain the world at the cost of losing one's soul is a bad bargain.

Whilst these are matters necessarily for the Working Committee to consider, Gandhiji has been telling his audiences what their duty is in this hour. As a firm believer in the utility of community prayer, he has been making them sing  *Ramadhun*  in the mass. But were they following Rama in their daily lives? To repeat  *Ramanama*  and to follow the way of Ravana in actual practice is worse than useless. It is sheer hypocrisy. One might deceive oneself or the world but one cannot deceive the Almighty. "Today, in the West, people talk of Christ but it is really the Anti-Christ that rules their lives. Similarly, there are people who talk of Islam but really follow the way of Satan. It is a deplorable state of affairs. We are afraid of people professing religions other than our own. We think they will crush us, forgetting that no one can crush us if we have made God our refuge. The hymn that has just been sung describes how God has redeemed sinners. How much more, then, would He do for His devotees? But they must be devotees of God in the true sense of the term." If people followed the way of God, continued Gandhiji, there would

not all that corruption and profiteering that we see in the world. The rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer. Hunger, nakedness and death stared one in the face. These were not the marks of the Kingdom of God but that of Satan, Ravana or the Anti-Christ. They could not expect to bring the reign of God on earth by merely repeating His name with the lips. Their conduct must conform to His ways instead of Satan's.

New Delhi, 16-6-'46

PYARELAL

## FAMINE NOTES

### MORE ABOUT MANGO KERNEL

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava has sent a copy of an article 'Mango Kernels as Food' from the 'Indian Farming Journal' for December 1942. It runs:

"The practice of using mango kernels for food is common among the inhabitants of the Kond Hills, Ganjam Agency. It is also to be found in certain other parts of India, but it does not appear to be widespread. Probably the people were at first driven to it by economic necessity . . . But all classes including those who have plenty of other food, enjoy this addition to their daily food during the season."

The article concludes:

"Though mango kernel is not to be recommended as a staple diet as used for some months each year by the poorest Konds, yet there is no reason why people should not eke out their supplies of rice with it. The mangoes used are of the wild country variety to be found everywhere in India. Nothing more is required than saving the stones and washing the pounded kernels until the astringent taste is removed."

### FOR THE ATTENTION OF GOVERNMENT

A correspondent from Chittoor writes to Gandhiji in a letter:

"The rate of interest charged by the Government on loans granted to the agriculturists under the Land Improvements Loans Act and the Agricultural Improvements Loans Act is at present 5½% whereas the Government is able to get money in the open market from 2 to 2½% of interest. This is a central subject. The Government of India can give all necessary loans free of interest or at least at 2½% of interest."

Mussooree, 7-6-'46

### FALLOW AND CULTIVABLE LANDS

Shri V. N. Khanolkar from Bombay writes:

"British India agricultural statistics 1941-42, published by the Government of India (1945) gives sufficient food for thought to our Ministers who are trying their best to resolve the acute food problem."

"The position as it stands today is not likely to have undergone a big change on account of the Grow More Food campaign and the figures quoted below may be taken as sufficiently representing the present state of affairs in the country."

"The total area left fallow during the year is 4,71,50,000 acres, while the net area actually sown is 21,32,90,000 acres. The percentage of the fallow area to the net area sown in British India is 22% while the corresponding percentage for the various

provinces are:

Ajmer Merwara	65%	Delhi	9%
Assam	30%	Madras	31%
Bengal	18%	N. W. F. P.	19%
Bihar	38%	Orissa	30%
Bombay	17%	Punjab	11%
C. P. & Berar	14%	Sind	111%
Coorg	100%	United Provinces	8%

"Experts opine that given manure and water in sufficient quantities, there is no necessity of lands being kept fallow. The figures of the United Provinces prove this."

"We also find the following interesting figures in the column 'cultivable area':"

Bengal	8,62,788	acres
Bombay	2,07,301	"
C. P. & Berar	51,94,728	"
Punjab	42,32,286	"
Total	1,04,97,103	acres

"Sir Vijayaraghavacharya in 'Law and Its Problems' says:

"The balance of 87 million acres is classed in the official statistics as 'uncultivated area.' This area is what is usually referred to in discussions about food supplies and agricultural colonization as land available for expansion of agriculture. No systematic investigation has been made into the nature of this area with a view to ascertain how much of it could be cultivated with a reasonable capital expenditure. Calculations made by Provincial Governments have indicated that 10 million acres of this area are definitely known to be cultivable' (page 4).

"Besides the above the following items in the report will make interesting reading:

1.	area under jute and other fibres	29,52,000	acres
2.	" tea and coffee	8,41,000	"
3.	" tobacco	11,96,000	"
4.	" opium	18,000	"
5.	" other narcotic drugs	1,94,000	"

Total 52,01,000 "

"A big portion of the jute is exported to foreign lands. The owners of tea estates have kept, as reserves, thousands of acres of good land for future expansion. In view of the acute food shortage land under 3, 4 and 5 should be converted into food crops land."

Here is a thing for the popular ministries to take up at once. They need not wait for the establishment of a national government at the Centre.

New Delhi, 15-6-'46

PYARELAL



# HARIJAN

June 23

1946

## THE EUROPEAN VOTE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

No less a person than the President of the European Association has exhibited the lion's paw. That seems to be the naked truth. That the Europeans will neither vote nor offer themselves for election should be a certainty, if a Constituent Assembly worthy of the name is at all to be formed. The British power in India has four arms—the official military, the official civil, the unofficial civil and the unofficial military. So when the ruling class speaks of the unofficial European as not being under their control, it is nonsense. The official exists for the unofficial. The former would have no work if the latter did not exist. The British gunboat came in the wake of British commerce. The whole of India is an occupied country. We have to examine in this light the exploits of the European President. In the intoxication of power he does not seem to have taken the trouble to ascertain whether the State Paper has provided for the legal power for his community to vote or be voted for in the proposed Constituent Assembly. For his and his constituents' edification I have secured the opinion from the leader of the Bar in Delhi. It will be found in these columns.

Did the President condescend to inquire of the Mission what his moral and legal position was? Or, did he hold them cheap because he represented the real Imperialism which the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy representing British Labour were struggling to discard?

It is the straw which shows the way the wind is blowing.

This unseasonable performance of the European Association is to my mind the greatest disturbing factor to shake the faith in the reality of the Mission's work. Has the Mission come before its time? Will the gun-protected Europeans of India silence their guns and stake their fortunes Andrews-like, purely on the good will of the masses of India? Or, do they expect in their generation to continue the imposition of foreign rule on India?

How can they say, they 'are not intransigent'? The Statement reeks of intransigence. They have a loaded communal franchise, glaringly in Bengal and Assam. What right had they to be in the Assemblies at all? What part have they played in the two Assemblies save to embarrass the people of Bengal and Assam by dividing the communities? This 'load' was not imposed upon them. It would have redounded to their honour if they had repudiated it. Instead, they welcomed the 'white man's burden'. And even now, at the hour of the dawn, they would graciously contribute to constitution-making!!! Not everyone who says 'I am not intransigent' is really so; he only is who says

nothing but lets his deeds eloquently speak for themselves.

They have been made to look so foolish by their latest statement as to say that they would refrain from voting for themselves but would use their vote for electing their henchmen wearing the Indian skin! They would, if they could, repeat the trick which has enabled them, a handful, to strangle the dumb millions of India. How long will this agony last! Do the Mission propose to bolster up this unholy ambition and yet expect to put to sea the frail barque of their Constituent Assembly? Indians cannot perform the obvious duty of the Mission for them.

New Delhi, 17-6-'46

## LEGAL OPINION ON THE EUROPEAN VOTE

Gandhiji has received the following legal opinion on the question of the right claimed by the Europeans to take part in the making of the future constitution of India, as adumbrated in the State Paper of May 16, 1946:

"Referring to the Statement of the British Cabinet Ministers' paper issued on 16th May, 1946, I have been asked my opinion on the following question:

'Whether the Europeans (who are foreigners and non-nationals) are entitled to

(a) vote at the election of

or (b) be candidates for the election of members for the proposed Constituent Assembly.'

"The question seems to me to refer to the Constitution-making body for the time being set up to frame the future Indian Constitution.

"My reply briefly is as under:

"1. Para 3 lays down that immediate arrangements be made whereby *INDIANS may decide the future constitution of India*. In other words the Constitution-making body is to consist of Indians only.

"2. Para 16 says: 'The object is to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by *INDIANS for INDIANS*.'

"3. Para 18 says: 'The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the *elective bodies to decide a new constitution structure*.'

"4. Para 18 further provides that for this purpose it is sufficient to recognize only three main communities in India, i. e. General, Muslims and Sikhs. For other smaller communities provision is made in para 20.

"5. In para 19, table of representation is given and the only point for decision is whether foreigners and non-nationals have any right to vote at the election or stand as candidates.

"I am of opinion that paras 18 and 19 are subject to the statements as to formation of Constituent Assembly made in paras 3 and 16 which give the right of making the constitution to *INDIANS* alone and not to those who are not Indians."

SHIVNARAIN (Senior)

B. A. LL. B.

Advocate, High Court and Senior Advocate, Federal Court of India

## MUCH IN LITTLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"In Mr. Mahadev Desai's book on the Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation, I find your speeches made in several places in Travancore. You have spoken of the Ishopanishad and said that if the first verse alone survived and all the rest of the Hindu Scriptures were destroyed, it would alone save religion from extinction. Perhaps, you know that that verse was a turning point in the life of Devendranath Tagore, the Poet's father. Young Devendranath was in a mood of great depression when his father died leaving the family estate highly encumbered. One day while in this mood a piece of printed paper was wafted by a passing breeze to where he was sitting. He picked it up. It was in Sanskrit which he had not learnt then. He took it to the family *pundit* who read it out. It was the first verse of the Ishopanishad. 'Nectar poured into my soul,' says the Maharshi in his autobiography.

"The phrase about enjoying by renunciation puzzled me for long. One day (or night to be correct) it flashed on me that the phrase but expressed a daily experience. What greater enjoyment is there than renouncing something one values to one — person or cause — which one holds dear."

The above letter from Shri K. Natarajan was received by me about three months ago. I had hoped to deal with it in these columns much earlier but could not. Nothing, however, is lost, for the subject matter of the letter is an evergreen. I try to the utmost of my ability to live the meaning that, in my ungrammatical way, I have ascribed to the *shloka*. Not being a reader of books, I never knew the instance that Shri Natarajan quotes from Maharshi Devendra's life. It fortifies my belief that the first *mantra* of Ishopanishad is all that undiluted Hinduism — in other words, for me, religion — can have to give. The recitation of the 18 chapters of the Gita is finished in one week at the morning prayer and so it has gone on now for some years from week to week. The Gita is a commentary on the first verse of the Ishopanishad. And I feel, not without diffidence, that the interpretation that flashed on Shri Natarajan's mind reveals but the partial truth. As I understand it, his interpretation is only the well-worn doctrine of self-sacrifice which is undoubtedly a common enough experience. Take only one instance. Many a mother sacrifices all for her children. But the *mantra* referred to here was not revealed to confirm the truth of that practice, well known even during the remote times when it is said to have been given. To live up to that verse means the new birth enunciated in the New Testament or *Brahma Samarpana* (dedication to God) as taught in Hinduism. The verse, therefore, seems to me to mean only one thing. Recognize that everything you fancy you have is God's and from God and take only what you really need for life. In other words, in the language of the Gita it teaches the doctrine of uttermost detachment. Then only is life worth living.

New Delhi,

13-6-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## LOOTING

Q. A correspondent writes:

"Supposing that in a Government or private godown food grains are being allowed to rot while people are starving because none are available in the market, what are workers to do? Would it be permissible to resort to something in the nature of your Dharasana salt raid in order to save the people? Otherwise, what alternative is there to either looting or dying like dumb cattle, of both of which you disapprove?"

A. It should be common cause that looting in itself can never do any good. Wherever it is claimed to have done so, the good consisted only in drawing the attention of the authority to a crying want. The way of voluntary fasting that I have suggested is the most efficient because it is good in itself and good also as an effective demonstration. It is good in itself because the people who voluntarily fast exhibit strength of will which saves them from the pangs of hunger and wakes up public conscience as also that of the authority, assuming that the latter can have any conscience at all.

So far as the Dharasana salt raid is concerned, apart from the fact that there were, according to my conception of it, several mistakes made, it was a perfect thing of its kind and a heroic struggle in which the sufferings undergone were bravely borne. But the distinction between it and loot should be clearly borne in mind. The Dharasana Salt Works were conceived to be national property. The intention there was not to seize the property by force. The fight was to assert the right of the nation to the possession of all salt yielded by land or sea in India. If the raid had succeeded, that is to say, if the Government had yielded, they would have done so to the nation's sufferings which the raid and the like involved. And, as a matter of fact, the sum total of the sufferings undergone by the people on a nation-wide scale did result in what is known as the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. Thus it will be seen that between the loot that the correspondent has in mind and the Dharasana Raid there is no analogy whatsoever.

13-6-'46

## BHANGI STRIKES

Q. The same writer, who has asked the question about the propriety of looting, asks also what the poor sweeper is to do when everything else fails. He indignantly asks:

"Is the *bhangi* to continue his service on starvation wages, living in dirt and squalor?"

A. The question is appropriate. I claim that in such cases the proper remedy is not a strike but a notice to the public in general and the employing corporation in particular that the *bhangis* must give up the sweeping service which consigns those reserved for

that service to a life of starvation and all it means. There is a wide distinction between a strike and an entire discontinuation (not suspension) of service. A strike is a temporary measure in expectation of relief. Discontinuance is giving up of a particular job because there is no expectation of relief. Proper discontinuance presupposes fair notice on the one hand and prospect of better wages and freedom from squalor and dirt on the other. This will wake up society from its disgraceful slumber resulting in a proper scavenging of the overgrowth that has smothered public conscience. At a stroke the *bhangis* will raise scavenging to a fine art and give it the status it should have had long ago.

#### UNLAWFUL PEEP BEYOND

Q. "Ah, Christ that it were possible  
 "For one short hour to see  
 "The souls we loved, that they might tell us  
 "What and where they be."

What would you say?

A. The poet expresses in the above the cry of many an anguished heart. Nevertheless the truly detached mind does not care to know the beyond. In other words, it is wrong to have the desire. Therefore, the following from the well known hymn of Cardinal Newman represents the reality:

"I do not ask to see the distant scene  
 "One step enough for me."

New Delhi, 15-6-'46

### WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

Resolution on South African Passive Resistance Movement passed by the Congress Working Committee on June 15, 1946:

The Congress Working Committee note with satisfaction not unmixed with concern that Indians in South Africa have started the campaign of civil disobedience as a protest against the recently passed legislation by the South African Union Parliament imposing disabilities upon them. The Congress Working Committee are of opinion that the campaign carries in it the seeds of success in so far as the honour of Indians is concerned as distinguished from the loss of material prospects.

The Committee expect that having begun the struggle the resisters will carry it to the end without yielding. The Committee assure the resisters of full sympathy in their brave struggle and hope that those who are not themselves resisters will not on any account succumb to the temptations contained in the legislation itself and such small concessions that may be held out by the Union Government. The inferior status assigned to the Indians by the Act can be wiped out only by its complete abrogation. The Committee hope and expect that while the Government of India remains in the British Power, His Excellency the Viceroy will use his influence openly on behalf of the brave resisters and thus secure for them the sympathy of the world in this noble struggle for the rights of man.

### DEVELOPMENT OF DUAL-PURPOSE CATTLE IN INDIA

The term dual-purpose, in its general sense, means the breeds which from their point of view, can serve two distinct purposes. In India, the breeds of cattle, the male of which are suitable for draught and female for milk, are known as the dual-purpose types.

There has, of course, been a great deal of controversy going on among livestock breeders regarding the advisability of attempting to develop dual-purpose type of cattle in India. This question has been engaging the active attention of the breeders and those interested in the amelioration of our cattle but it was brought to the forefront by the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1928. Since then, two definite schools of thought have been evolved. In order, therefore, to view the whole question in its correct perspective, it will be more helpful to briefly repeat here the points of view of both the sides.

Those who hold that the cattle in India should be developed for specific purposes and not on dual-purpose lines contend that:

1. Indian cattle, as a whole, have been bred from times immemorial, for special purposes. As a general rule, the fastest and best working breeds of cattle are not good milkers and high milk yield is not compatible with capacity for fast work. Thus the two factors of milk and draught do not go hand in hand.

2. In dual-purpose cattle advance in either direction has periodically to be checked by the necessity to consider the other factor. Therefore, there must always be a tendency for both qualities of milk and draught to remain at a comparatively low level. In any attempt to develop dual-purpose type, sacrifice of one factor to develop the other will reduce the standard of our cattle to mediocre sorts of animals and thus either quality at its best will be inadequately represented. In order, therefore, to evolve cattle with a high standard of excellence it will be necessary to develop cattle for special purpose alone.

3. From breeding point of view progress in the production of highly efficient draught or dairy type of cattle would be much faster if only one factor was to be aimed at. Genetically, it is very difficult to breed successfully for a combination of two or more characters at one time, even when the characters are not mutually antagonistic. Simplification of characters in breeding has always resulted in more certain and quicker fixation of desired characters. Without concentration on one main factor, sustained advance to a high standard is not possible.

4. In India, the primary need is bullock for draught and in attempting to secure more milk from the draught cattle there is a danger that the qualities, which in the past, have commended them as work animals may be lost.

5. Countries which aim at nothing better than dual-purpose type cannot hope to compete with countries in which strict specialization is insisted on

and therefore any such step which will affect adversely the standard of special purpose breeds should be avoided.

On the other hand, the case of those, who are in favour of the development of Indian cattle on dual-purpose lines, may be summarized as below :

1. In India the number of cattle is already so large that any attempt at segregation of utility points may result in breeding of still larger numbers. Thus a cultivator will have to maintain different animals for different purposes, one animal for production of males suitable for draught and the other to meet his milk requirements. This will necessarily mean keeping of large number of cattle than the land can economically maintain.

2. The Indian cultivator is so poor that he cannot afford to maintain larger heads of cattle. What he needs is a type of cow capable of producing a fairly strong male suitable for farming operations on his land and supplying, in addition, reasonable quantity of milk for the requirements of his family. Thus, it should be one animal which should serve both the purposes.

3. With all the cattle, on the average, half the calves born will be males and of those a very small proportion will be fit as stud bulls. If different breeds are kept for different purposes the male calves of the milk types will not be comparatively useful as at present is the case with our best dairy types such as Sahiwal and Red Sindhis, whereas in the case of dual-purpose breeds the male can be reared for draught. Thus, in India, where both draught and milk factors are essential, the dual-purpose stock for ordinary cultivator is more economical than that bred for specific purposes.

A cursory glance at the above points of view will be sufficient to show that, as in many other such controversies, there is a great deal of truth on both the sides. These are, in fact, two sides of the same picture. For me it is very difficult to visualize a flourishing cattle industry in any country, without special breeds for specific purposes and dual-purpose breeds existing side by side.

Great Britain, on the whole, is an industrial country, yet we find some of the most special type breeds as well as dual-purpose types in that country. All such types exist side by side and flourish. They have some of the finest breeds of cattle for special purposes and still by far the most numerous breeds are those which show dual-purpose characteristics such as Short Horns, Dexter and Red Polls.

In India, the combination of milk and draught qualities does not present the same difficulty. Both these types are spare of muscles and body-fat, and the food they consume and digest is mostly returned in the form of milk or work. Mr. William Smith has even gone so far as to say : " You cannot possibly produce the very best class of draught bullock out of anything but a really good milking cow. The ability to produce milk is the strongest proof of maternity and the more efficient and perfect the dam, the more vigorous and healthy the offspring." This, of course,

is to be followed with a bit of caution. From my personal observations, I feel that we can safely develop a reasonable amount of milk into some of our draught breeds without damage to their work qualities, but, there is a limit in each breed, beyond which we cannot develop a particular character without adversely affecting the other. Thus, as a general rule, to be followed in the production of draught cattle, the Royal Commission on Agriculture has opined that 'milking qualities should be encouraged only in so far as these are entirely consistent with the maintenance of the essential qualities which good draught cattle must possess.' This can, of course, be easily attained by proper selection of strains suitable for each tract from among the existing breeds.

In India we have some of the best known draught breeds such as Hissar, Amrit Mahal, Kangayam, Nagore and Bhagnari, while Sahiwal and Red Sindhis are the best milk types. The work so far done on these milk breeds has clearly shown that high yielding strains of indigenous dairy breeds can be produced in a comparatively few years which can compete favourably with any best known dairy breeds in the world. The achievements of Pusa and Ferozepur Sahiwal herds are too well known to be detailed here. Then we have also dual-purpose breeds, such as Haryana, Tharparkar and Gir. Recent work on Haryana has shown that although basically a draught breed, it possesses special milking potentialities. On the other hand, although individual cows of Gir breed are capable of giving 'high milk yields yet the bullocks are powerful and strong workers. Gir bullocks may not be as agile and quick as Haryana, and Haryana cows may not be as good yielders as Girs, but both possess a combination of characteristics, which are really suitable to the requirements of an average cultivator. Such animals have definite economic value and they will be the most popular in those tracts where they can thrive. Thus, in my opinion, in India, as in all other cattle breeding countries, there is enough room for the development of distinct types as well as dual-purpose cattle. Special types are recommended for those tracts where natural facilities of food and grazing exist for the development of those specific purpose cattle, while for the average cultivator who is too poor to maintain such specialized strains on account of his limited resources and shortage of feed, the dual-purpose animals are most suitable.

Before concluding, I must, however, draw the attention of the readers to the fact that there are large numbers of cattle in India, which are not only poor yielders but their bullocks are also of poor quality. Here, no mistake should be made on that account. Such breeds are not dual-purpose and therefore, while planning for cattle development distinction should always be made between dual-purpose breeds and no-purpose breeds. Such animals need special attention and all possible measures should be taken to grade them up by use of improved stud bulls.

(SIR) DATAR SINGH



## A VISIT TO NAGTHAT

Shri Dharmadev Shastri has been working among the tribes of Jaunsar and Bawer for sometime. He was keen that Gandhiji himself or, if that was not possible, some members of his party should go and see his work. Gandhiji's choice fell on me as a doctor, and as secretary and convener of the Advisory Medical Board of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust.

### THE TREK

So I with Abha Gandhi started for Nagthat. Shastriji was our guide. We began motoring at 6 a. m. on the 3rd. One girl and two youngmen, friends of Shastriji, joined us at Dehra Dun. We reached Sahiya at 10 a. m. By 10.30 we were trekking up the mountain path leading to Nagthat. Shastriji had arranged for two hill ponies, one *dandi* and two coolies, and we rode or walked by turns, except Shastriji and a companion of his, Shri Sevaksinghji, who walked all the distance.

It was a hard climb. There was a narrow path with mountains on one side and a deep ravine on the other. The least carelessness might have sent one rolling down hundreds of feet into the ravine below. At several places one felt giddy looking down into the valley. So we walked with our eyes fixed on the path before us. At one place the road was broken. We crossed it with the help of the coolies and Shri Sevaksinghji. They knew no fear and no fatigue. On the way we saw Amla and Tons, the two tributaries of the Jumna, and the Jumna itself from different places.

### A LAND OF STRANGE CUSTOMS

Jaunsar and Bawer is a semi excluded area of about 500 square miles. There are 450 villages situated on the hill-tops and communications are most difficult. The population is 56,000. It is included in British India and is surrounded by the Indian States of Tehri, Nahan, Jubbal, etc. on three sides. The main occupation of the people, one might say their only occupation, is agriculture. They grow potatoes, ginger, maize, wheat and a cereal known as *Mandwa*. In Bawer opium is also produced. Agriculture in the hills means hard labour. The land available for agriculture is limited and they say that this is the most important reason for the system of polyandry that prevails in these parts. It is said that all the brothers in a family have one wife between them. Thus there is no need to divide up the property and there is an automatic check on the increase of population.

### TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

The system has its evil effects which outweigh the little good, if any, that it may do. Venereal disease is rampant. There is a surplus of women and this has resulted in an ugly traffic. Unscrupulous men from the plains have started the trade and hundreds of girls are being exported every year. Reformers are not likely to succeed in persuading the people to give up the system of polyandry unless perhaps their economic system is changed. As it is, a large number of husbands is considered to be a

mark of honour. In one village we stopped to have a drink of water. A newly married girl gave us water. We asked her how many husbands she had. "Two," her mother replied half apologetically, "but she has five fathers-in-law." There was a note of pride and self-satisfaction as she mentioned the number of fathers-in-law.

There is a vast field for cottage industries in this area and Shastriji is trying to develop the industry of wool spinning.

### PROUD OF THEIR CULTURE

There are no facilities for education or medical relief for these people. But they are very proud of their culture which, they say, they have inherited from the Pandavas. Several relics are said to have been found from the time of the Pandavas. There is a place called Lakhamandal where an attempt was made to burn the Pandavas in a wooden palace impregnated with lac. In this place there is an underground passage several miles long. It was by this passage that the Pandavas are supposed to have escaped. On digging the ground here hundreds of images can be found even today.

On the top of the hill we were shown remnants of a castle which was said to be Viratgarh, the castle of King Virata, where the Pandavas took shelter during their exile.

### VIRTUAL SERFS

Four classes inhabit this area — Brahmins, Rajputs, Bajgis and Koltas. The last two are Harijans. A system of semi-slavery is prevalent. A Brahmin or a Rajput might lend 25 or 30 rupees to a Kolta at the time of his marriage or some such occasion. As a result the latter and his whole family become the serfs of the man who lends the money. The owner is responsible for feeding them and they have to do what he asks them to do. Such is the poverty and backwardness of the Koltas that several of them are happy in their slavery because they are thereby sure of getting their food. The traffic in women is mostly confined to the Koltas.

### DRINK EVIL

The drink evil is very prevalent. There are no excise laws in this area and men and women have practically all taken to drinking. Shri Mahavir Tyagi told us how he and Dr. Katju once went to Jaunsar-Bawer and lectured about prohibition. At the end of the lecture they asked them to raise their hands and support a resolution against the drink evil. Not one hand was raised. Then they asked those who had come after a drink to raise their hands. All the hands went up and they gaily made the admission that they had all had liquor.

### NAGTHAT

We reached Nagthat at 6 o'clock in the evening. It is a beautiful spot. It is 16 miles from Chakota and 22 miles from Mussooree. From the top of the hill the Jumna is seen flowing across the plains. The scenery and the peaceful environment affect the mind profoundly. Shastriji was offered free land here by a local landlord. The Police Commissioner threatened him with dire consequences. But the man said he could not go back upon his word

Shastriji has built a few huts there, started a school and a hospital in memory of Kasturba. The place where the Ashram is situated is surrounded by 54 villages, the nearest being one mile away. The hospital is at present an out-door dispensary in charge of a homoeopathic lady doctor who has also had some training in midwifery. She comes from Nepal and is quite at home in the hills. Besides attending to the patients at the dispensary she goes touring from village to village and gives whatever medical relief she can.

#### PLIGHT OF WOMEN

The condition of the women is most unsatisfactory. Besides having to undergo the unnatural strain of having several husbands, they have to attend to work in the fields as well as to their household duties. Any man who wants a permanent servant buys a wife for a hundred rupees or so, and if he does not like her, later on he just turns her out and brings another. There are no midwives, trained or untrained. Neighbours attend on each other's delivery. Having no idea of *sepsis* and *asepsis*, the result is that one child sterility is common. There is need for a well-equipped hospital here with a qualified doctor in charge so that surgical cases and cases of abnormal midwifery can also be dealt with.

#### SCHOOL

Besides the school at Nagthat, Shastriji has also started schools in Bagi, Kirtool and Bhangar. These schools are not run on the lines of basic education, though spinning forms part of the curriculum.

#### THE RETURN JOURNEY

Several patients had collected to see me and I was examining them till 9 o'clock at night. While going up also patients had collected at several villages on the way. I gave a list to the lady doctor and asked her to send them medicines. Early next morning patients started coming before 5 a. m. It was with the utmost difficulty that I disposed them off by 7 a. m. and we started on our journey back. I was told that I had seen patients from a few nearby villages only. If I stayed there for a day or so, they would come from distant villages also. It just demonstrated the crying need for medical relief in the area.

#### A PHILANTHROPIST DOCTOR

One of the patients was suffering from bleeding piles and had become very anaemic. I advised him to go to hospital for operation. He agreed. I asked him if he knew of any hospital. "Yes, I will go to Dr. Joshi at Delhi," he said. Dr. Joshi had come to a neighbouring State sometime ago. A great philanthropist that he is, he saw several poor people besides attending to the rich patients who had called him. Three of them who needed institutional treatment, he had brought back to Delhi with him. He met all their expenses of travelling and treatment from his own pocket. When he sent them back finally he paid their return fare and gave them necessary instructions and letters of introduction so that those who needed it could continue the treatment. The result was that the poor villagers had come to look upon him as their

friend. So the only place this patient could think of going to was Dr. Joshi's clinic at Delhi. How nice it would be if there were a few more Joshis among us doctors!

On our way back Shastriji took us to Kalsi where he has started Asoka Ashram near the stone pillar bearing Emperor Asoka's edict describing his conquest of Kalinga. He was so disgusted with the bloodshed which made victory worse than defeat, says the edict, that he disbanded his armies and took the vow of *ahimsa*. Subsequently, the whole of India including Afghanistan came under his banner voluntarily.

#### ASOKA ASHRAM, KALSI

Kalsi Ashram is situated in a picturesque spot, with the hills on one side and jungle on the other. It is situated on the banks of the river Jumna close to the edict mentioned above. Shastriji aims at developing this place into a training centre for village industries. At present wool industry is the only one that is being worked. I was told that it enabled the villagers to earn from 1 to 1½ rupees per day easily without leaving their homes. Asoka Ashram was started on the 10th of July 1942. Shastriji was arrested on the 9th of August and released after a year and a half. After his release he went back to that place and has been trying to develop the work that he had started. His services are highly appreciated by the villagers. He has dedicated his whole life to their service.

Mussooree, 6-6-'46

S. N.

#### BHANGI PROBLEM IN NEW DELHI

[When the rest of Gandhiji's party went up to Simla with him, Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, who had come to spend his summer vacation with him, stayed behind. Gandhiji had left the decision entirely to him, but he could not make up his mind. So at Gandhiji's suggestion he decided to toss for it. The toss went against Simla. That settled it for him. To make the best use of what he felt was a God-given opportunity, he began frequently visiting the Sweepers' Colony at Reading Road. Later he was joined by his doctor sister, who had come on a brief holiday from Bettiah in Bihar. The following is a condensed summary of the note which he has prepared on the conditions in the Sweepers' Colony. PYARELAL]

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In New Delhi there are six main sweepers' colonies, comprising nearly 325 houses. In all of these except the Reading Road *Basti*, the Harijans live side by side with the other castes.

All the families are in the Municipal employ. Most of them are employed as ordinary *mehitars*. Their pay is Rs. 13/- *per mensem*. Their work is to sweep the roads, clean the public latrines etc. The lorry *'beldars'*, i. e. those who load the refuse lorries are paid Rs. 15/- per month.

Very few women are employed. There is a curious reason for it. They are paid at the same rate as men, but because of the rules governing female labour, it proves much dearer. Hence the Municipality, as it is

said, has stopped further employment of women. Their present number is nearly 40 as against 600 men employed.

The result is that women have to find employment in private quarters, where they are paid from 8 as. to Re. 1/- a month per house. In bungalows, however, they may get as much as Rs. 5/- per month, but generally bungalows have whole-time sweepers. On the whole the average monthly income of a sweeper woman varies from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 12/-.

The average family may be taken to consist of husband, wife and 4 children. Their earnings may be represented as follows:

Father Rs. 13/- (pay) plus Rs. 16	
Dearness Allowance	Rs. 29/-
Mother	" 7/-
1 Child	" 5/-
	Total Rs. 41/-

The income per head in a family thus works out to 4 as. a day. This is, however, the average. Quite a large number get less and live on the starvation line. In the case of one family with 8 children I found that the father got Rs. 13/- (these days Rs. 29/- including D. A.) and the wife Rs. 6/-. Thus 10 people have to live on Rs. 19/- (at present Rs. 35/-) per month. This gives 1 anna per head per day in normal times and in these days nearly 2 as. And this after eight hours of exacting work!

Some of the families are better off. Their income goes up to as much as Rs. 200/- per month. But their number is too few to need mention. The cause of their better position is that some of the members have found employment as *chaprasis* in Government offices.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS OF LIVING

In the Reading Road *Basti* there are 100 houses and 25 temporary huts to house a population of nearly 800. No wonder the general conditions of living are abominable. Each family is allotted a quarter consisting of one room 10'x13'. But as there are not enough quarters, many tenements have to be shared by two or more families. The rest of the population is housed in temporary straw huts. Then each house has on an average to accommodate 7 people. In summer people can sleep outside, but in winter they have all to huddle together in one little room—mother, father, children and members of another family besides sometimes. The door is generally closed for fear of cold, the only means of ventilation being a small aperture near the roof. The houses are kept very dirty, the clothes are dirtier still and smelling. Even the bodies are filthy.

The arrangement for latrines and bath rooms is inadequate. There are only 13 latrines and 4 bathrooms for a population of nearly 800. Naturally, very often, people ease themselves outside the latrines, which makes the place terribly filthy. The automatic flush very often remains unattended and the cemented floors are broken. Only a day or two before Gandhiji went to stay there were they put in order. There is no arrangement for medical relief and there is a wide incidence of diseases attendant on dirt, poverty and squalor.

#### MEDICAL SURVEY

On the 11th evening, accompanied by Dēv Prakash Nayyar, I went and carried out what may be called a

preliminary medical survey of the Bhangi Colony. 23 patients came and were diagnosed for sores, eye and ear troubles. There were some cases too of rheumatism, bronchitis, diarrhoea etc. Some other cases of a more complicated nature were directed to the Lady Hardinge and the Irwin Hospitals for further diagnosis.

The above analysis does not include all the patients at the Bhangi Colony. But still it can be taken as an indication of the state of health in the Colony. The general health of the Colony must be very poor, considering that at a moment's notice about 30 patients came. We knew how unwilling the poor ignorant people generally are to face the doctor. It will further be seen that most of the diseases need only cleanliness and hygienic living to disappear. What is needed is not so much medicine as education in health and hygiene and an improvement in their sanitary and economic conditions. Obviously, so long as the average income of a *bhangi* remains 4 annas a day, he cannot be expected to spend any money on soap etc.

#### GRIEVANCES AND DEMANDS

The following are their principal grievances and demands:

1. *Social disabilities*, i. e. the treatment meted out to them by fellow passengers in public vehicles and by their colleagues in Government offices where they are employed.

2. *Economic disabilities*. Their requirement as lorry drivers and *chaprasis* has provoked opposition from both Hindus and Muslims in those services and unless the officer-in-charge happens to be a strong man they have to pay the price. Another form of discrimination which is felt strongly by *mehtars* especially is that while hitherto promotions to the rank of a *daroga* were according to seniority, this time, it is alleged, because all on the seniority list are *bhangis*, it has been decided to recruit non-*bhangis* from outside for the post.

3. Another demand is that they should be given land for building purposes round the Valmiki Mandir either free or on lease or even on purchase. They are prepared to abide by all the conditions that the Municipality may lay down regarding the types of houses etc. that may be built on it. It is a very legitimate demand and one strongly hopes that it will be met.

#### SOCIAL WORK AMONGST THEM

Hardly any social work has been done amongst them. Many people representing various institutions came, but went back after a short while. Naturally, the Harijans feel disappointed. But still I feel that they would welcome anyone who would take real interest in them. So far as educational activity is concerned, it should be remembered that no education, unless it is closely related to their lives and holds out the prospect of ameliorating their economic condition, is likely to appeal to them.

Though naturally they are chiefly interested in the betterment of their economic condition, they keenly feel their social disabilities. The slight improvement that has been effected has by rousing their consciousness

made them feel their inferior status in society all the more keenly.

The majority of them are illiterate. Previously two schools—one night school and one day school—were being run in the Valmiki Mandir. They were closed when finally it was decided to get Harijan children admitted to the ordinary schools.

### SPINNING AS OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

Spinning has many uses. Not the least interesting is its use as occupational therapy. An illustration of it is provided by a correspondent who is himself a patient and is undergoing treatment for spine trouble in the orthopaedic ward of the Government Hospital at Madura. He writes :

"During the National Week, even though confined to bed, I started spinning on a *takli* for sacrifice. It attracted two more patients and we span by turns on the two *taklis* that we had amongst us. Last year too, while I was in an Ayurvedic Ashram undergoing treatment, I did the same thing during the National Week and the Gandhi Jayanti week, when patients, *sadhus* and some inmates of the Ashram totalling about 17, most of them with improvised *taklis*, joined in the *yagna*. The yarn thus spun we sent as contribution to the Kasturba Fund. Encouraged by that experience, when I found this time that more and more patients were drawn to spinning by our example, I started improvising *taklis* from bamboo and earthen pot shreds. In the first week of May 1946, about a dozen bed-patients with fractured legs and spines were able to turn out amongst themselves half a dozen hanks. By the end of the second week the total number of *taklis* plying rose to thirty and the hanks spun during the two weeks totalled 24. These I sent to the A. I. S. A. as membership fee for four of us selected in order of their amount of spinning.

"This is a Government hospital with a total strength of 800 patients out of which in my ward there are about 70. Mine is the orthopaedic ward where fractures, tuberculosis of the bone etc. are treated, and patients have to be in bed for months, even years. Among the present spinners one-third are young kids. It has been found that apart from other things spinning has a definite therapeutic value. It keeps the patients agreeably occupied and makes them forget their pain and worries. I take care to see that in their enthusiasm they do not overwork. A patient from the eye ward has recently joined us."

The correspondent ends by asking as to whether it is desirable to encourage this kind of activity in a hospital and what is the best way of utilizing the yarn.

The use of occupational therapy as an aid to healing has come to be widely recognized by the medical profession in the West and constitutes a regular feature of treatment in some hospitals, particularly in America. In India, however, it has not yet been adopted. It ought to be encouraged

by hospital authorities and promoted by philanthropic societies interested in the welfare of patients. These can collaborate by providing cotton, implements of spinning, *tunai* etc. and means for technical instruction. The yarn produced can go into the charity box of the hospital to be utilized either for purchasing certified Khadi for hospital linen or, if it is in sufficient quantity, it can be woven into cloth for hospital use. If the patients succeed in communicating their enthusiasm to their attendants and relatives also, they will have the satisfaction that their period of convalescence was not altogether wasted, but was fully utilized for rendering a valuable piece of national service.

Mussooree,  
7-6-'46

PYARELAL

### A COMMENDABLE EXAMPLE

A group of earnest youngmen, mostly from Kerala, employed in various offices in Bombay, banded themselves together and started a Gram Seva Samiti in the month of July 1945, with the object of working out a plan to carry on village uplift work. To start with, they had only 7 members. They have now 15 members on the rolls paying a monthly subscription of Rs. 10/- each out of savings from their meagre salaries.

To organize their work they sent one of themselves, Shri K. Kumaran, for training in village industries. After completing his training in October 1945, he started an experimental centre at Perur in South Malabar. A small house was lent free of charge by a kind and generous woman of the village and was used to start a village reconstruction centre with the opening of a spinning class. Gradually a reading room and library, Hindustani classes, free dispensary and a weaving centre and Khadi Bhandar were set up. The following is a summary of the report of their various activities :

"Spinning classes are conducted from 9.30 to 4.30 p. m. with an interval of one hour. Instruction is imparted in carding also and the students are required to spin on self-made slivers only. Each class is held for a period of nearly 1½ months, by which time students become expert spinners.

"Three such classes were conducted consisting of altogether thirty students and the fourth class is being conducted now with ten students.

"The carding implements and *charkhas* supplied to the students during their study course are allowed to be taken along with them at the termination of the classes. They are required to bring in their weekly production of yarn and out of the corresponding price 1/3rd is apportioned towards cost of implements, 1/3rd towards Khadi cloth supplied to them—it is our desire that at least every spinner should use khaddar only—and the balance is given to them in cash and/or cotton. Thus, in the course of a few months, the students can own, without any investment, the necessary carding and spinning implements, besides a good quantity of Khadi cloth for their use and in the long run can make their families also self-sufficient in regard to clothing; on the other hand this procedure entails no recurring investment on the part of the Samiti.



"Up till now the Samiti has produced more than forty spinners and the average weekly production is 150 hanks."

A weaving centre was also started in the month of March 1946, with a view to making the village self-sufficient in regard to clothing. An expert weaver, trained in the well known Khadi production centre—Gandhinagar, Tirupur, was put in charge.

"We have also opened a Khadi Bhandar in order to supply cloth to the spinners and to popularize the use of Khadi amongst the villagers, and we are now actually unable to meet the minimum demands.

"A Hindustani class was started with the assistance of a local Hindi Pandit and regular classes are conducted. Twentyone students appeared from our centre for the recent Nayi Hindustani examinations and all of them came out successful. We are at present coaching twenty students for the ensuing "Madhyama" examinations of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Madras.

"The reading room is now getting three dailies, ten weeklies and two monthlies. Most of the papers and magazines are supplied free of charge by the managements concerned. Besides, we are also circulating the "Gramasevakan"—a manuscript monthly of our own. The library consists of a fairly good collection of political and economic literature—Anglo-Vernacular.

"Within a radius of seven miles of Perur Village, there is no hospital at all—not to speak of a free one. So we have opened a free dispensary also. From an average daily attendance of 3 to 5 in the beginning, the number of such attendance has risen to 50-60. We have at our disposal the services of a Homoeopathic doctor.

"In view of the increasing attendance at the dispensary, it is our intention to augment the equipment of the dispensary and to engage one more physician.

"The spinning classes, Hindustani classes, free dispensary, etc. are open to everybody, irrespective of caste or creed and it is noteworthy that the majority of patients at our dispensary is from among the Harijan and Muslim population.

During the short period of our existence, we have received by way of donation about Rs. 1400/- in cash and for the construction of a building to house our growing centre, materials worth about Rs. 400/- have been received from the villagers.

"The activities of the institution are carried on by four wholtime workers (who are maintained by the members' subscription) and three part-time workers."

The quick response which the effort has evoked shows that the harvest is plentiful; only the labourers are few.

Mussooree, 30-5-'46

PYARELAL

By M. K. Gandhi

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## PALM GUR INDUSTRY

[The following is condensed from a letter on the Palm Gur industry by Shri Gajanan Naik. He pleads for due consideration of and an unbiased approach to the salient features of this important village industry.]

It is :

1. A POTENTIAL SOURCE OF NATIONAL FOOD ECONOMY. It would release 40 lakhs of acres of fertile land, now occupied by sugar cane, for producing cereals.

2. A REAL AID TO PROHIBITION. It will greatly minimize the problem of unemployment, for tappers, through the rational use of palm trees.

3. A SOCIALISTIC MEASURE. It is not like the sugar cane industry, benefiting only a few. It is a real village industry which, if properly organized, will have far-reaching beneficial effect on the villagers.

The following measures may be promptly taken by the Provincial Governments :

### 1. EXCISE EXEMPTION.

(a) Free tapping of all sugar-yielding palms must be permitted. The industry cannot progress unless free access to raw material is extended to the tappers. Production, possession, sale and transport of palm gur should also be allowed on the same basis as cane gur.

### (b) PREVENTION OF HARASSMENT.

Tappers must not be harassed by the Excise and Police staff engaged for checking misuse.

### 2. SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIAL.

(a) To fell a tappable palm tree by whomsoever owned should be a cognizable offence.

(b) Trees owned by Government should be leased on a nominal rent for gur or sugar making. Rent charged by other owners should be controlled. Leasing should be obligatory on owners unless they themselves are using the trees for manufacture of gur.

(c) And exhaustive survey of sugar-yielding palm trees should be made in order to ascertain potential production and gauge to what extent there is need of planting new trees.

(d) Scientific cultivation of sugar palms should be included in planning schemes.

### 3. TECHNICAL AID.

(a) Adequate arrangements should be made for training all villagers desirous of learning the manufacturing process. Suitable literature in the local languages as well as facilities for practical lessons in the art in vocational schools should be provided.

(b) All the necessary apparatus for manufacture should be made available at controlled rates.

(c) Free supply of light fuel under proper supervision should be allowed from Government forests.

### 4. MARKETING FACILITIES.

(a) Palm gur Producers' Co-operatives should be set up so as to avoid the middleman.

(b) Transport facilities should be provided.

(c) Government institutions such as hospitals, jails etc. should give preference to the use of palm gur and palm sugar.

### 5. POTENTIAL SOURCE OF FOOD ECONOMY.

Government-owned waste land unsuited for agriculture should be utilized for the cultivation of palm trees so that in time cane sugar may be supplanted by palm sugar. Private owners of land may be subsidized for the same purpose.

## HALLUCINATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

We are afflicted by many superstitions, obsessions and hallucinations. They are entirely the creation of the mind, but so long as they are not exorcized they continue to afflict us. We may take for a snake a piece of rope and dislocate our wrist in striking at it. Similarly, we may take a non-poisonous snake for a poisonous one and lose a friend by ignorantly destroying it. Who has not heard stories of people mistaking a respectable citizen for a thief and killing him in a paroxysm of fear? Instances of Harijans being foolishly held responsible for the outbreak of plague in villages and being lynched for it are unfortunately not uncommon. In the same way, I would regard it as the height of superstitious ignorance for educated people or students to refuse admission in hostels to Harijans. In this connection I would particularly invite the attention of all students and superintendents of hostels to the leaflet issued over the signatures of Shris Parikshitlal Majmudar and Hemantkumar Nilkanth for their careful perusal, reflection and action. In that leaflet they seem to have made an exception in the case of hostels which are specially reserved for certain castes and sub-castes. In my opinion, even in these hostels Harijans ought to be freely admitted if only to prove that those castes or sub-castes have banished untouchability from their minds for good.

New Delhi, 15-6-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## THE NIGHTMARE

An English friend posed to Gandhiji, during his stay at Mussooree, the question whether the very frightfulness of the atom bomb would not force non-violence on the world. If all nations were armed with the atom bomb they would refrain from using it as it would mean absolute destruction for all concerned. Gandhiji was of the opinion that it would not. "The violent man's eyes would be lit up with the prospect of the much greater amount of destruction and death which he could now wreak."

The fact is that the race for atomic secrets, instead of culminating in the abolition of violence, threatens to usher in the reign of an unprecedented frightfulness and extinction of individual freedom long before the first atom bomb has fallen on its target. *One World or None* (McGrew and Hill), "a report on the full meaning of the atomic bomb by 17 scientists (including five nobel prize winners), generals and pundits," gives a calm hair-raising warning of the swiftly approaching disaster. After describing the incredible destructiveness of the newer type of atomic bombs that have been "investigated in a preliminary way" and their almost "measly" cost, General Arnold observes: "Destruction by air power has become too cheap and easy . . . The existence of civilization (is) subject to the good will and good sense of the men who control air power." Physicist Louis N. Ridenour, rader expert, explains how even the most elaborate

precautions cannot keep a good proportion of the bombs from hitting their targets. "And just a few bombs will be enough." "Atomic saboteurs may sow the U. S. with hidden volcanoes," writes Physicist Edward U. Condon, "waiting to erupt on a chosen Pearl Harbour day. . . . A target to be safe must be surrounded by a sanitary area at least a mile in radius. Twenty thousand tons of TNT can be kept under the counter of a candy store."

"To guard against such sabotage," proceeds Mr. Condon, "the U. S. would have to turn itself into a police state tighter than any in history." In a summing-up chapter, Dr. Harold C. Urey further expatiates on this aspect of the atomic race. "Long before the bombs begin to fall, the U. S. people will have lost their liberties under a rigid military dictatorship. Atomic generals, conferring in blackest secrecy, will dominate the homes and industries of the nation. Secret police will pry into every cranny, hunting for spies and saboteurs. The same trend will occur in all countries of the world, and, the end will be deadly fear everywhere."

The only solution according to these scientists is a "world government strong enough to make war impossible." "The problem has brought us to one of the great crises of history. The arms race must be stopped. There is not much time."

New Delhi, 17-6-'46

PYARELAL

[P. S. Since the above was written has come the appeal of M. Frederick Joliot Curie, Head of the French representatives on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission that scientists should strike on further Atomic research if the Governments of the world do not reach a control agreement. "If no agreement is reached . . .", he said, "We scientists should feel called upon to discontinue our research in this field, to refuse to become a party to the prostitution of science."]

## Love of Truth

[Shri V. G. Desai has written about the love of truth in India in a Gujarati article in *Harijanbandhu*. The concluding portion of his article is reproduced below.

PYARELAL]

"Mendarwala Purushottam Mavani sued Darbarshri Valabhai for Rs. 4400. Valabhai said that he would accept the arbitration of Damodar Mavani, the father of Purushottam. Damodarbhair went to the court and said that so far as he knew Purushottam had given Darbar Rs. 2000 only. So Valabhai paid the full amount of Rs. 4400/- to Purushottam.

"In Jetpur there was a dispute between Hindus and Mussalmans in connection with land near the trough in a public square. The Hindus said: "We will accept the award of the two memans Daud Bega who was 95 years old and Aba Abu." The two gentlemen said that the land belonged to the Hindus. Thus on the land won by the Hindus in this way a *sadhu's* hut stands to this day."

## IN PRAISE OF HALVES

A bill has been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly to introduce the decimal system of coinage in our country.

In the view of this University this would be a retrograde measure. The Indian Systems of coinage and weights and measures are scientific and uniform and all are generally based on the sub-division of the unit into 16 parts. This makes the calculation of prices and fares automatic and easy and the application of the decimal system to coinage alone would, to say the least, be premature. One could understand the introduction of the decimal system of coinage along with the use of the metric system of weights and measures, but to have only decimal coinage is bound to cause considerable annoyance and inconvenience to the general public. The convenience of the present system will immediately be observed by a perusal of the following:

1. Rupee = 2 half rupees = 4 quarter rupees = 8 twos anna bits = 16 one anna pieces.
2. Seer = 2 half seers = 4 quarter seers = 8 *allocks* = 16 *chhataks*.
3. Yard = 2 cubits = 4 spans = 8 first measures = 16 *girahs*.
4. Mile = 2 half miles = 4 quarter miles = 8 furlongs.

With the present system the calculation of prices is automatic, and no calculations are required, but with the introduction of the decimal system of coinage only, the calculation of prices, when *chhataks* or *girahs* only are purchased would present considerable difficulty to the uneducated public and I am sure the new coinage will never be popular.

In this connection I would like to mention that I have just received from America a copy of a journal called *School Science and Mathematics*, and I quote for your information the following paragraphs taken from it:

"Halves are the easiest fractions of things as everyone knows. Quarters are only halves of halves and eighths only halves of quarters. This halving process may be repeated indefinitely.

"The remedy for troubles with fractions is to use halves exclusively in measures and money, and write them in the number language or scale of eight.

"The present condition in the use of halves is somewhat like thinking in one's native language (halves) but writing in a foreign language (decimals and the metric system).

"Others propose that we learn and use the foreign metric system with its tenths, hundredths, etc. It is not a question of learning a foreign language. It is a question of altering our physical make-up, which will not be done. It is common knowledge that our minds and bodies avoid the metric divisions of material things as far as possible."

In fact American educationists are now thinking of having octonary numeration, octimal arithmetic as well as octic arithmetic weights and measures, and it seems to me it would be a very retrograde step on our part to adopt the decimal system, when the advanced thinkers of other parts of the world are planning to replace it by a more natural and scientific system.

SHRI RANG BIHARILAL  
Pro Vice-Chancellor  
Benares Hindu University

## SOME MUSSOOREE REMINISCENCES

During his ten days' stay at Mussooree, Gandhiji took holiday which in his parlance simply means respite from public engagements and interviews. In this he did not altogether succeed. A few foreign correspondents sought him out in his seclusion and were able to have talks with him on matters of common interest, politics being, of course, excluded. Gandhiji saw them during his morning walks.

### BRAKE UPON PROGRESS?

"Your Khadi, handicrafts and rural economy programme will have a great appeal for an agricultural country, as for instance, the Balkans," said one of them. "But to many of us, as indeed to many of your countrymen, it appears as a brake on progress. Most people think planning and industrialism on a wide scale to be necessary."

"How does my programme interfere with the progress of India?" Gandhiji asked in reply. "India is mainly rural, consisting of 700,000 villages."

The visitor shifted his ground. He argued that this was unfair to the cities. "What about the big cities like Bombay and Calcutta?" he asked.

"On the contrary, the boot is on the other leg," replied Gandhiji. "I regard the growth of cities as an evil thing, unfortunate for mankind and the world, unfortunate for England and certainly unfortunate for India. The British have exploited India through its cities. The latter have exploited the villages. The blood of the villages is the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built. I want the blood that is today inflating the arteries of the cities to run once again in the blood vessels of the villages."

### UNDOING THE WRONG

The friend, however, was not satisfied. "The initial mistake having been made," he argued, "you do not mean to suggest that all those steps should inexorably be retraced even though it might involve pulling down what has already been built."

"Why not?" replied Gandhiji. "Once we discover that a mistake has been made, the only course open to us is to recognize our error, retrace our steps and begin anew."

"Somehow, the belief prevails in the modern world," persisted the friend, "that retracing one's steps in this respect would be incompatible with progress."

"What do you do when a ship loses her course on the sea?" asked Gandhiji in return. "She does not continue to follow the wrong course. She at once retraces her course and then starts afresh. How often must have Columbus done that or else he would have remained a derelict all the time."

"Does that mean that you would depopulate the cities and send all the city folk back to the villages?" asked the friend.

"I would not do that. All I want is that they should re-adjust their lives so as to cease to sponge upon the poor village folk and make to the latter what reparation is possible even at this late hour by helping to resuscitate their ruined economy."

### "IF I WERE A DICTATOR"

"What would you do if you were made a dictator of India for one day?" asked the friend next, changing the topic.

"I would not accept it in the first place," replied Gandhiji, "but if I did become a dictator for one day I would spend it in cleaning the stables of the Viceroy's House that the hovels of the Harijans in Delhi are. It is disgraceful that under the very nose of the Viceroy such poverty and squalor should exist as there is in the Harijan quarters. And why does the Viceroy need such a big house? If I had my way I would turn it into a hospital." And he gave the instance of President Kreuger whose residence was not even as good as Birlaji's 'Hermitage' in which he was staying.

"Well, sir," remarked the friend continuing the theme. "Suppose they continue your dictatorship for the second day?"

"The second day," replied Gandhiji amidst laughter, "would be a prolongation of the first."

They next talked of several other things—the national language of India, the place of English, the administrative problems that would face an independent India, the future of Indo-British trade relations. They then came to non-violence.

"What will be the relations of India with Russia for instance?" asked the friend. "What, if Russia were to attack India?"

"Under my dictatorship Russia would find its occupation gone. It will not find it profitable to stay on, even if it came. But, of course, it is too rich a dream to be realized in a day."

### SENDING STUDENTS TO ENGLAND

"The best men in the old generation," the friend proceeded to ask "had their education in England—you for instance. Would you have India, when she becomes independent, send her sons there for study as before?"

"No, not just now," replied Gandhiji. "I would advise her to send them there only after, say 40 years."

"It means," observed the friend, "depriving two generations of the benefits of contact with the West."

That brought Gandhiji to his pet theme of living up to 125 years.

"Why two generations?" he asked. "40 years or even 60 is not too much even in an individual's life. If there is right living we need not grow old at 60 as unfortunately many do in this country. I repeat that they should go there only after they have reached maturity. Because, it is only when they have learnt to understand the good that is in their own culture that they will be able to truly appreciate and assimilate the best that England or America has to give them. Imagine a boy of seventeen, like myself, going to England—he will simply be submerged."

"Then we may expect you in England some time," queried the friend.

"Oh, yes, you may," replied Gandhiji amid general laughter.

### TRUTH OR AHIMSA?

"You have brought us to the threshold of independence, Gandhiji," remarked another privileged friend who had a talk with him of an evening, "and we cannot feel too grateful for it. You will, of course, give entire credit for it to *ahimsa*—that being your pet child. But we feel that we have derived more strength from Truth than your *Ahimsa*."

"You are wrong in thinking," replied Gandhiji, "that in my partiality for *ahimsa* I have given to truth the second place. You are equally wrong in thinking that the country has derived more strength from truth than from *ahimsa*. On the contrary, I am firmly convinced that whatever progress the country has made, is due to its adoption of *ahimsa* as its method of struggle."

"I mean the country has not understood your *ahimsa* but it understood truth and that has filled it with strength," rejoined the friend.

"It is just the contrary," replied Gandhiji. "There is so much of untruth in the country. I feel suffocated sometimes. I am convinced therefore, that it must be the practice of *ahimsa* alone, however faulty, that has brought us so far."

"Moreover, I have not given truth the second place as you seem to think," he continued and described how at a meeting at Geneva he had flabbergasted everybody by remarking that whereas he used to say that God is Truth, he had since come to hold that Truth is God.

"Nevertheless, your emphasis is always on *ahimsa*. You have made propagation of non-violence the mission of your life," argued the friend, still unwilling to concede the point.

"There again you are wrong," replied Gandhiji. "*Ahimsa* is not the goal. Truth is the goal. But we have no means of realizing truth in human relationships except through the practice of *ahimsa*. A steadfast pursuit of *ahimsa* is inevitably bound to truth—not so violence. That is why I swear by *ahimsa*. Truth came naturally to me. *Ahimsa* I acquired after a struggle. But *ahimsa* being the means we are naturally more concerned with it in our everyday life. It is *ahimsa*, therefore, that our masses have to be educated in. Education in truth follows from it as a natural end."

New Delhi, 17-6-'46

PYARELAL

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J. DESAI



## WHAT HAS THE CONGRESS DONE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Harijan from Gujarat writes:

"The elections have made it clear that only two parties count in India today, the Muslim League and the Congress. The elections have also shown that most of the Harijans are with the Congress. The Ambedkarites have won very few seats. What is the place of Congress Harijans in the Congress? Why are not Harijan candidates made to stand for election to the various committees of the Congress? When they do stand, why are caste Hindus allowed to oppose them? Is it right to keep Harijans out on the plea that the caste Hindus are more capable? The Congress has been working for the Harijans for a long time. Why has it not yet succeeded in educating them sufficiently and making them capable?"

There is ignorance and sting in this letter. They are excusable. We should understand the spirit behind it. The very fact that the Congress has won so many Harijan seats shows that it must have served them to win their confidence. They form an indivisible part of Hindu religion and Hindu society. If this part breaks or leaves the Hindu religion or Hindu society, the latter would perish. What the writer wants to say is that the caste Hindus have not done their duty towards the Harijans to the extent that they should have. If the caste Hindus would become *bhangis* of their own free will, the distinction between Harijans and caste Hindus would automatically disappear. There are various divisions amongst the Harijans too. They should all go. All should be of one caste, that is the *bhangi*. A *bhangi* is the servant of the whole of humanity, not only of the Hindus. When we become *bhangis* of this description all divisions would disappear. Who can be master where all are servants?

But today it is a mere dream, it is an objective. But no society can exist on mere dreams or objectives. It must be solid work. The Congress makes no distinctions of caste and creed. It must pull up those who are down in the dumps and those who are up in the air must come down. Thus the golden mean would be found. People cannot live in the bowels of the earth or in the sky. They all must live on the fair earth. Equality of all is the Congress pledge. Congress has not fulfilled it as yet. The columns of the 'Harijan' show that so long as it is not fulfilled the Harijans would have every cause to complain.

To the correspondent I would say this. To whom does he owe the ability to write this letter in a good hand? Which organization has done more for the Harijans than the Congress? It is true that the Congress has not done all it should. Much remains. Equally true is the fact that none has done as much as the Congress. Therefore, the Harijans must be patient. There is no doubt that there is a limit to one's patience. But the limit has not been reached.

New Delhi, 15-6-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## ANIMAL SACRIFICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes:

"The Harijans of Mysore regularly offer animal sacrifice in the temples there. In the Krishnarajanagar Taluka, pilgrimages to chosen areas take place annually for this purpose. One such took place from January 3rd to 25th this year, in which three or four goats were sacrificed daily.

"Another takes place every Saturday in the month of Shravan. In this not only Harijans but priests, the self-styled custodians of the Hindu religion, also take part. The participants indulge in drink too on these occasions.

"The most painful thing is that beef is eaten. It is a matter of utmost shame, too, for every Hindu that the killing of the animals takes place right in front of the temple—the house of God."

If what the writer says is true, it is indeed, in one sense, a matter of shame for every Hindu. But no sin can be wiped out by mere condemnation by word of mouth. Nor does the guilt of the whole body absolve the individual from his duty. Therefore, in my opinion, the responsibility of working for the reform rests, in the first instance, on the correspondent, secondly on the people of the place where the animal sacrifices are held, then on the Ruler of the State and his people and after them in turn on Karnatak, Madras Presidency and the whole of India. Only if all, in their respective places, take up the work systematically—and systematic work can only succeed if run on the basis of non-violence—can the evil that has been handed down through the ages be wiped out of existence.

Therefore, it is the correspondent who must make the beginning. I have written enough previously as to how the work of reform should be undertaken.

New Delhi, 15-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 21

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## A TOUCHSTONE AND A CHALLENGE

Shri Ghanashyamasingh Gupta writes:

"The employees of the Durg Municipality, including the sweepers, went on a strike from the 7th instant on the rejection of their demand for a 300 per cent increase in their pay. The Municipality requested the Karmachari Sangh not to include the sweepers in the strike. But the request was turned down. They would not refer the matter to impartial arbitration. The decision of the sweepers to strike work naturally put the Municipality into a dilemma.

"A public meeting was held on the 7th. at which both the President of the Municipality and that of the Sangh put their respective viewpoints before the public. I was present at the meeting. Although in my opinion the employees' case was weak, I took the stand that without entering into the merits of the dispute between the Sangh and the Municipality, the citizens should make arrangements to keep the essential services going. They should volunteer to take up scavenging duties themselves and maintain sanitary condition in the city rather than import sweepers from outside and thereby possibly precipitate trouble. Accordingly no help from outside was sent for or came and the sanitation work was done by the people themselves with the result that after four days the strike collapsed and the strikers returned to their work on the 5th day. Throughout the period there was no incident and complete peace prevailed.

"At the public meeting announcing the termination of the strike, the President of the Sangh said, referring to me and my companions, that in taking up the sweepers' work during the strike we were guilty of *himsa* towards the strikers. The implication was that if we had abstained, the Municipality would have been forced to concede their demands. Our intervention had hit them and therefore was of the nature of violence. What is your view? Were I and my companions guilty of violence? Was our action morally wrong? I may add that I have no feeling of antagonism in me in regard to the strikers. I have in my own small way even served them. In 1942, when I was President of the Municipality, I even brought trouble upon myself by admitting Harijan boys to schools along with other non-Harijan children."

The question raised by Shri Ghanashyamasingh is an important one. Sweepers' strikes are becoming the order of the day. They are a challenge to our civil conscience and a touchstone on which the sincerity of our cry for independence will be tested. Shri Khandubhai Desai has sent an account of similar action taken by the citizens of Ahmedabad during the recent sweepers' strike there. Sweepers occupy a pivotal position in our social and municipal life. They ought to have the first claim on our consideration for the amelioration of their living conditions and improved instruments of work. Instead of their having to resort to direct action for redress, it is the citizens and municipal rate payers who ought to resort to direct action on their behalf.

Not all the demands put forth by the strikers are necessarily just and it is, therefore, wrong to refuse to submit a dispute over wages and the like to impartial arbitration. In the two cases, if the intention behind the action taken by the citizens was simply to coerce the strikers into submission, it was reprehensible from the strikers' standpoint. But they had every right to resist the dictation of the strikers, if the latter's demands were unreasonable and unjust.

The strike however being now over, the interest evinced by the citizens in the sanitation problem should not cease. It is up to them to see that the cause for their recurrence is eradicated by the root. The disgraceful living conditions which characterize sweepers' quarters in many cities ought to go without delay. The sweepers should be taught the best method of rendering sanitation service. They should have facilities for education and medical relief for themselves and their children to enable them to become model citizens. If the wages are inadequate, they should be raised. Above all, having found from personal experience what sanitation work means, reformers should be able to judge better what should be done for the removal and disposal of night soil and refuse, so that the sweepers' avocation may cease to be regarded as unclean. If this urgent reform is not attended to in time and without further agitation, the excellent work done would be counted as waste of effort.

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

PYARELAL

## MORE LEGAL OPINIONS

Following upon Shri Shivanarain's legal opinion on the question of the right of the Europeans to vote or be candidates for the Constituent Assembly, Shri D. N. Bahadurji, Shri K. M. Munshi, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and Sir Bakshi Tekchand have sent their opinions to Gandhiji in response to the latter's invitation. After examining the question from different angles, they all arrive at the same conclusion as Shri Shivanarain. The following excerpts from their opinions will be found to be illuminating :

Shri D. N. Bahadurji after noticing paragraphs 1, 3 and 16 of the State document of May 16, proceeds :

"It is clear from the above quoted paragraphs that the declared intention of the author of the said Paper was that the future constitution of the Indian Government was to be devised by Indians only.

"I see nothing in paragraph 18 of the said Paper which may be construed as departing from the intention emphasized in the previous paragraphs of the said Paper. Paragraph 18 divides Indian nationals into three groups: (1) Muslims, (2) Sikhs, (3) "General Community" for reasons of convenient expression. Just as Muslims and Sikhs in paragraph 18 are assumed to be persons of Indian Nationality, so it must be assumed in the case of "General Community" that the persons comprising it, must be of Indian Nationality.

"In my opinion Europeans who are foreigners are not entitled to vote at the election of or be candidates for the election of members of the proposed Constituent Assembly."

Shri K. M. Munshi's opinion runs :

"In the last portion of the Statement the Mission further state :

'We hope in any event that *you* (Indians) will remain in close and friendly association with *our* people. But these are matters for your own free choice.'

"The British subjects who are in the country as non-national Britishers are clearly included in 'our people' and 'countrymen' and as different from 'they' (Indians) and 'the Indian people'."

Referring to paragraph 18 of the State Paper he observes :

"For the purpose of the Constituent Assembly the paragraph recognizes three main communities of Indians, namely, the General, Muslim and Sikh. The words to wit : 'We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each provincial legislative Assembly', in paragraph 19 (1) mean the same thing as representatives allotted to each of these communities.

"The General Community is deemed to include persons who are neither Muslims nor Sikhs. It is to consist of Hindus and other groups of persons referred to therein as 'smaller minorities'. The word 'smaller' as qualifying the word 'minority' has been used in contradistinction to Muslims and Sikhs who are classified as major

communities of Indians. The word 'community' had to be used for 'minority' for the Muslims and the Sikhs only because a new artificial group called General Community consisting of the majority, viz. the Hindus and the smaller minorities has to be formed."

He then proceeds to discuss the meaning of the word 'minority' as used in paragraphs 19 and 20 of the State Paper :

"The word 'minority' as used in constitutional treatises, enactments and documents means a group of nationals with distinct interests as against the interests of a larger group of nationals called the majority. But in all cases both such groups are treated, as always belonging to the same State having a common domicile and citizenship. The Treaty of June 28, 1919, by the Allied Powers made with Poland contains provisions relating to minorities, which Poland undertook to recognize as its fundamental laws. The Articles of the Treaty have since then been recognized as a precedent for minority rights. Article 7 of the said Treaty provides that 'all Polish nationals shall be equal before the law' etc. Article 8 provides as follows : "Polish *Nationals* who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish *Nationals*.' Similar provisions are included in the treaties concluded by the Allies with Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey etc. See Wheaton's *International Law*, p. 80. Clearly therefore the word 'minorities' used in paragraphs 19 (iv) and 20 of the Statement in connection with rights of citizens and fundamental rights means national minorities.

"It must not be forgotten that the doctrine of minorities and majorities among the nationals of a country is as old as the 'Federalist' and after the first world war found expression in the Weimar Constitution of Germany. In considering the rights of the minorities provided in the said Peace Treaties, Mr. William Edward Hall, an eminent jurist on International Law, states in his work on International Law that "too much stress was laid on the rights of minorities while a corresponding duty incumbent by the said minority to co-operate loyally with other fellow citizens was hardly ever stressed." The learned author at page 64 of his treatise refers to a resolution passed at the third Assembly of the League of Nations emphasizing the said duty of racial, religious, linguistic minority in a State. Hall's *International Law* (8th Edn.), p. 64. 'A minority' in the Statement, therefore, means a comparatively smaller group of nationals of the State and not a group of nationals of another State living within the boundaries of the former.

"The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform 1933-34 in its Report on page 14, while dealing with the special responsibilities and powers of the Provincial Governors and the Governor-General also gave the same meanin

to the minorities in India. It is there stated that the authority of the Provincial Governors as also the Governor-General was interlinked with their responsibilities to the Crown and Parliament both, for peace and tranquility and 'for the protection of all the weak and helpless among her (India's) people.' In paragraph 321 of the said Report, the Committee while dealing with the Anglo-Indian community and the problem of their education makes a distinction between 'Europeans' and 'domiciled Europeans'. This clearly establishes that the Joint Committee treated Europeans other than the Europeans domiciled in this country, as being non-nationals of India."

Shri Munshi proceeds :

"The representation to Europeans given in the various Provincial Legislatures under the Government of India Act 1935 and in prior Statutes, is not a representation given to them as a racial minority of India but as a vested interest existing in the country at the time of framing of a constitution which was admittedly not based on the principle of self-determination or on a recognition of Indians as being entitled to frame their own constitution.

"That the Mission did not intend to depart from the accepted meaning of minorities is clear from paragraph 18 of their Statement, where they state that 'the most satisfactory method of election to the Constituent Assembly would be the one based on adult franchise.' Adult franchise in this clause can only mean a right exercisable by persons who are Indian citizens. But the procedure of granting adult franchise having been found by them to be impracticable, the Mission adopts an alternative course. This again would lead to the conclusion that there was no intention to get the constitution framed by persons who are not Indian nationals, or citizens.

"The words 'majority' and 'minority' therefore, in my opinion, were used with reference to India or Indian people as used by the British Prime Minister in his said announcement and 'Indians' as used in the Mission's Statement and do not include non-national residents in India. Any other view would conflict with the expressed intention to ask only Indians to frame their own constitution.

"In my opinion, therefore, the words 'elected by each Provincial Assembly' and 'by the smaller minorities' in paragraphs 18 and 19 must necessarily be construed as restricting the franchise to the Indian members of such Legislative Assembly inclusive of domiciled Europeans who are Indian nationals, and cannot be extended to apply to European British subjects not domiciled in India.

"The words in paragraph 19 'elected by each Provincial Assembly' may be argued to indicate a different meaning. But *ex concessis* the election is not by the Provincial Assembly as such, but by its members representing the three groups.

"It follows also that the 'representatives on the Constituent Assembly' have to be Indians."

Sir Bakshi Tekchand after referring to the occurrence of the words 'community' and 'communities' in paragraphs 18 and 19 of the State Paper poses the following question :

"The question for consideration is whether the expression 'all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs' is limited to Indians only, or it includes Europeans or other foreigners who may be members of the Provincial Legislatures under the Constitution of 1935.

"Clearly, para 18 is to be interpreted not as an isolated or independent clause, but in the context, according to the 'character and scheme' of the document as a whole. The rule of construction is 'that language is always used *secundum subjectam materiam* and that it must be understood in the sense which best harmonizes with the subject matter.' Where words of a general import are used, the real meaning is to be collected *ex antecedentibus et consequentibus*, that is to say, in reference to that which precedes and follows it. There is, therefore, no doubt that the expression 'all persons' included in the "General Community" means Indian members of the Provincial Assembly concerned and not foreigners or non-nationals.

"That this is the intention, is further clear from para 22 of the Statement which reads as follows :

'It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.'

Surely, it could not have been the intention that the Constituent Assembly, with which the United Kingdom is to negotiate the Treaty, will have as its members, persons who are not Indians, but are nationals of the United Kingdom which is to be the other party to the Treaty."

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar after referring to the object of the machinery to be set up, viz. to enable "Indians" to decide the future constitution of India, observes :

"If the normal procedure in vogue in the framing of other constitutions were adopted the procedure would have been to have a convention based upon adult franchise of Indian Nationals or at least persons having an Indian Domicile. The procedure of having the body elected by the personnel in the existing Legislative Assemblies is merely followed with a view to speed up Indian Independence and the framing of a Constitution to implement India's right to Independence. The accident of that procedure is not to be availed of by persons who are not Nationals to exercise the franchise for the Convention or to take part in the Convention summoned for the framing of the Constitution."



# HARIJAN

June 30

1946

## WHITE MAN'S BURDEN !

(By M. K. Gandhi)

According to Reuters picked Indians, men and women, headed by Dr. Naicker, commenced Satyagraha (in South Africa popularly known as passive resistance) on June 14th in respect of the Segregation Law of the Union Parliament of South Africa. The same agency further reports that neither the Government nor the Municipality had taken any action against the passive resisters but that some 'Whites' of Durban had taken the execution of the law into their own hands by "raiding the camp at night, cutting down tents swiftly and carrying them away." A band of 100 young White men broke through the cordon of 50 Indian passive resisters, pulled down the tents and dragged them away torn. Some camp stretchers were smashed and blankets and pillows removed. Two women resisters were involved in the melee. They are stated to have been kicked but not injured."

The papers report that after three days of hooliganism the Borough Police had posted themselves near the scene of passive resistance and warned the hooligans against molesting the resisters and terrorizing them into submission. This is heartening news. Let us hope that it can be taken at its full value and that the protection means fullest protection against lawlessness, sporadic or organized. Organized popular lawlessness is known as lynching, so shamelessly frequent in America.

Before the Segregation Law was passed, White men, known to be respectable, had carried anti-Asiatic agitation to the point of frenzy. Not satisfied with their triumph in having legislation compelling segregation passed probably beyond expectation, the more advanced section among the agitators have become the executioners of their own laws. They do not know that they are thereby defaming the White man's name!!!

My appeal to the White men and women who have regard for laws for which they have voted is that they should create public opinion against hooliganism and lynch law.

Passive resistance is aimed at removal in a most approved manner of bad laws, customs or other evils and is designed to be a complete and effective substitute for forcible methods including hooliganism and lynch law. It is an appeal to the heart of man. Often reason fails. It is dwarfed by self. The theory is that an adequate appeal to the heart never fails. Seeming failure is not of the law of Satyagraha but of incompetence of the Satyagrahi by whatever cause induced. It may not be possible to give a complete historical instance. The name of Jesus at once comes to the lips. It is an instance of brilliant failure. And he has been acclaimed in the West as Prince of

passive resisters. I showed years ago in South Africa that the adjective 'passive' was a misnomer, at least as applied to Jesus. He was the most active resister known perhaps to history. His was non-violence *par excellence*. But I must no longer stray from my main subject. It is the resistance of the Jesus type that the White hooligans are seeking to thwart. Let us hope that our countrymen's heroic resistance will not only shame the hooligans into silence but prove the precursor of the repeal of the law that disfigures the statute book of South Africa. In concrete form, what pure suffering, wholly one-sided, does is to stir public opinion against a wrong. Legislators are, after all, representatives of the public. In obedience to it they have enacted a wrong. They have to reverse the process when the same public, awakened to the wrong, demands its removal.

The real 'White man's burden' is not insolently to dominate coloured or black people under the guise of protection, it is to desist from the hypocrisy which is eating into them. It is time, White men learnt to treat every human being as their equal. There is no mystery about whiteness of the skin. It has repeatedly been proved that given equal opportunity a man, be he of any colour or country, is fully equal to any other.

Therefore, White men throughout the world and especially of India should act upon their fellow-men in South Africa and call upon them not to molest Indian resisters who are bravely struggling to preserve the self-respect of Indians in the Union and the honour of their motherland. "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Or, do they take in vain the name of Him who said this? Have they banished from their hearts the great coloured Asiatic who gave to the world the above message? Do they forget that the greatest of the teachers of mankind were all Asiatics and did not possess a white face? These, if they descended on earth and went to South Africa, will all have to live in the segregated areas and be classed as Asiatics and coloured people unfit by law to be equals of Whites.

Is a civilization worth the name which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of racial legislation and lynch law? The silver lining to the cloud that hangs over the devoted heads of our countrymen lies in the plucky action of Rev. Scott, a White clergyman, and his equally White fellow workers, who have undertaken to share the sufferings of the Indian resisters.

New Delhi, 26-6-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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## Notes

### Imitation

Q. You have averred that a person who gives up eating meat in mere imitation of you cannot be said to be doing the right thing. Are you not wrong in holding this view?

A. I see nothing wrong in what I have said. If a person may change his practice in imitation, it is equally possible for him to revert to the original practice in imitation. The gist of what I said was that nothing should be done without being well weighed and thought out and without deep conviction. Thoughtless imitation is the sport of little minds and may lead a man into a ditch with disastrous results.

New Delhi, 21-6-'46

### Harijan Collections

Q. You collect funds for Harijans wherever you go. According to press reports, you sometimes receive large sums for that purpose. What is the total amount that you have collected? How is it spent? Are the accounts inspected or audited by anyone? I do not mean to suggest that the funds are being misused, but it ill-becomes you to keep the people in the dark about these things.

A. The question hardly calls for a reply. But there must be many uninformed people like the correspondent. By itself the question is legitimate. The answer is simple. All Harijan collections made by me are handed over to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Shri Thakkar Bapa is the guardian of the fund. It is spent according to the direction and with the sanction of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Some of it is spent according to my instructions, but it has to be for the service of the Harijans only. Similarly for other funds, donations are sent to be spent at my discretion. Strict account is kept of every pie and the income and expenditure accounts are duly audited and certified from time to time.

### Why This Antipathy?

Q. Simple-minded Jains take you for a Jain, and you are not ashamed to be regarded as such. And yet, you seem studiously to shun the very mention of Mahavira in the columns of 'Harijan'. Is this becoming for a Mahatma like you?

A. The above is the gist, in my own words, of a correspondent's question. The reader can infer from it, what the original must be like. I plead guilty to the charge of not being a Jain. But possibly I am a better informed devotee of Mahavira than many who claim to be Jains. If, however, I am not a devotee of Mahavira Swami, he or his devotees stand to lose nothing thereby. I alone will be the loser. I suggest that we merely betray our weakness when we resent the indifference of our neighbours about those whom we revere and idolize.

New Delhi, 25-6-'46

### Yarn Exchange

Shrimati Annapurna Devi sends me the following account of work carried on by her in Madhi, near Bardoli:

"I had been trying to work in this small village for the girls and thus come in contact with

their families but I was a little perplexed when Shri Jugatram pressed me to work in a larger area. On hearing from you, however, I was encouraged and gained confidence.

"I have made some good contacts and feel that people have begun to listen to me and appreciate with affection my endeavours to help them. I should like to tell you about the hank shop which we started over a year ago with a view to popularizing the idea of yarn currency. It came into being after a play about a hank shop which was part of a daily entertainment which we used to get up for the villagers after the evening prayer. Since May last year, we have been selling articles of daily use such as soap, oil, salt, *gur*, chillies, ground-nut etc. in exchange for yarn. The stock of hanks increased from 43 in May to 233 in September. Last month there was a big fall, but that was because of the people being occupied in the harvesting season.

"Children of 10 years of age who attend my school run this shop. Two such who used to spend their days in dust and dirt are now the chief actors in this little drama."

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

M. K. G.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WEEKLY LETTER

Thanks to the irrepressible and, may I add, very often irresponsible activity of the gentlemen of the Press, the Imperial City during the week has been a seething cauldron of speculations, rumours and false alarms. Gandhiji had more than once to appeal to newspapermen not to injure themselves and the cause by indulging in this kind of journalism. "If I were appointed dictator for a day in the place of the Viceroy, I would stop all newspapers," he said on one occasion. "With the exception of *Harijan* of course," he added with a smile and a wink. Incidentally he remarked that if he had to rename his weekly he would call it not *Harijan* but *Bhangi*, i. e. Sweeper, that being more in tune with his present temper and the need of the hour as he understood it. As an illustration of the infinite harm that might result from such irresponsible journalism, he remarked that, if the people were to believe what had been appearing in the Press about his part in the deliberations of the Working Committee, Hindus would be right to execrate him as the enemy of their interests. It was further being made to appear, he observed that his was the only intransigent voice in the Working Committee. He wanted them to dismiss all that as pure imagination. He appealed to newspapermen to put a curb on their pen. Failing that it was up to the public to shed their craving for 'potted' news and to cease to patronize papers that purveyed it or at least cease to be misled by what might appear in them.

"There are two kinds of curiosity," he remarked on another occasion "— healthy and unhealthy." "One should always be curious to know one's duty at every step. But itch for news is a variety of dissipation debilitating to the mind and spirit, unless it is properly curbed."

## CAMPAIGN OF VILIFICATION

In spite of its diligence to come to a speedy decision on the Cabinet Mission's proposals, the Congress has not been able to escape a malicious campaign of vilification in a certain section of the Press. It has been accused of procrastination and delaying tactics. And when that theme was played out, it was given out that the delay was due to dissensions in the Working Committee. Giving the lie to these innuendoes in one of his prayer discourses Gandhiji remarked that it was wholly untrue that the delay in arriving at a final decision was due to divisions in the Working Committee. Differences of opinion were inevitable in a living organization. He himself did not know what the final decision of the Working Committee was going to be. It was but natural that there should be more Hindus on the Congress register than Muslims, as the Hindu population preponderated in India. But the Congress could not by any stretch of imagination be called a Hindu organization. Its President Maulana Azad had occupied the Presidential chair for a longer period than any other in the Congress history. He was held in equal respect by all those who claim to be of the Congress. The Congress had constituted itself into a trustee, not of any particular community, but of India as a whole. In an organization like that, it always became the duty of the majority to make sacrifices for the minorities and backward sections, not in a spirit of patronizing favour, but in a dignified manner and as a duty. "In the eyes of the Congress, Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians and Sikhs are all Indians and therefore equally entitled to its care. The Congress has no sanction except that of non-violence. Unlike the Viceroy, who has the entire armed force of the British Empire at his back, the Congress President can rely only on the united and whole-hearted co-operation of all the communities and classes to give effect to India's will to independence. The Working Committee is, therefore, anxious that we should accept responsibility at the Centre only with the unanimous goodwill of all the communities. That is why they were giving such anxious thought to all the various interests. And that is a ticklish job. They do not want to make the Interim Government the arena of unseemly quarrels among ourselves."

## SOUTH AFRICA

The heroic struggle going on in South Africa has become a theme of his after-prayer talks. "We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit meekly any longer to a policy of segregation that is causing disaster to our country and our people," runs the Passive Resistance resolution passed at a meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress held at Johannesburg on April 21, 1946. "They must remember," continues the resolution, "that non-violence is the basis of this movement and that this struggle is directed against the policy of segregation and not against the White population of this country."

The struggle has the full sympathy of the European Democrats and the Negro section of South Africa.

Said the President General of the South African National Congress at the Transvaal Indian Congress mass meeting:

"I declare from this platform that we Africans do not only sympathize, but will support and assist in all possible manner the Indians in their struggle against this inhuman legislation."

"Yesterday," he continued, "it was the turn of Africans, to day it is the turn of the Indians, tomorrow it will be the turn of the coloured, and there is no knowing where this policy of racialism will end."

Referring to the events of the struggle, as reported in the daily press, Gandhiji in his prayer address on 21-6-'46 described how some White people there had taken the law into their own hands and were harassing the passive resisters. "The Union Government seem to be just watching. It is wrong. It is bad enough to pass an unjust law, but it is worse to let White people take it into their own hands. They ought to realize that Indians are in no way inferior to them. The latter cannot and will not submit to segregation."

Some White men, said Gandhiji, were daily raiding their tents, and terrorizing them. Some women were also among the resisters. But the women had bravely told the men that they would stand by them and share their vicissitudes. "The passive resisters are not criminals but respectable citizens. As self-respecting people they will prefer imprisonment to segregation in ghettos. They will resist injustice and oppression with their last breath. It is open to the South African Government to visit them with the penalty of the law for breach or to abrogate the Segregation Act which is contrary to the dictates of humanity. But it will be a dark blot on the history of the White civilization if lynch law is allowed to have its course in South Africa." He hoped that the South African Government and the civilized conscience of mankind would not allow that.

"What is taking place in South Africa today is worse than martial law," remarked Gandhiji in the course of another prayer address. He did not say these things, he added, to incite them to anger against the Whites of South Africa. If they did that, they would be unworthy to sit in the prayers. He wanted them to go home and pray that God may give strength to their brethren and sisters in South Africa, who were fighting for the honour of India, to face all hardships bravely; secondly that He should show light to the White men so that they might cease to behave like less than men and that the eyes of the Government there may be opened so that they may treat Indians as fellow human beings. The Whites of South Africa too were their brethren, being children of the same God.

When they had the control of India's affairs in their own hands, Gandhiji concluded, such things would become impossible. A Free India wedded to truth and non-violence would teach the lesson of peace to the inhabitants of South Africa. But it would be for them and the Congress to decide whether a Free India would follow the way of

peace or the sword. It was bad enough that the small nations of the earth should denude humanity of its precious heritage, it would be awful if a sub-continent of some four hundred millions were to take to gunpowder and live dangerously.

New Delhi, 24-6-'46

PYARELAL

[P.S. For once fear has proved to be a liar. At yesterday's prayer, Gandhiji drew attention to the demi-official statement that had appeared in the Press that the instructions issued for the election of candidates for the Constituent Assembly did not bind them to anything in clause 19 of the Statement. This was clear in the declaration quoted in the papers. He was sorry, said Gandhiji, that he had not seen it before he made his Sunday's speech. He was glad to say that his fears on that score had proved groundless. He felt he owed it to the Delegation to own his mistake, however *bona fide* it was.]

At the same prayer gathering he referred to the report of the deliberations of the Working Committee that had appeared in the newspapers. It was true that the Working Committee had decided to reject the proposals, put before them for the formation of a provisional government for the interim period. But they had decided to go into the proposed Constituent Assembly. There were several flaws in the proposal for the Constituent Assembly, he said, but the Working Committee had reasoned that after all, it would consist of the elected representatives of the people. So, after considering every aspect of the question, they had decided that it should not be rejected.

The papers had also reported, proceeded Gandhiji, that the Working Committee's decision had been taken in the teeth of his opposition. That was a misleading statement to make. The fact was that for the last four or five days his mind had been filled with a vague misgiving. He saw darkness where he had seen light before. He knew that darkness indicated lack of faith in God. One whose whole being is filled with God, should never experience darkness.

Be that as it may, said Gandhiji, the fact remained that he did not see the light just then. What was more, he could not explain or give reasons for his fear. He had, therefore, simply placed his misgivings before the Working Committee and told them that they should come to a decision independently of him. Those whose function was to give a lead to the country could not afford to be guided by another's unreasoned instinct. They could not guide the destiny of the country unless they had the capacity to think for themselves and convince others by reason. The members of the Working Committee, he concluded, were the servants of the nation. They had no other sanction except the willing consent of the people whom they tried to serve. The latter would remove them whenever they liked. His advice to the people, therefore, was to follow the lead given by the Working Committee. He would tell them when he saw the light. But so long as darkness surrounded him in anything, nobody should follow him in it. P.]

## THE UTILITY OF THE GROUND-NUT

The following is the essence of Dr. A. T. W. Simeons' long article on the ground-nut.

He opines that the low stamina of our people is primarily due to lack of protein, vitamins and salts in our diet. During the Bengal famine it was proved that the life of the victim of starvation depended more on administering protein than on starch. He maintains that if more protein could be provided, the net result on the national nutritional value would be infinitely better than of more cereals. Ground-nut flour contains over 50% protein and is richer in it than any other known vegetable substance and very edible. An acre of ground-nuts can produce many times the quantity of protein than an acre of wheat, millet or rice. And yet we are not making full use of it. 45% of the ground-nut crop is taken for the production of oil. "What happens to the remaining 55%? If we can eat whole nuts, why cannot we eat them minus the oil? The economist answers, 'because we need the oil cake for feeding our cattle and for manuring our sugarcane and rice fields.'" Dr. Simeons argues that to use an edible protein for this purpose is criminal waste when we have inedible substances like dung, night-soil or guano to enrich our fields. "If we fertilize a sugarcane field with ground-nut cake, every grain of protein we plough into the earth is lost; because sugar contains no protein at all—not to mention the loss of 10% of residual oil in the cake, the vitamins and salts. . . . We feed oil cake to our milking cattle. The milk output increases and milk is an excellent food, but if we feed a cow 10 lbs. of nut protein, it is doubtful if this will produce even  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of milk protein. Is it worth it when we can achieve about the same result with cotton-seed and other inedible products?"

Dr. Simeons quotes Prof. B. G. S. Acharya who, after controlled rat feeding experiments, has shown that ground-nut protein was found to have a high biological value. Experiments, he says, have also established the high digestibility coefficient of ground-nut protein. "It ranks with the microbial protein of yeast and closely approximates animal protein as found in milk, eggs and mutton."

"Clean ground-nut oilcake contains over 50% of high grade protein, 13% more than mutton, so that with every ton of oilcake that is ploughed into the field, we are using the nutritional value of a flock of 50 sheep or 50,000 eggs or 15,000 seers of milk in protein alone."

Besides protein the ground-nut contains fat, starch and minerals so that with the addition of a little extra starch and vitamin C, it is a complete food in itself. The most important vitamin deficiency in India is of the B complex which has a profound effect on the health and longevity of the people. The ground-nut is very rich in vitamin B complex particularly in vitamin B<sub>1</sub>, Nicotinic acid and riboflavin, which are the most important factors. Mr. Kincaid, a missionary worker in a remote village of Kolhapur, testified that the children of his school have thrived on a cake made of clean hand-picked ground-nut. The villagers have overcome the



prejudices and use it as a daily addition of 1/2 - 1/5 portion to their usual cereals. Diabetics particularly have been thankful for the increased bread ration it enables them to enjoy. Children enjoy bread made from flour mixed with ground-nut flour, many adults prefer it with a little salt. Ground-nut flour can also be used for pastry and sweetmeats.

The controlled price of commercial ground-nut is Rs. 75 per ton. Edible ground-nut will be more costly. But Dr. Simeons opines that even if the price is higher than the commercial product, it will still be well below the cost of the common cereals.

From the manufacturer's point of view too, the switchover to edible cake will not dislocate either the oil or the ground-nut market.

"India is estimated to produce about 1½ million tons of ground-nut. Thus 7 lakhs of tons of the finest food can be made available from this crop." The protein value would be equivalent to 3500 crores of eggs or 1000 crores of seers of milk or 350 lakhs of sheep. The annual loss of starch, fat, minerals and vitamins is in addition and all due to the wrong use of this valuable nut."

New Delhi, 24-6-'46

A. K.

## DR. LOHIA'S CHALLENGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It would appear from newspaper reports that Dr. Lohia went to Goa at the invitation of Goans and was served with an order to refrain from making speeches. According to Dr. Lohia's statement, for 188 years now, the people of Goa have been robbed of the right to hold meetings and form organizations. Naturally he defied the order. He has thereby rendered a service to the cause of civil liberty and especially to the Goans. The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognize the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right of civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.

New Delhi, 26-6-'46

## MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

A glaring instance of hide-bound prejudice and the use of law to uphold "man's inhumanity to man" has recently been reported in the Press. The following from the *Hindu* of the 10th June, will speak for itself.

"Citing a recent criminal case in which two Madura Harijans were sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment for an act which was likely 'to wound the feelings of others', Mr. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, M. L. A. in a communication to the Press, draws the attention of the public to 'the cruel suffering which the Harijans have to bear by reason of untouchability'.

"Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer says: 'A Madura Harijan who lost his eldest child cremated the body in the Madura Municipal burning *ghat* in a shed which is said to be set apart for caste Hindus instead of in the one reserved for Harijans. The Harijan's plea was that he did not know of any such reservation, that it was drizzling, and that he thought the former place was better. No caste Hindu raised any objection nor was there any proof that anyone's feelings were wounded. The incident came to the notice of the Madura Police who prosecuted the father of the child and another near relation on the ground that such an act was likely to wound the feelings of others because the Harijans were untouchables. The Second Class Magistrate convicted the accused and sentenced them to four months' rigorous imprisonment. On appeal the City Magistrate confirmed the conviction and sentence, though it was argued that the Madras Civil Disabilities Removal Act of 1938 had laid down that Harijans or Untouchables should not be prevented from having access to any regular institution maintained by a local authority and that Courts should not recognize any custom or usage which sought to impose civil disabilities on Harijans.

"Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer adds that he has brought this case to the notice of the Madras ministry."

The first thing for the Madras ministry, in this case of inhumanity, is to remit the sentences under its powers of clemency and then, if further legal proceedings are permissible, to have the convictions set aside by the High Court at the instance of the Crown.

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

PYARELAL

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**Office of  
Private Secretary to Viceroy.**

I suppose ought to see Harrison  
each week.

Please put in the copies of the  
7<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> July.

L 2412

~~Hee~~

Mr. Harrison

July 7

July 14

P. S. V. 12.

~~Hee~~

Hee

L 2412



# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 22

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 7, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## KHADI MAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Rajkot Rashtriyashala appeal about the Charkha Jayanti of this year is as follows :

"Jayanti Celebrations 8-7-'46 to 22-9-'46. Gandhiji enters his 78th year on 22-9-'46. Gandhi Jayanti is really Charkha Jayanti.

"He has called the Wheel the symbol of non-violence in a non-violent State. The Charkha which used to be looked upon as a sign of our poverty, helplessness and subjugation for centuries has now become the symbol of our political, economic and social freedom. To revive it means to put right the wrong of ages. The success of the endeavour will depend on the intensity of our faith. The greater the faith, the quicker the progress of the Charkha.

"This school has been celebrating Gandhi Jayanti for the last twelve years and its programme has definitely helped to create an atmosphere for Khadi. The A. I. S. A. has recommended it for the whole of India.

"This year's programme will commence with prayer at 7-30 a. m. on 8-7-'46. A pledge to spin for 77 days will be taken. I hope there will be many who will produce a hank a day. Those who cannot spare so much time will at least resolve to spin as much as they can.

"The yarn produced by each person may be utilized for his or her own needs and a small quantity given as a donation to the school. Those who care to donate money may, as usual, send 77 coins of whatever value they like. They should, however, remember that Gandhiji prefers donations in yarn to gifts in coin.

"There will be collective prayer every morning at 7-30 followed by collective spinning in which those who are in the forefront of the work take part. It is hoped that during these 77 days, Rajkot citizens will join in large numbers.

"Durbar Saheb Gopaldas, leader of Kathiawad, has resolved to spin 77 hanks. I hope all will follow his example and inform me accordingly.

"It is reckoned that the staff and young students of the Rashtriyashala will produce 20 lakhs of yards of Khadi yarn. This year the Virani Girls' School and High School, where spinning has a place in the daily curriculum, will also contribute a good quota.

"May God crown the effort with success.

NARANDAS GANDHI"

Narandas Gandhi is Khadi mad. There are two ideas governing my conception of a yarn bank. First, that all yarn in whatever quantity, of whatever quality and from wheresoever it comes, should be collected in one place. From there it should be sent to the weaver in such a condition as will enable him to weave it with the same speed as he weaves mill yarn. For this purpose all yarn has to be doubled and twisted. Yarn that has not been subjected to this process should not really be reckoned as yarn. There will thus be two kinds of yarn, one doubled and twisted and one single. The former will have a higher value. It will, of course, take time to achieve this desideratum. In the meantime, yarn will have to be separated and the single thread doubled and twisted and then woven into cloth at the yarn depot or wherever it may be suitable.

The second thing to remember is that just as gold and silver emerge as coin from a mint, so Khadi alone should emerge from a yarn bank. Not until such time as this happens, will the defects in hand-spun yarn be removed and the quality of Khadi improved beyond expectation. This work cannot be accomplished by compulsion. Khadi workers must be selfless, true and of a scientific mind for the easy, quick and voluntary achievement of this noble end.

To achieve it is the real goal of the Charkha Sangh. It will not matter if, in working up to this end, all the sales *bhandars* have to be closed and Khadi wearers reduced to a handful. Even so, there will be no shame attaching to the endeavour. On the other hand, if Khadi is sold as a symbol of hypocrisy and untruth, it will drag the names of both the Charkha Sangh and the Congress in the mud and Khadi will no longer be able either to deliver Swaraj or be the mainstay of the poor. Unbelievers will ask: "Then why take so much trouble over Khadi? Why not let it remain as one of the many occupations of village India, instead of being a fad of non-violence?" Those who are Khadi mad must learn the secret of the science of Khadi and be prepared even to die for it and thereby prove that it is the true symbol of non-violent Swaraj.

On the train to Poona, 29-6-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)



## THE COFFIN AT THE FEAST

The first thing that the debonair tourist sees when he alights at Kinraig (Mussooree) is the sight of the policeman trying to control with his whip a large number of men, half-naked, half in rags, dirty and smelling, who pounce upon his luggage like hungry dogs on a loaf of bread. But he hardly takes notice of them except to get furious if some "dirty" coolie is pushed against him in the struggle for his luggage. The fortunate coolie picks up the luggage, another fortunate rickshawala picks up the human load and both are deposited at some fashionable hotel. A few annas, or may be a rupee or two, are thrown at them. The fashionable visitor is soon lost in the whirl of gaiety that is Mussooree. "How beautiful," he says, "the cinemas, dancing parties, skating, riding and above all fashionable society, all out for fun." The holiday is soon over and one day the man with the dirty rags is called once again. The luggage is picked up and as the outgoing tourist casts a longing, lingering look behind at the Savoy and Hackman's he hardly thinks of the miserable specimens of humanity walking in front of him. It never occurs to him that they are also of his kind.

It was to explore the quarters of these unfortunate, God-forsaken rickshaw coolies, load-carriers and sweepers that Gandhiji sent me during our stay at Mussooree. Shri Brijkishen Chandiwalla of Delhi accompanied me. Going down dirty, smelling, narrow paths that look forbidding even in day time and are unlit at night, we crawled into human dens, where superfluous humanity is safely lodged, quite incapable of disturbing the gay round of Mussooree life.

### HOUSING CONDITIONS

The housing conditions of these labourers are simply revolting. The tenements provided are too few in number, ill-ventilated and ill-built. They are seldom repaired. During the rainy season, in the lower storeys generally, the walls drip and the floor is flooded. The rooms, generally 7'×7'×8' have to accommodate as many as sixteen people with their belongings, firewood, kitchen stove and what not. Obviously most of them have to sleep outside with scarcely enough covering under the shelter of the crags or on the verandahs of shops, even on the footpaths. We were told that about ten people die of exposure in cold weather every year.

As a labourer with hardly a few annas in his pocket, walks into Mussooree in the hope of making a living, he finds all doors shut against him and very often he has to spend the night under the shelter of a crag exposed to the cold and, may be, also rain. If he is fortunate enough to have some kind of friends who have preceded him, he may just get accommodation to deposit his things and to cook his food. The inclement sky is still his only friend at night. It is physically impossible for as many as sixteen people to sleep in a room 7'×7'×8'.

### LATRINES

Latrines are insufficient in number and very often far removed from the dwellings. In one place there was only one latrine and that also not of

the flush type, for nearly a hundred people. Paths leading to them are precarious and unlighted so that to visit them at night must be very difficult, especially for women and children.

### THE WATER SUPPLY

There are a few municipal taps quite distant from the quarters. Bathing under them is prohibited. There are no public bathrooms for these labourers. Hence bathing and washing are luxuries rarely indulged in. In the hot weather the municipal taps are turned off for some hours during the day to economize water. The plight of the rickshaw coolies and labourers as a result may be imagined.

### THE NEPALESE QUARTERS

Looking down from the road from Kinraig we saw a number of coolies basking in the sun, some sitting, some lying down, removing lice from their clothes or from one another's head. They were all housed in one room, 35'×10'×11' nearly, divided into three compartments. Each compartment held, I was told, about 30 coolies, making a total of a hundred coolies in that one room, with two windows and three doors. The ceiling was hung with dirty rags and bundles of faggots which considerably reduced the cubic space available. The whole room was filled with smoke. One felt choked.

The food which they ate was abominable. The flour was a strange, ugly looking mixture and the bread uneatable. Gandhiji, to whom we brought a specimen, described it as "indescribably bad". Vegetables are a luxury. Generally they prepare a gravy of flour, onion, salt and chillies. No wonder they often suffer from constipation and intestinal colic. Scabies and lice are common as is also lung trouble. In two or three years a rickshaw coolie becomes a cripple for the rest of his life. A load carrier may take a year longer. Due to the heavy load he carries and prolonged pressure of the strap attached to the load and passing round the head, the load carriers also develop an idiotic expression.

### RATIONS

Starvation is the most common complaint and is most bitterly resented. Depending as they do entirely on bread, they feel the pinch most keenly when their ration of cereals is reduced from 1 seer to 6 *chhataks*. It has been raised to 8 *chhataks* in the case of license holders. The Ladakhis, working on the road, however, still get only 6 *chhataks*. Many of the labourers, I am told, have gone away from Mussooree because of this.

### MEDICAL RELIEF

There is a civil hospital and two charitable dispensaries. The latter are doing good work. But considering the large and widely dispersed labour population, the relief provided is hardly adequate. They cannot afford to attend the dispensary between fixed hours. Medical relief and education in health and hygiene has to be taken to their doors.

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Most of the coolies come from the surrounding hills, where agriculture is so poor that the majority of a family have to go out in search of employment. On their arrival to Mussooree they have to borrow some money for their initial expenditure and so are

driven into the clutches of a money-lender, who obtains a stranglehold on them at the very outset. Some organization, voluntary or municipal, which may render them aid when they arrive in the hill-station, without any view to profit, is absolutely essential.

Income varies from month to month—ranging from Rs. 60 during the busy season to barely Rs. 25 in the slack. The average monthly income may be taken to be Rs. 40 while the average monthly expenditure is about Rs. 30. They generally manage to save about Rs. 50 during the summer season which serves to provide them food during the winter season and some help to their families whom they have left behind. In winter the latter pass some months in enforced idleness. For the rest they do some agriculture whose productivity is so little as to seem hardly worthwhile. Harassment by the corrupt police further depletes their little store. During my stay in Mussooree I heard many complaints of this type. An organization like the Mazdoor Sangh should register all such complaints, investigate them and try to remedy the evil. The labourers are also fleeced, it is alleged, at the Tehri State octroi posts by corrupt officials when they return to their homes with their meagre purchases from Mussooree.

Again the payment to the rickshaw owners is exorbitant amounting to 32%. In the case of coolies carrying load for the transport companies or railways, the corruption of the petty officials weighs very heavily on them.

So far about the rickshaw coolies and those who carry loads. The Ladakhis who work on the roads also earn about the same amount, i. e. thirty or forty rupees. Then there are the basket-boys—children of 10 or 12 carrying things for those who come for shopping. Sometimes they manage to earn enough for food. At other times they live on the charity of their elders. The case of the sweepers is different. Being municipal employees they get a fixed monthly pay ranging from Rs. 27 to Rs. 31 according to the nature of the work entrusted.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

To sum up:

1. Coolie quarters on hygienic lines with proper bathrooms and latrines should be built by the Municipality, aided by the government, if necessary. If sufficient funds are not available, the expenditure should be met by an enhanced entertainment tax for which there seems to be plenty of scope in Mussooree. Rich philanthropists also can build clean quarters for these coolies on a strictly non-profit-making basis and charge them reasonable rents.

2. Labour should be organized and education in co-operation, clean living etc. be given. *Takli* and wool spinning can very usefully be introduced among them, especially the ricksha coolies, who have to sit idle for long hours during the day. Buying of wool, getting yarn woven, and disposing of cloth should be organized on a co-operative basis.

3. Organization of labour should include a programme for the introduction of shift system, regulation of hours of work, and protection of

labourers from the tyranny of company *tandels*.

4. Four annas and a quarter per coolie, after deducting the payment to the rickshaw owner, is too small a payment for pulling a rickshaw for one hour. If the coolie pulls it for another one hour, he gets only 3 pice more (single rickshaw). These rates should be enhanced. It may be argued that the payment per hour is not less than in other forms of employment. That is true. But other forms of employment do not cripple a man in two or three years.

5. In the hot weather, when it is necessary to turn off the taps to save wastage of water, *chhabils* at various places should be provided by the Municipality. But really speaking, if things are efficiently managed and sufficient water is stored in reservoirs during the rainy season, the water supply of Mussooree should never run out.

6. Rickshaw stands should be provided with shelters and the coolie quarters should be located near them.

7. A proper system of medical relief should be organized.

The list is only illustrative. Other items can easily be thought out and added to it by a thoughtful and earnest worker.

DEV PRAKASH

#### A WISE TANNER AND A WISE KING

King Chandrapida of Kashmir started building a Vishnu temple and called it Tribhuvan Swami. The land required for the temple included a *chamar's* hut, but he refused to give it for any amount of money. The officials took the matter to the king. He told them that the fault was theirs. They should have consulted the *chamar* before starting work. The only way open to them now was to make it smaller or else choose another site. He could not countenance forcible eviction. If those whose job it was to discriminate between right and wrong did the wrong thing, who would be responsible for justice?

While this discussion was going on someone brought the news that the *chamar* had come to see the king. The king called him in. "Why do you stand in the way of our building a temple," he asked him. "I can build you a much better house than the one you have. And, if you wish it, I will pay you as much for your hut as you like."

The *chamar* replied: "O, king! you may dress your body in fine clothes and jewels and I might have nothing of the kind. Yet I am bound to love my body as much as you love yours. My poor hut is as dear to me as your palace is to you. I have lived in my hut from early childhood. It has been my companion in the days of happiness just as well as in the days of sorrow. How can I bear to pass it on to others? The gods when they are turned out from heaven or a king who has to abdicate will be able to understand what it feels to be homeless. If you come to my house and ask for the hut, I will give it to you as a gentleman. So the king went to the *chamar's* house, gave a lot of money to the *chamar* and took the hut for building the temple.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

V. G. D.

# HARIJAN

July 7

1946

## ATOM BOMB AND AHIMSA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It has been suggested by American friends that the atom bomb will bring in *ahimsa* (non-violence) as nothing else can. It will, if it is meant that its destructive power will so disgust the world that it will turn it away from violence for the time being. This is very like a man glutting himself with dainties to the point of nausea and turning away from them only to return with redoubled zeal after the effect of nausea is well over. Precisely in the same manner will the world return to violence with renewed zeal after the effect of disgust is worn out.

Often does good come out of evil. But that is God's, not man's plan. Man knows that only evil can come out of evil, as good out of good.

That atomic energy though harnessed by American scientists and army men for destructive purposes may be utilized by other scientists for humanitarian purposes is undoubtedly within the realm of possibility. But that is not what was meant by my American friends. They were not so simple as to put a question which connoted an obvious truth. An incendiary uses fire for his destructive and nefarious purpose, a housewife makes daily use of it in preparing nourishing food for mankind.

So far as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages. There used to be the so-called laws of war which made it tolerable. Now we know the naked truth. War knows no law except that of might. The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the allied arms but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan. What has happened to the soul of the destroying nation is yet too early to see. Forces of nature act in a mysterious manner. We can but solve the mystery by deducing the unknown result from the known results of similar events. A slave-holder cannot hold a slave without putting himself or his deputy in the cage holding the slave. Let no one run away with the idea that I wish to put in a defence of Japanese misdeeds in pursuance of Japan's unworthy ambition. The difference was only one of degree. I assume that Japan's greed was more unworthy. But the greater unworthiness conferred no right on the less unworthiness of destroying without mercy men, women and children of Japan in a particular area.

The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter-bombs even as violence cannot be by counter-violence. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence. Hatred can be overcome only by love. Counter-hatred only increases the surface as well as the depth

of hatred. I am aware that I am repeating what I have many times stated before and practised to the best of my ability and capacity. What I first stated was itself nothing new. It was as old as the hills. Only I recited no copybook maxim but definitely announced what I believed in every fibre of my being. Sixty years of practice in various walks of life has only enriched the belief which experience of friends has fortified. It is however the central truth by which one can stand alone without flinching. I believe in what Max Muller said years ago, namely that truth needed to be repeated as long as there were men who disbelieved it.

Poona, 1-7-'46

## MARRIAGES BETWEEN HARIJANS AND NON-HARIJANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend from Patidar Ashram, Surat, writes to Shri Narhari Parikh:

"In India the movement for removal of untouchability has received great impetus since Gandhiji's entry into politics. If he can find an educated Harijan girl to marry a caste Hindu, it will help the movement in a way. But the question should be considered from another aspect also. Our country is still backward in female education and amongst Harijans who are backward in every way, educated girls can be counted on the fingers of one's hand. If they marry caste Hindus they will, as a rule, be cut off from their own society and absorbed by the caste Hindus. They will not be able to work for the uplift of their Harijan sisters from within. I know of one or two such instances.

"One might say that in a way such marriages help to keep the Harijans in ignorance. The progress of a community depends on the progress of its women. By giving away the best of their womanhood to the caste Hindus, Bapu will be closing the door on the Harijans getting out of the blackest ignorance in which they are today steeped. I think this should be stopped. If Harijan girls are to marry caste Hindus it should be on condition that the couple will devote their lives to the service of the Harijans. Otherwise, educated Harijan girls should be encouraged to marry educated youths in their own community. If they are educated in the real sense of the term they will set an example to their community to emulate and follow.

"You must be knowing that in our Ashram, Harijan and non-Harijan students live together without any distinction whatsoever. Parikshilal sends to us one or two Harijan students every year. This year we had two. One of them said to me: 'Why does not Bapu encourage the marriages of educated caste Hindu girls with educated Harijan boys? This is what he should really encourage. If caste Hindu girls live amongst Harijans as Harijans, Harijan sisters will be able to learn a lot from them and Harijan uplift work will receive great impetus.' I could answer the question but I would rather that Bapu did so himself. It deserves serious thought."

If an educated Harijan girl marries a caste Hindu, the couple ought to devote themselves to the service of Harijans. Self-indulgence can never be the object of such a marriage. That will be improper. I can never encourage it. It is possible that a marriage entered into with the best of intentions turns out to be a failure. No one can prevent such mishaps. Even if one Harijan girl marries a caste Hindu with a high character it will do good to both the Harijans and caste Hindus. They will set up a good precedent and if the Harijan girl is really worthy, she will spread her fragrance far and wide and encourage others to copy her example. Society will cease to be scared by such marriages. They will see for themselves that there is nothing wrong in them. If children born of such a union turn out to be good, they will further help to remove untouchability. Every reform moves at the proverbial snail's pace. To be dissatisfied with this slowness of progress betrays ignorance of the way in which reform works.

It is certainly desirable that caste Hindu girls should select Harijan husbands. I hesitate to say that it is better. That would imply that women are inferior to men. I know that such inferiority complex is there today. For this reason I would agree that at present the marriage of a caste Hindu girl to a Harijan is better than that of a Harijan girl to a caste Hindu. If I had my way I would persuade all caste Hindu girls coming under my influence to select Harijan husbands. That it is most difficult I know from experience. Old prejudices are difficult to shed. One cannot afford to laugh at such prejudices either. They have to be overcome with patience. And if a girl imagines that her duty ends by marrying a Harijan and falls a prey to the temptation of self-indulgence after marriage, the last state would be worse than the first. The final test of every marriage is how far it develops the spirit of service in the parties. Every mixed marriage will tend in varying degrees to remove the stigma attached to such marriages. Finally there will be only one caste, known by the beautiful name *Bhangi*, that is to say, the reformer or remover of all dirt. Let us all pray that such a happy day will dawn soon.

The correspondent must realize that even the best of my wishes cannot come true on the mere expression. I have not succeeded in marrying off a single Harijan girl to a caste Hindu so far after my declaration. I have a caste Hindu girl who at her father's wish has offered to marry a Harijan lad of her father's selection. The lad is at present under training at Sevagram. God willing, the marriage will take place after a short time.

Poona, 30-6-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

By M. K. Gandhi

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## **WHY KILL?**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following suggestion has been received from Aligarh:

"You write: 'We have to kill monkeys, birds and animals which ruin the crops, or else keep someone who will kill them for us.' In this connection I wish to submit that if other means can be found to keep them off the crops, killing should not be necessary. My uncle has been able to keep monkeys off his field by using strong electric light at night. Why cannot this method be given a wider trial?"

At first sight the suggestion seems attractive, but on deeper thought one finds that it won't work. I might be able to protect my own field in this manner, but what of those round about? It will not be right for me selfishly to save my crops at the cost of others. That will be violence in the name of non-violence. For instance, we will throw a snake or rubbish from our own yard into that of our neighbour without compunction. True *ahimsa* demands that if we must save the society as well as ourselves from the mischief of monkeys and the like, we have to kill them. The general rule is that we must avoid violence to the utmost extent possible. Non-violence for the society is necessarily different from that for the individual. One living apart from society may defy all precaution, not so society as such. 30-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## **SELF-RESTRAINT IN MARRIAGE**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The same correspondent from the Patidar Ashram, Surat, who put a question to Shri Narhari Parikh, has also asked the following:

"To marry and not have sexual commerce until Swaraj is attained is surely an inconsistency. He who wants to refrain has no need to marry and *vice versa*. Man is a civilized being. By introducing the institution of marriage, he has attempted to establish an ordered and just society. If there were no such institution as marriage, people would be quarrelling about matters of sex. Of course, marriage does not mean sexual license. There is room for self-restraint which adorns married life. The main purpose of married life is that man and woman should live together and thereby help each other's growth. It cannot be gainsaid that in this growth the sexual side must be satisfied but with due control. When, however, you ask a married couple to pledge themselves to complete sexual restraint until Swaraj is attained, it is really putting a premium on hypocrisy. There is even danger of moral perversion for the couple concerned. Exceptional men and women will refuse to be bound in marriage. Those who desire marriage are of the ordinary run of human beings. It is good that the particular bridegroom made it clear later on that he could not deny to his wife the right of motherhood. This sentence really saved Gandhiji's face. One cannot expect anything other than hypocrisy in the guise of celibacy in marriage.



"Gandhiji ought to explain clearly the implications of the vow of celibacy until the attainment of Swaraj. To me it appears quite ridiculous."

It is deplorable that the correspondent seems to take it for granted that the main thing in marriage is the satisfaction of the sexual urge. Rightly speaking, the true purpose of marriage should be and is intimate friendship and companionship between man and woman. There is in it no room for sexual satisfaction. That marriage is no marriage which takes place for the satisfaction of the sex desire. That satisfaction is a denial of true friendship. I know of English marriages undertaken for the sake of companionship and mutual service. If a reference to my own married life is not considered irrelevant, I may say that my wife and I tasted the real bliss of married life when we renounced sexual contact, and that in the heyday of youth. It was then that our companionship blossomed and both of us were enabled to render real service to India and humanity in general. I have written about this in my "Experiments with Truth". Indeed this self-denial was born out of our great desire for service.

Of course, innumerable marriages take place in the natural course of events and such will continue. The physical side of married life is given pre-eminence in these. Innumerable persons eat in order to satisfy the palate but such indulgence does not therefore become one's duty. Very few eat to live but they are the ones who really know the law of eating. Similarly, those only really marry who marry in order to experience the purity and sanctity of the marriage tie and thereby realize the divinity within.

The correspondent does not seem to be conversant with the full details of the Tendulkar-Indumati marriage. The vow of sexual restraint was an outcome of mature deliberation. The text was written in Hindustani. The papers put in their own English translations of it. The original provided for sexual intercourse if the wife desired progeny. This much is certain that both desired to observe restraint even after marriage. The union was for promotion of joint service. They had known each other for many years. Shri Indumati's parents gave their consent to this marriage after much testing. Then jail life prolonged the agony. Both parties as well as their elders were keen that the ceremony should take place in Sevagram Ashram, where Shri Indumati had lived for some time and derived solace. I am unaware of their whereabouts today. I have no reason to suspect hypocrisy in the transaction. But even if it is discovered, it would not prove that the vow of *brahmacharya* in married life is at fault. The fault lies in hypocrisy. An English poet has well said, "Hypocrisy is an ode to virtue." Wherever there are true coins, counterfeit ones will also be found. Where there is virtue there will be hypocrisy, i. e., vice masquerading as virtue. How tragic and surprising that a virtuous action should be sought to be stopped because of the fear of hypocrisy!

On the train to Poona, 30-6-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## LEPROSY DAY BY DAY

The following is a report of leprosy work in South Arcot District by Prof. T. N. Jagdisan:

"The out-patient centre is attracting an increasing number of women and children patients. The total on the rolls at the end of May was 101, and the average attendance was about 30. This shows that many of the patients attend irregularly, and it has been suggested that the giving of meals to the patients on the injection days may help to make patients regular in their attendance. Some patients are beginning to show some visible progress and this may influence other patients to be regular in their treatment. It is also proposed to offer an incentive to patients to be regular by presenting cloth to those who have put in over 50% attendance twice a year, once in *Diwali*, and the second time in *Pongal*. Patients come from distances in the heat of the sun and it is very natural that they should at first be regular. There are two injection days in the week, but the doctor feels that even if the patients turned up once a week it should be enough. This a good many of the patients do.

"On the non-injection days the doctor has been pushing on the survey work. It is amazing how willing the rural population are to be examined for leprosy. Of course, since the villagers go out to the fields, the doctor has to make more than one visit to the same house to examine all the members, but it is encouraging that our doctor has succeeded in examining about 983 out of every 1,000. This intensive survey is one of the most effective kinds of propaganda and education. The patients and the others in the village come to know the first signs, understand the importance of the child in leprosy control, and gradually learn to know the less serious from the more serious types. The doctor teaches the patients and the villagers about the methods of keeping an infective case in the village without harm to children, but it is not in the beginning very easy to get the villagers to adopt isolation measures down in the village area and to spend my time in tackling this humane and cheap segregation. It needs and deserves whole-time workers. In my last visit I did succeed in getting the relations of one patient to give a separate hut for their infective relation. But then I have also to speak of the barber in Kandachipuram who is an open case, but who would not pay heed to our advice and goes on shaving the villagers. The remarkable fact is that people continue to go to him for shaving. The barber says: 'Give me a living and provide for my family. I will stop shaving.' I could get him, with some difficulty, admission into the Lady Willingdon Leprosy Sanatorium, Chingleput, but the man refuses to go there unless I get permission for him to go there with his wife. But I have not given up hope of tackling him yet. The doctor and I attended a constructive workers' camp in the district and delivered lectures and demonstrations on leprosy. The doctor gave two demonstration lectures in two villages."



## A DISMAL PICTURE

A correspondent who knows what he is writing about in a letter addressed to Gandhiji points out that when Government was issuing press notes announcing the first approach of famine, rice was actually being exported from Bengal Ports. Publication of the news that rice was being exported from Calcutta Port in the month of January 1946 created a great sensation and as a result of pressure that was brought to bear upon them from various quarters, both the Central and Provincial Governments issued statements assuring that no rice would be exported from Bengal anymore. Nevertheless rice continued to be exported from Chittagong Port. The Bengal Manufacturers and Traders Federation disclosed the fact at a public meeting at Shradhdhanand Park, Calcutta, on May 26th. This only evoked a press note (on 28th May) on the part of the Bengal Government to the effect that "rice was exported from Chittagong by the Tipperah State Agency and the Bengal Government was not responsible for it." !

As a further illustration of the inefficient and callous management on the part of the Government, the correspondent mentions, what is now common knowledge that "about 30 lakhs maunds of wheat have rotted in the Government godowns during the last twelve months". He suggests that distribution and preservation of food-grains should be entrusted to businessmen who must work on nominal commission basis under strict supervision and control of the people's committees.

The Government, he goes on to state, is making a profit of Rs. 4 and Rs. 10 per maund in the case of ordinary and better quality rice respectively, whereas businessmen and rice dealers previously used to make a profit of 2 to 4 annas per maund. On top of this, he says, paddy fields are being acquired by the Government for jute cultivation and workshops. "During the last period, Government occupied a huge area of paddy fields for military camps, air fields and workshops. These fields should be immediately released for cultivation. In 1945, about nine lakhs of *bighas* of land remained uncultivated which was cultivated during the year 1944. Moreover, there are 40 lakhs of *bighas* of land which are yet uncultivated and which may produce a good quantity of food-grains if cultivated."

In the meantime, the spectre of death has already begun to stalk the countryside and even in the streets of Calcutta deaths due to starvation have been reported. "Rice," says the correspondent, "is being sold for Rs. 50 per maund in Dacca and Rs. 45 at Mymensingh, while it costs Rs. 40 to Rs. 30 per maund in the other districts. Even in surplus districts rice is being sold for Rs. 20 per maund while previously the normal price of rice was Rs. 4 only per maund. As a record of inefficiency and callous indifference to human suffering this picture is hard to beat. It is bound to arouse widespread indignation. Let us hope that the authorities concerned will allay it by taking

prompt and decisive action in respect of the matters complained of.

On the train to Poona,  
29-6-'46

PYARELAL

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE WAY OF AHIMSA

Those who were being prematurely jubilant over what was blazoned as a rift between Gandhiji and the Working Committee are doomed to disappointment. They do not know how non-violence works. Difference of opinion does not mean dissension. Unity in diversity is nature's law. It is egotism which is the divisive force. Uttermost dedication to the cause, not mechanical conformity, is the test of loyalty. Therefore, his own difference of opinion was not intended to weaken but only to strengthen the Congress. Such was the burden of one of his discourses after prayer. "The Working Committee have come to a decision after much deliberation" he said. "Their one concern is the good of India. I want you to deduce from it that you should have faith that whatever is done in good faith will ultimately result in good. The last sixty years' unbroken record of Congress service warrants such faith on your part."

"A man or woman who serves India with all his or her heart stands on a par with the tallest Congressman. In God's eyes the service of the humblest will rank equal with that of the highest in the Congress organization, provided there is the uttermost dedication to the cause."

The daily reports about the calm, dignified behaviour of the Indian passive resisters in South Africa in the face of the hooliganism of some White people who were getting more and more frenzied, evoked pointed reference in his discourses during the remaining few days that Gandhiji was at Delhi. The Indians in South Africa are a mere handful, perhaps a little over two lakhs, in the midst of the overwhelming majority of White men and Negroes. "Imagine," observed Gandhiji, "what it must mean for men like Doctors Naicker and Dadoo to be required to live in special locations. I want you all to continue your prayers to God to enable our brethren to remain steadfast till the end and to vouchsafe wisdom to the Whites. Let me repeat that prayer from the heart can achieve what nothing else can in the world."

He paid tribute to the courage and suffering of the passive resisters without retaliation in the midst of the hooliganism which was daily increasing. He was born in India but was made in South Africa, of which he knew practically every province. He had passed there twenty years of his life at its meridian. He knew the White men of South Africa. He loved them as well as his countrymen. He felt ashamed, he said, of the hooliganism of some of them. He had the fear that this hooliganism had the sympathy of the mass of the White men of the Union. Hooliganism would not flourish without such silent sympathy. He fondly hoped that as the White men realized the deep strength

and sincerity of Satyagrahis, they would begin to respect them and transfer their sympathy to the suffering passive resisters. He asked the gathering to offer their heartfelt prayers for God's mercy on the hooligans. He did not want them to send money to their countrymen. Money could not give them victory. They had money enough. But a time might come when it would be their duty in India to offer non-violent resistance of the purest type for the sake of their brethren. He could not tell how. India was fast becoming the granary of the honour and dignity of the human race. It would be in the fitness of things if it fell to their lot to help the struggle of the gallant resisters of South Africa. But for that the way must be clear before them. He felt that he would know when it was clear. Meantime he invoked the sympathy of the Viceroy and the White men and women of India to do their portion of duty.

A tinge of subdued emotion marked his address at the farewell prayer gathering. Taking stock of his nearly three months' communion with them (with only two breaks) he asked them to preserve and enlarge the most precious part of what he was leaving behind, viz. the practice of common prayer. He did not mind whether they recited the prayer verses or not. What was absolutely necessary was that all the members of their families should daily assemble at a convenient time and observe at the most five minutes' silence with concentration on God within.

#### IMPLICATIONS OF FAITH

After three months' unrelenting labour in the 'dust bowl' of the Imperial City, Gandhiji is at last free to make a dash to Panchgani to re-charge his outworn body battery. "Two months' mountain air seems to be necessary to keep me going for the rest of the year. It is surprising, the difference it makes," he remarked on the eve of his departure from Delhi. "But I am not altogether sure," he added, "whether it is not *Ramanama* really that is responsible for the marvellous result." The same note of boundless faith in God was noticeable in a previous discourse at the prayer gathering. He was commenting on the allegory of *Gajendra* and *Graha*, the elephant king and the alligator that adorns the Bhagawata. "The moral of the story," he remarked, "is that God never fails his devotees in the hour of trial. The condition is that there must be a living faith in and the uttermost reliance on Him. The test of faith is that having done our duty we must be prepared to welcome whatever He may send — joy as well as sorrow, good luck as well as bad. We will then feel like King Janaka who, when informed that his capital was ablaze, only remarked that it was no concern of his. The secret of his resignation and equanimity was that he was ever awake, never remiss in the performance of his duty. Having done his duty he could leave the rest to God.

"And so a man of prayer will in the first place be spared mishaps by the ever merciful Providence but if the mishaps do come he will not bewail his fate but bear it with an undisturbed peace of mind and joyous resignation to His will."

#### A SIGN

If a sign were needed in confirmation of Gandhiji's testament of faith that whom God protects no power on earth can injure, it was provided during our return journey to Poona. In the small hours of the night while proceeding at full speed between Neral and Karjat, the special by which Gandhiji was travelling, suddenly bumped against some boulders that seemed to have purposely been placed upon the railway track to derail it. The dynamo of the rear bogey was wrecked and the engine itself damaged. But for the presence of mind of the engine driver, who pulled up the train in time, it might have been completely wrecked and all the passengers hurled into nothingness. Luckily the train was not derailed and after temporary repairs, was able to proceed on its journey. During the night, while for over two hours hammers were at work loosening and separating the wrecked structures, Gandhiji slept the sleep of the just and innocent in spite of the crash and din of hammer's blows. When asked next morning whether he knew what had happened during the night he expressed surprise. "Oh! I wasn't aware of it," he only said.

Summing up his reaction to the incident at the first prayer gathering in Poona, he said: "This is perhaps the seventh occasion when a merciful Providence has rescued me from the very jaws of death. I have injured no man, nor have I borne enmity to any. Why should anyone have wished to take my life is more than I can understand. But the world is made like that. Men is born to live in the midst of dangers and alarms. The whole existence of man is a ceaseless duel between the forces of life and death. Even so, the latest accident strengthens my hope to live up to 125. *Ramanama* is my only strength and refuge. You should join me in reciting His name and install Him in your hearts if you want me to continue to serve you. God makes crooked straight for us and sets things right when they seem to go dead wrong."

Poona, 30-6-46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 23

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## 'ALL ABOUT BHANDARS'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An article under the above caption appeared in the *Khadi Patrika* of 3rd June. As it is important I give it in full below:

"It is our intention to make rapid changes in the running of our 'bhandars'. In spite of the condition of yarn currency attaching to the sales of Khadi, Bombay people have not yet taken to spinning. Most of the yarn given in exchange for cloth is bought. From the 1st of July, we shall give only Rs. 2 worth of Khadi for one hank and, as a result, the sales of Khadi will go down. One of the main reasons for Khadi sales is that mill cloth is rationed. Many persons who ordinarily wear mill cloth are almost forced, as it were, to buy Khadi. We take a statement from every customer as to whether the yarn given in is self-spun or spun by a member of the family or staff. But we have regretfully to admit that many customers do not appreciate their responsibility in the matter of making accurate statements. This irresponsible attitude is not in the best interests of Khadi. Khadi-production aims at self-sufficiency of village India. Other provinces will, therefore, now provide less and less cloth to our bhandars. The use of the words 'sale of Khadi' is really inconsistent with the ideal. In the circumstances it is imperative for us to make timely changes in the running of bhandars. From July 1st we are closing two branches in Matunga and Dadar. For the last three months we have been giving training in Matunga in all the processes of Khadi. In Dadar, there was some sale of Khadi too, but these activities must now come to an end. In Girgaum, in the Khadi Printing Shop, the A. I. S. A. was running a training centre too. This shop will now be handed back to the trustees of the Khadi Printing Shop who will continue to give instruction in all the processes of Khadi as well as arrange for some sales.

"The reduction of work involves dispensing with the services of fifteen workers.

"Ever since the new policy came into vogue, Gandhiji has been saying that the make-up of the bhandars must be changed. In order to fall into line we arranged facilities for teaching and weaving in some places but such outward changes have not connoted the real change. We felt that a change in our mental outlook is what was most needed. Therefore, examination of workers and such other reforms came into force.

"Nevertheless all the changes mentioned above have not enabled us to gain our object. At the time when customers looked upon Khadi as being in the fashion, bhandars were purely commercial depots. Today the bhandar desires to bring about a change in the mentality of the Khadi wearer. It no longer desires to remain a sales depot. It desires to become a centre for imparting knowledge in all the processes of Khadi manufacture. It desires to become a centre of attraction for weavers and other craftsmen. To this end we must continue undeterred to bring about the necessary changes and *pari passu* change the outlook of Bombay Khadi wearers. Then only will bhandars reflect the reality. We expect the customers of Bombay to remain loyal to us in our endeavour."

Readers will note that the success of the purpose, as expressed in the article, rests on the faith, intelligence and capability of the workers.

Bombay, 6-7-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WEEKLY LETTER

### A NEW SUPERSTITION?

"Am I propagating a new variety of superstition?" asked Gandhiji in the course of one of his recent prayer discourses at Poona. "God is not a person. He is the all-pervading, all-powerful spirit. Anyone who bears Him in his heart has accession of a marvellous force of energy comparable in its results to physical forces like steam or electricity, but much more subtle." *Ramanama* was not like black magic. It had to be taken with all that it symbolized. He likened it to a mathematical formula which sums up in brief the results of endless research and experimentation. Mere mechanical repetition of *Ramanama* could not give strength. For that, one had to understand and live up to the conditions attaching to its recitation. To take God's name one must live a Godly life.

### A PORTENT

South African Satyagraha is a sign and a portent. As Pandit Jawaharlalji remarked the other day in the A. I. C. C. meeting, it may be that the future of India is even now being decided by the struggle of the Indians overseas, particularly in South Africa. Lynch law has already claimed its first victim. Commenting on the doings of the White hooligans who were said to have beaten to death an Indian, whom they mistook for a Satyagrahi, Gandhiji remarked, "It is a sad event. Nevertheless, I feel happy. A Satyagrahi must always be ready to die with a smile on his

face without retaliation and without rancour in his heart. Some people have come to have a wrong notion that Satyagraha means only jail going, perhaps facing lathi blows and nothing more. Such Satyagraha cannot bring Independence. To win Independence you have to learn the art of dying without killing."

Indians in South Africa are a mere handful in the midst of the overwhelming majority of the Whites and the Negroes. The Whites in the intoxication of power had not only enacted a barbarous measure but had taken the law in their own hands. The excuse trotted out for that infamous measure was that it was necessary for saving the White civilization from being swamped by the rising tide of colour. "I venture to submit," remarked Gandhiji commenting on this, "that a civilization which needs such barbarous legislation for its protection is a contradiction in terms. The Indians are fighting for their honour. The land in South Africa does not belong to the Whites. Land belongs to one who labours on it. I would not shed a single tear if all the Satyagrahis in South Africa are wiped out. Thereby they will not only bring deliverance to themselves but point the way to the Negroes and vindicate the honour of India. I am proud of them and so should be you." His object in speaking to them, he continued, was not to move them to tears or to incite them to anger and vituperation against the Whites. Rather they should pray to God to guide the Whites aright and grant strength and courage to their brethren to remain steadfast to the end.

#### SOME HIGHLIGHTS

The way in which the courage and renunciation of the Satyagrahis is rising to the occasion would make the heart of an Indian dilate with pride. Dr. Goonam, a woman passive resister, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. The trying magistrate reduced her sentence by four months. She objected to it saying that she wanted no favour on the score of her sex. Her offence, if it could be so called, was the same as that of men Satyagrahis. But the magistrate would not listen to her objection. Young Sorabjee who was recently here as the head of the South African Delegation has also gone to prison. A worthy son of a worthy father, the late Parsi Rustomji, he distinguished himself by his unusual courage even as a young lad of sixteen in the course of the Satyagraha movement which was conducted by Gandhiji in South Africa. A mounted White man threatened to overrun the passive resisters. Sorabjee held the reins of the horse and told the horseman that he could not frighten the Satyagrahis into submission by such tactics. His pluck averted an ugly situation.

It is gratifying too to find that there is at least one White man in South Africa, Rev. Scott of Johannesburg whose Christian conscience has revolted against the inequity of the colour bar and the ill-treatment to which the passive resisters are being subjected there. As a protest against it he has joined the ranks of the passive resisters and has gone

to the only fit place, in the words of Thoreau, for a just man under an unjust government, namely prison. "It is no small thing," remarked Gandhiji, in paying him a glowing tribute, "for a White man to identify himself with the coloured people in South Africa. If the Satyagrahis remain firm and non-violent till the end, all will be well with them."

"The South African struggle may appear to be insignificant today," remarked Gandhiji in the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay, "but it is charged with momentous consequences. Satyagraha is today being tried in the land of its birth. The success of a handful of Indians mostly descendants of indentured labourers had excited the jealousy of the Whites of South Africa. And they are now subjecting them to unspeakable indignities. They are sought to be segregated into ghettos and further humiliated by being offered an inferior franchise. That all this should happen under the imprimatur of Field Marshal Smuts fills me with shame and humiliation. Our sins have a strange way of coming home to roost. We turned a portion of ourselves into *pariahs*, and today the Whites of South Africa are doing the same to our compatriots there. Let us purge ourselves of this curse and bless the heroic struggle of our brethren in South Africa. They do not need our monetary help. But they need all our sympathy and moral support."

#### THE MOTE AND THE BEAM

Even while he was uttering these words in the A. I. C. C., his mind was filled with what he had seen and observed on the day before in the Harijan chawl from which he had driven to the A. I. C. C. meeting. Owing to rainy weather the prayer gathering was held in the Labour Welfare Hall that was built by the Congress Ministry in 1941. At the end of the prayer on the 6th, he asked how many Harijans were present in the hall. Not a hand went up. It was a great disappointment for him. He had come to live in Harijan quarters because he had become a *bhangî*. But not to talk of *bhangis*, there was no Harijan there. "I blame you and not those who are absent," he said addressing the gathering. "The reason for their absence is that the so-called caste Hindus have kept down the so-called untouchables for ages and that too in the name of religion. This hall is meant for the use of the Harijans. Non-Harijans can come only by grace. Let those who come here make it a point of bringing with them at least one Harijan each." If they befriended the Harijans, he told them, untouchability would disappear in the twinkling of an eye. But he was grieved to find that they had not really done so. There were Harijan barristers and lawyers. Even today they could not live in the bungalows on Malabar Hill, for instance. There was a Harijan volunteer girl working in his camp. She was studying in B. A. There was nothing in her appearance to distinguish her from other girls. Why should the knowledge that she was a Harijan cause her to be treated differently from other girls?

He was embarrassed, he observed, by the care and attention that was being lavished on him by those who were in charge of the management of the camp. Yet he was finding his stay very taxing. There was so much dirt and filth about the place. Dr. Dinshah had told him that the lavatories were so dirty that he could not use them. There were so many flies about the place that he was afraid lest he (Gandhiji) might catch some infection and get ill. He himself, said Gandhiji, was not worried about that. Although the two doctors with him looked after him, he did not depend on anyone except God. The Almighty would take care of his health. But his companions did not have that faith in God. He was anxious for them. He himself had been given a good, clean lavatory but all the party could not use it. He had been thinking that if he came here again he should stay there all by himself. He was occupying the house of the overseer. He had been wondering why the overseer and those in charge of the sanitation, i. e. the Municipality and the P. W. D. put up with all that filth. What was the use of his coming and staying there if it could not induce them to make the place healthy and hygienic?

#### A CASE FOR SATYAGRAHA

He followed up his remarks by deputing Drs. Sushila Nayyar and Dinshah Mehta to inspect the chawls and report. The filth and dirt which they saw there was unbearable. In several places the drain pipes were choked with the result that they did not function properly. In other places the drains overhead were leaking to the discomfort of those living below. There was grave scarcity of water. Except for two or three hours during the day, the taps were not running. Flushes did not work. No wonder the latrines were indescribably filthy. It was a wonder to him, remarked Gandhiji, that under such conditions anyone could use them at all. The arrangements for collection and disposal of refuse were most unsatisfactory. The open refuse bins emitted a foul smell. The overcrowding in the chawls was appalling. "It is the duty of those in authority to improve the sanitary conditions of the chawls," remarked Gandhiji in the last prayer gathering which he addressed in Bombay. "And if the Municipality fails in its duty, it is the right of the people to demand redress even by offering Satyagraha. The owners of the chawls and the overseers and the managing staff should all do their utmost to rectify the wrong."

He felt ashamed and hurt to find too that his residence was being guarded by the police day and night. It should be a matter of shame for them also, he said. They should tell the police that he was their charge and that they would look after him. The Harijans had a cause to feel bitter against "Caste Hindus" and therefore against him too, though he had become a *bhangi*. If they were angry with him and visited their anger upon him, he would feel no rancour against them. He had been doing his utmost to explain to the "Caste Hindus" and to the Harijans their respective duties. The Harijans

however could well feel bitter against him because with all his efforts, untouchability had not disappeared root and branch. When he came again, he concluded, he would expect to find cleanliness all round and not merely in his rooms. And he would like to do without police protection. He had no desire to become a burden to them, the dwellers in the chawls.

#### FALLEN FROM GRACE

Ahmedabad, the pride of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, where he had rendered yeoman service to the Municipality has fallen from grace. Hindus and Muslims had lived always together in peace there. But madness seems to have seized its inhabitants of late. It has distressed Gandhiji beyond measure. "Hindus and Muslims of Ahmedabad seem to be dehumanized," he observed in one of his prayer addresses. All the deaths in Ahmedabad were not the result of stabbing and the like. It was a shame that they should have to take the help of the police and the military to prevent them from flying at each other's throats. If one side ceased to retaliate, the riots would not go on. What did it matter if even a few lakhs were killed in the right manner out of the 40 crores of India? If they could learn the lesson of dying without killing, India, which was celebrated in legend and history as *Karmabhoomi* — the land of duty — would become a virtual Eden — the image of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

He had told Shri Morarji Desai, the Home Minister, who had seen him before proceeding to Ahmedabad that he must go to meet the flames under the sole protection of God, not that of the police or the military. If need be, he must perish in the flames in the attempt to quell them as the late Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi had done. Shri Morarji had invited the representatives of Muslims, Hindus and others to a joint conference at Ahmedabad and had told them that he was prepared to withdraw the police and the military if they so desired. But the latter had unanimously replied that they were not prepared to take the risk. The result was, that the police and the military remained there. "The disturbances have been arrested," remarked Gandhiji in agony "but the peace that is seen in Ahmedabad today is the peace of the grave. It is not something of which one can be proud. How I wish that both the Hindus and the Muslims would combine and dispense with the help of the police and the military for purposes of keeping them from mutual fight." He warned them that so long as they depended upon the help of the police and the military for maintaining law and order, real independence must remain mere idle talk.

Poona, 9-7-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

July 14

1946

## THE REAL DANGER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As during the two days of the session of the A. I. C. C. in Bombay I listened to some of the spirited speeches against the Working Committee's resolution submitted to the A. I. C. C. for ratification, I could not subscribe to the dangers portrayed by the opposition. No confirmed Satyagrahi is dismayed by the dangers, seen or unseen, from his opponent's side. What he must fear, as every army must, is the danger from within.

Opposition, however eloquent it may be, will defeat its purpose if it is not well informed, balanced and well-based and does not promise action and result more attractive than what is opposed. Let the opposition at the late meeting answer.

My purpose here is merely to point out the danger from within. The first in importance is laziness of mind and body. This comes out of the smug satisfaction that Congressmen having suffered imprisonment have nothing more to do to win freedom and that a grateful organization should reward their service by giving them first preference in the matter of elections and offices. And so, there is an unseemly and vulgar competition for gaining what are described as prize posts. Here there is a double fallacy. Nothing should be considered a prize in the Congress dictionary and imprisonment is its own reward. It is the preliminary examination of a Satyagrahi. Its goal is the slaughter house even as that of the spotless lamb. Jail going is, instead, being used as a passport to every office accessible to the Congress. Hence there is every prospect of Satyagrahi imprisonment becoming a degrading occupation like that of professional thieves and robbers. No wonder my friends of the underground variety avoid imprisonment as being comparatively a bed of roses. This is a pointer to the pass the Congress is coming to.

The friends who opposed the resolution on the British Cabinet Delegation's proposal do not seem to know what they are aiming at. Is independence to be bought at the price of a bloody revolution as was, say, the French, the Soviet or even the English? Then frank and honest work has yet to begin. They have to tread a very dangerous path in openly making the Congress such an institution. My argument has no force if subterranean activity is a doctrine of universal application and is now being employed against the Congress. The very thought repels me. I should hope for the sake of my own sanity that the thought is devoid of any foundation. Then it is clearly their duty to say to the Congressmen that now that there is Congress Raj or Representative Raj, whether of the Congress variety or the Muslim League, they must set about reforming

it in detail and not condemn it *in toto*. Total non-violent non-cooperation has no place in popular Raj, whatever its level may be.

Who is responsible for the mad orgy in Madura and, coming nearer in Ahmedabad? It will be folly to attribute everything evil to British machinations. This senseless theory will perpetuate foreign domination, not necessarily British. The British will go in any case. They want to go in an orderly manner as is evident to me from the State Paper or they will go and leave India to her own fate assuming that India has forsaken the path of non-violence with the certain result of a combined intervention of an assortment of armed powers. Let the opposition say to Congressmen what kind of independence they want. Congressmen in general certainly do not know the kind of independence they want. They recite the formula almost parrot-like. Or, their notion of independence is fully expressed in saying that they mean by it Congress Raj. And they won't be wrong. They have left further thinking to the Working Committee — a most undemocratic way. In true democracy every man and woman is taught to think for himself or herself. How this real revolution can be brought about I do not know except that every reform like charity must begin at home.

If then the Constituent Assembly fizzles out, it will not be because the British are wicked every time. It will be because we are fools or, shall I say, even wicked? Whether we are fools or wicked or both, I am quite clear that we must look for danger from within, not fear the danger from without. The first corrodes the soul, the second polishes.

Bombay, 9-7-'46

## SUCCESS OF THE NEW TEAM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The success of the new team depends as much upon the manner in which it carries out the work as upon the manners of the old. If new team breaks with the old, it is bound to fail even like a son who repudiates the inheritance left by his father. It is also bound to fail if those who have retired do not help their successors in every possible way. They were selected by Maulana Saheb not in order to give them importance but by reason of their services in their own provinces. A servant does not cease to be a servant when he gives place to another for the sake of accession of new blood or some other similar and cogent reason. It is to be hoped therefore that the old ones will give the new ones the full benefit of their experience.

The most striking change is the retirement of the General Secretary who had held the post for an unbroken period of ten years. His help will be required constantly by his successors who are new to the office and new members of the Working Committee. I know they will get all the help they need from Acharya Kripalani. It is a good thing a woman fills for the first time in the history of the Congress the post of General Secretary. Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai was one of the pupils of Acharya Kripalani in the initial stage of the career of the

Gujarat Vidyapith. Therefore, she will have full guidance from her *acharya* in the difficult task to which she is called.

To those to whom the change may give cause for misgivings, I would say that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself makes a fine and stable bridge between the old and the new, assisted as he will be by some of the ablest members of the old team. No one need therefore entertain any fear of a break with the past. A healthy circulation is as necessary for the body politic as for the individual.  
Poona, 10-7-'46

### A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION

The All India Congress Committee has passed the following resolution about Satyagraha in South Africa at its meeting held at Bombay, on 6-7-'46.

This meeting of the All India Congress Committee, while it is grieved that it has become imperative for the Indian settlers in South Africa once more to offer Satyagraha in the land of its birth against a law imposing on them a colour bar more sinister than the one against which they had put up a brave fight between 1907 and 1914, congratulates the handful of Satyagrahis on their brave but unequal action against heavy odds.

This meeting is pleased to find that doctors and such other men and women are at the head of the gallant struggle and that among them are represented Parsis, Christians, Muslims and Hindus. This meeting is also pleased to find that a few White men like Rev. Scott have thrown in their lot with the Satyagrahis. This meeting condemns the action of some White men in resorting to the barbarous method known as Lynch Law to terrorize the Satyagrahis into submission to the humiliating legislation.

It is worthy of note that a large part of the Indians are born and bred up in South Africa and to whom India exists only in their imagination. These colonial-born Indians have adopted European manners and customs and English has become like their mother-tongue.

This meeting notes with great satisfaction that the Indian resisters are keeping their struggle free from violence in any shape or form and conducting it with dignity and without rancour and that they are suffering not only for their self-respect but for the honour of India and by their heroic resistance have set a noble example to all the exploited peoples of the earth. This meeting assures the Indian settlers in South Africa, India's full support in this unequal struggle and is firmly of opinion that persistence in it is bound to crown their effort with success.

This meeting appeals to his Excellency the Viceroy to use all his endeavour and to ensure the support of the British Government in aid of this struggle and invites the European residents of India to raise their voice in protest against White hooliganism and anti-Asiatic and anti-colour legislation in South Africa.

### DISTINCTION BETWEEN HINDI AND URDU

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I know Shri Ram Naresh Tripathi fairly well. He came to see me in Mussooree one day and I was quite prepared for him to reproach me for my propaganda in favour of Hindustani. Contrary to my expectation he did exactly the opposite. He was of opinion that if I cherished the hope that true Hindustani would be born of a proper mixture of Hindi and Urdu, I would derive greater help in this endeavour from Urdu, provided I realized that, just as in the case of present-day Hindi and Urdu, wrong attempts are being made to clothe the language in an unnatural garb, the former in Sanskritic and the latter in Arabic or Persian. Similarly, it will be wrong to mutilate original Urdu. With this proviso there was every hope of Hindustani becoming a live language. I asked him to give me some concrete examples so that I might clearly understand his meaning. There was a pause and apparently it seemed difficult for him to do so on the spur of the moment. I, therefore, requested him to send me something illustrative in writing. The result is the following:

"You asked me to show you in writing the difference in mould between Hindi and Urdu. But it seems to me that this can really best be defined by intimate experience. No number of stray examples would answer the purpose. I have, however, one suggestion to offer. If you were to ask two knowledgeable persons to translate a paragraph of any of your English articles in 'Harijan' in simple Hindi and simple Urdu, you would at once see the difference.

"The day I met you I gave it as my opinion that Urdu is better-finished than Hindi. I give an example to prove my point. Take the following sentence from a wellknown Hindi writer: समझमें न आनेसे घबराहटसी लगने लगती है. In Urdu लगती cannot be used here. घबराहट होती है or घबराहट पैदा होती है would be correct. No good writer of Urdu is ever guilty of wrong phraseology. If he did, he would meet with strong criticism. There is no sustained movement to reform Hindi. As a matter of fact the best help that could be rendered today to Hindi would be to publish select Urdu books and writings in the Nagari script. In this way, the untiring efforts of Urdu poets and prose writers on behalf of the reform and finish of the Urdu language over the last several centuries could easily be taken advantage of by lovers of Hindi and I believe that Hindustani would be the natural outcome of such an experiment."

This letter deserves consideration. I love both the languages but I am not versed in either of them. My knowledge of Hindi is very average. I have not had the time to study it from books. My son Devadas who went years ago at my instance and with my blessings to spread Hindi in Madras knows it far better than I do. I can name many others who have similarly outpaced me. My knowledge of Urdu is much less even than my Hindi. I have known the Hindi script since childhood. I have had

to work to learn the Urdu and lack of knowledge of the language makes reading a difficult task. Nor can I write the script with ease. My knowledge being as limited as it is, I can claim nothing but a completely impartial love for both Hindi and Urdu. Therefore, it is my hope that if God wills, scholars in both the languages will contribute to make my venture a success. For this reason I have published Shri Tripathi's letter so that he and others may be inspired to help me in my endeavour.

Other lovers of Hindi have also told me that the same energy has not been expended on Hindi as on Urdu. If people will realize that there should be no ugly rivalry between the two, that both are, at root, one, that crores speak Hindustani and that it is the duty of scholars and poets to concentrate on it for the sake of the masses, I have no doubt that we shall progress by leaps and bounds.

Poona, 3-7-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### A. MEDICAL WITNESS

Sometime back I mentioned a case reported by a patient of his successful effort to introduce spinning as occupational therapy among the fellow patients in the orthopaedic ward of a hospital in South India. Even more striking is the experience related by Dr. Narendranath Ghosh, a retired Civil Surgeon from Bengal. He writes :

"As a Civil Surgeon I had opportunity to work in Bengal Jails. In Comilla Jail I introduced spinning as a psycho-therapeutic measure for curing lunacy with the help of a lady visitor of the Jail who used to spin yarn herself regularly. She is a highly educated lady, American by birth and Indian by marriage. I can't mention her name, as I have not got her permission to do so. We were very fortunate in curing the first case of lunacy within a period of three months. I got more extensive opportunity in Midnapore Central Jail to try this measure amongst lunatics. In this jail there were 35 to 40 cases in different stages in 1942-43 of different kinds. Those who were in a quiescent stage took to spinning on the charkha straightaway and their mental condition improved appreciably and proportionately with the gradual improvement of the quality of their own handiwork. The finer the yarn produced or spun by a particular lunatic, the better the result. It was rather a difficult and slow process amongst the violent lunatics, although once initiated into the art, the final result was even better than amongst others. In the case of violent lunatics, some medication was required to bring them to a fairly quiescent stage before they could be made to begin with the teasing of cotton first, followed by spinning on the *takli* and finally on the charkha. Most of the charkhas were made inside the jail with the help and guidance of some D. I. convicts and security prisoners who had brought their own charkhas with them. In this connection I must also state that I was able to grow long staple cotton in the jail garden in Midnapore and Krishnagar with the help of the inmates and the local agricultural

officer who kindly selected the suitable plots, supplied good seeds and some bone manure. My idea was to make the prisoners learn all the stages and processes from cultivation of cotton to weaving of cloth. As a matter of fact the yarn produced by the lunatics was woven into cloth on handlooms and utilized for making for them *kurtas* and pants out of their own yarn, which again was a source of great pleasure to them and consequently of mental improvement also. But I did not succeed in making the lunatics themselves to cultivate or help in cultivation of cotton and in weaving cloth from their own yarn and tailoring it into *kurtas* and *dhoties* or pants for themselves. This would have been and was really my ideal. I shall be grateful if this important industry, from cultivation of cotton to weaving and tailoring etc., is taken up not only in the different mental hospitals but also in all the jails of India. It is quite possible to grow cotton in most of the jails of Bengal also. As most of the inmates of all jails are more or less mental cases, I don't see why this really useful art and industry should not be taken up by all jails for all kinds of persons as a major jail industry and all jail kit for prisoners themselves and also for *chowkidars* and police force of the local governments should not be manufactured out of the cotton and yarn produced in the jail by the prisoners. This will not merely be a measure for cure of mental cases but also a measure of moral improvement of all or a majority of the prisoners and a highly economic measure for any government."

The experiment can be safely recommended *mutatis mutandis* for trial in jails by the popular ministries in the provinces. Its success, however, will depend on suitable persons being available for conducting it. They must not only have mastered the science of Khadi but they must be inspired by humanitarian sentiment. In jails the tendency is to give to every kind of occupation penal, one may say even vindictive, flavour. That would be fatal to success. It may also be noted that the spinning has to be done solely by the hand and noiselessly. Its rhythm and soothing effect must never be lost sight of in this connection.

Bombay, 8-7-'46

PYARELAL

### Gurudev's Agony

The following from Gurudev, the original manuscript in English of which Shri Amiya Chakravarty is the proud possessor, is apt in our famine-stricken land today:

"The famished, the homeless  
raise their hands towards heaven;  
and utter the name of God.  
Their call will never be in vain  
in the land where God's response  
comes through the heart of man  
in heroic service and love."

Will the English knowing for whom this was written in the Poet's agony sufficiently understand the call for 'heroic service and love'?

Poona 30-6-'46

A. K.

## USEFUL SUGGESTION

Dr. M. A. Chadray sends the following:

The method now in vogue of first grinding grain into flour and then making *chapatis* or bread out of the flour is wasteful. The defects of the method are as follows:

In the process of grinding in mills at a high speed, the properties of protein, starch, cellulose and mineral salts are altered while the fat content is lost, as in the process the flour gets hot. In the preparation of dough of workable consistency, the flour absorbs only half the quantity of water to its own weight, with the result that starch does not swell and in turn makes the food only partly nutritive due to insufficient proportion of water. In the East, the dough is rolled into shapes called *chapatis* and *puris* which can either be cooked or baked, but are fried with ghee or oils, and in so doing only a skin forms on both the sides. In the West, the dough is mixed with yeast for the preparation of spongy bread, but this too is neither fully nutritive nor hygienic as claimed, as the vitamins together with other constituents of food value are destroyed by the alcoholic fermentation due to the action of the yeast. Hence, the food prepared with this age-old process is neither tasteful nor hygienic, nor fully nutritive nor easily digestible and even for partial digestion needs a large quantity of digestive fluids, like bile, gastric juice and pancreatic juice. That a sick person cannot be fed with this food is a popular recognition of this fact. Even biscuits cannot be said to be better. Again, not being easily digestible, it causes constipation, the cause of all disease. Besides, before the preparation of dough, the flour is sieved to remove bran, which means a loss. The flour being liable to easy attack by microscopic germs, it cannot be stored for a long time and considerable loss occurs in transport and use, all of which make its use uneconomical.

All these defects can now be surmounted with the process developed after extensive experiments conducted with a view to increasing the nutritive value of cereals, particularly wheat, *bajri* and *jowar*, so that the food made out of these cereals can impart immense health.

According to this new process, a known quantity of wheat with about three and a half times water by volume, i. e. one pot of wheat and three and a half pots of water, or 1 lb. of wheat and 4 lb. of water, is hydrated by gradual boiling, with or without the addition of a teaspoonful of sugar or jaggery under low heat, keeping the lid on if an ordinary pot is used. Prior to heating, if wheat is steeped in water for about 12 to 18 hours, fuel will be saved. In case a pressure cooker is employed, the ratio of wheat and water should be one to one and three-quarter by weight. The proportion of water to be used varies according to the quality of wheat. In so cooking or boiling, about 2 lb. of water is removed by evaporation and starch, bran

and other constituents swell by absorbing water, and wheat become meaty. In this manner cooking or boiling should be continued till only a little water is left, which too will be absorbed by the wheat when it cools. Heating should neither be continued till water is completely evaporated, for then hydration will not be sufficient, nor should the water from the pot be thrown out, for if removed, it means a loss of soluble constituents of wheat. When wheat is cooked completely, which can be seen either from its swollen state or by pressing between the fingers to determine the softness, a little salt may be mixed with it to impart taste.

Wheat so cooked should then be masticated or ground to a paste, which can be accomplished with the aid of mincers, or by grinding on a *masala* stone, or pressing with two wooden pieces. With the use of pressure cooker, wheat inside will be digested to a pulpy dough of workable consistency. The paste so made can be made into shapes like *puris*, *chapatis* and biscuits by the known method, and fried with known fats or oils, for consumption.

In places like Bombay where at times grain cannot be had but only flour, one may first make a dough of the flour as usual when making *chapatis*, put the dough in a piece of cloth and hang it over a pot of boiling water till the dough gets completely cooked with the steam. *Chapatis* should then be made out of the cooked dough, following the usual process.

The advantage of this new food is that by it about fiftyfive per cent wheat is saved—forty per cent by the absorption of about one and three quarter times water, ten per cent by retaining bran, and five per cent by elimination of wastage. This means that a month's provision will last for two months. Actually, with this process, the volume of wheat increases to two and a half times, i. e. one pot on cooking becomes two and a half pots. This means that from a quantity of flour required to make four *chapatis* with the old process, ten *chapatis* can be made from the same weight of wheat with this process, without altering the thickness and size.

Besides, the food is more tasteful, hygienic, nutritive and easily digestible as the known and unknown constituents of food value are retained and evenly distributed. As such, its consumption will add a marked amount of weight. Moreover, being easily digestible, it can be fed even to sick persons. Also, the process will facilitate storage of wheat, *bajri*, *jowar* and like grains for a longer time without decay, and will save wastage in transport of flour. Moreover, it will dispense with flour mills.

Above all, this method will mean food for all. The adoption of this activated food in India will save every year about 8 to 12 million tons of wheat costing approximately Rs. 300 to 450 crores at the rate of Rs. 360 per ton and a similar quantity of valuable *bajri* and *jowar*. As such it will eliminate the present scarcity of cereals and will make the future bright for our famished people.

## LEFT-HANDED COMPLIMENT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am writing this letter with a hope of getting proper and immediate response from you. Along with the whole of India I am well aware of your sweet will and affinity towards the *Mehetar* Community. Your "Harijan" has obliged us to a great extent by enabling us to see through your heart. Especially the recent "Harihans" have emphatically revealed your thoughts about the *Mehetar* Community.

"I now wish to reveal my interrogatory heart in order to be well nigh to your feelings towards us and to be definite about our position in the muddled and complicated Indian Political Field.

"By the time you will receive this letter it will be the last date of filling in nomination forms for the candidatureships for the Constituent Assembly, which as it is learnt to be completed by the end of this month. Congress is proposing particular M. L. As and non-M. L. As for the same. It is believed that Scheduled Castes are also to be represented (adequately?). But is there any proposal from you or from Congress to elect adequate or at least some members from the *Mehetar* Community? Who, I am sure will discharge their duty of citizenship and pick up their legitimate share in the future constitution of Free India.

"2. Generous as you are towards us, May I assure myself and my community that *Mehetar* seats in the Constituent Assembly will not escape your notice.

"3. Who will be the components of the Advisory Board? Caste Hindus or Minorities including (?) the Scheduled Castes?

"4. Will the advice or proposals of the Advisory Board be binding to the Constituent Assembly? I think they will not. If so, what sense is there in appointing such a Board, which will be nonentity if the Constituent Assembly were not to pay heed to its advice. Is it not merely for the appeasement of the weak minorities?

"You might say you have been and will do every thing for us, but I wish to say 'let us be with you when everything for us is to be done. Let us be represented democratically."

"I strongly hope that my questions will be fully and satisfactorily answered by you with an obligation of immediate reply to me. I further humbly request you to be good enough to publish your answers in your weekly "Harijan".

"Hope to be excused for troubles."

I have reproduced the foregoing in order to show what havoc dangerous knowledge of English has produced in our society. This is a specimen not of English English nor yet of Indian English. It is bookish English which the writer probably half understands. I suggest to him that if he had written to me in the national language Hindustani or in his provincial language, it would not have evoked an unfavourable response from me.

The writer has paid me a left-handed compliment and that perhaps in order to teach me how

to express my love for the *bhangis* otherwise known as *mehetar*. The writer is a discontented graduate, setting no example or a bad example to *bhangis*. He has isolated himself from them, though he professes to represent them.

He will certainly become my teacher if he will be a graduate in the art of being a good *bhangis*. I very much fear that he does no scavenging himself, he does not know what scientific scavenging is. If he became an expert in the art, his services would be wanted by all the cities of India. When *bhangis* really rise from the slumber of ages, they will successfully sweep the Augean stables everywhere and India will be a pattern of cleanliness and there will be in India no plague and other diseases which are the descendants of filth and dirt.

In the place where I am living in Bombay, my room and the adjoining lavatory are fairly clean, but I am in the midst of suffocating dirt. I have had no time to examine the tenements in front of me. They are as crowded and as dirty as the ones in the quarters where I was living in New Delhi. Had my graduate fellow *bhangis* been an expert in the art, I would, without doubt, have requisitioned his services as my guide and helper.

As it is, not only have I no use for him, I have to risk his displeasure by telling him that he should not think of the Constituent Assembly or other assemblies. Let those go to them who are wanted there. Instead of getting rid of the wretched caste mentality, he argues that any Harijan is not good enough for the purpose but preference should be given to the *mehetar* caste. I suggest to him that it is a harmful method, doing no good to anybody.

Anyway, he has expected the impossible from me. I am not made for these big institutions. I have never interested myself in the periodical assembly elections. I have not attended Working Committee meetings where they make these selections. What I know of the present selections is from the newspapers. I have become a *bhangis* because I think that that is the vocation of every Hindu, that the hoary institution of untouchability as we know it today in its ugly shape will die a decent death only when the Hindus will be casteless by becoming *bhangis* from the bottom of their hearts. That cannot be done by aspiring after the membership my correspondent has in view.

Bombay, 6-7-'46

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# HARIJAN

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VOL. X, No. 24

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JULY 21, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## KASTURBA MEMORIAL TRUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

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Any work done for city-dwellers is broadcast at once. A building or a statue is advertised in the papers. Its foundation stone is laid or its opening ceremony performed with due pomp and ceremony. Any such propaganda is impossible for village work among village women. The reader will today have to be content with knowing through whom Kasturba Trust work is being done. When work has been accomplished in even a few thousand out of the seven lakhs of our villages and the women and children of those areas have become ready to play their proper part in life, then will all become *ipso facto* aware of the work. Today it is enough for all to know that village midwives and nurses are being trained.

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Scant attention has so far been and is even now being paid to the villages. Only when the town-dwellers become village-minded, will any real change take place. Until then neither newspapers nor city-folk will take much interest in village organizations.

Sometimes, quite rightly, the money collected for a specific purpose is expended on it straightaway. But in the case of the Kasturba Fund, it was necessary to proceed with caution. The donors may be numbered in thousands but the field in which the money is to be spent is 1900 miles long and the population to be served numbers 40 crores. How to work, where to commence, are matters that require thought and time. Workers could not be found at once and now time is required for their training too. Therefore, donors must have confidence that the Trustees will neither waste money nor will they lazily refuse to spend where it is necessary.

Ever since committees were formed in various centres, there have been complaints that these should have been composed solely of donors and that the latter have been taken in very small numbers. It does not follow that donors are always the best judges of how the money should be spent. Several persons may, for example, donate 10 crores for the construction of an artificial lake. What can they do without the help of engineers in whose hands the expenditure of money and work must naturally go? Many similar instances may be cited in support of the argument. In the first instance, provincial committees were formed in the manner described. Later, it was felt that it was woman's work and should be run, as far as possible, by women agents. By such a course of action it is sought to give the requisite confidence to women workers, so that the responsibility of running the organization eventually comes into their hands. All this must take time. There are difficulties to surmount. But it is hoped that ultimately the work will grow and women will be prepared to shoulder the burden. Results will show whether the experiment is worth-while.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## GANDHIJI'S SPEECH AT THE A. I. C. C.

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech in the A. I. C. C. meeting held at Bombay on the 7th July.

"I have often said that man plans but the success of his plans depends not on him but on the will of the Providence which is the supreme arbiter of our destinies. Unlike you, I am not in my own right but on sufferance. I have been told that some of my previous remarks about the Cabinet Mission's proposals have caused a good deal of confusion in the public mind. As a Satyagrahi it is always my endeavour to speak the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I never have a wish to hide anything from you. I hate mental reservations. But language is at best an imperfect medium of expression. No man can fully express in words what he feels or thinks. Even seers and prophets of old have suffered under that disability.

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"I have not seen what has appeared in the papers about what I am supposed to have said regarding the Cabinet Mission's proposals. I cannot read all the newspapers myself. I content myself with perusing only what my co-workers and assistants may place before me. I hold that I have lost nothing thereby. Because of what has appeared in the press, an impression seems to have been created that I said one thing at Delhi and am saying something different now. I did say in one of my speeches at Delhi in regard to the Cabinet Mission's proposals that I saw darkness where I saw light before. That darkness has not yet lifted. If possible it has deepened. I could have asked the Working Committee to turn down the proposal about the Constituent Assembly if I could see my way clearly. You know my relations with the members of the Working Committee. Babu Rajendra Prasad might have been a High Court Judge, but he chose instead to act as my interpreter and clerk in Champaran. Then there is the Sardar. He has earned the nickname of being my yes-man. He does not mind it. He even flaunts it as a compliment. He is a stormy petrel. Once he used to dress and dine in the Western style. But ever since he decided to cast his lot with me my word has been law to him. But even he cannot see eye to eye with me in this matter. They both tell me that whereas on all previous occasions I was able to support my instinct with reason and satisfy their head as well as heart, this time I have failed to do so. I told them in reply that whilst my own heart was filled with misgivings, I could not adduce any reason for it or else I would have asked them to reject the proposals straightway. It was my duty to place my misgivings before them to put them on their guard. But they should examine what I had said in the cold light of reason and accept my viewpoint only if they were convinced of its correctness. Their decision, which they have arrived at after prolonged deliberations and which is almost unanimous, is before you. The members of the Working Committee are your faithful and tried servants. You should not lightly reject their resolution.

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"Nor would I expect a Satyagrahi to say that whatever Englishmen do must be bad. The English are not necessarily bad. There are good men and bad men among the English people as among any other people. We ourselves are not free from defects. The English could not have risen to their present strength if they had not some good in them. They have come and exploited India, because we quarreled amongst ourselves and allowed ourselves to be exploited. In God's world unmixed evil never prospers. God rules even where Satan seems to hold sway, because the latter exists only on His sufferance. Some people say that Satyagraha is of no avail against a person who has no moral sense. I join issue with that. The stoniest heart must melt if we are true and have enough patience. A Satyagrahi lays down his life, but never gives up. That is the meaning of the 'Do or Die' slogan. That slogan does not mean 'Kill or be killed'. That would be wilful distortion and a travesty of its true meaning. The true meaning is that we must do our duty and die in the course of performing it if necessary. To die without killing is the badge of a Satyagrahi. If we had lived upto that ideal we would have won Swaraj by now. But our *ahimsa* was lame. It walked on crutches. Even so it has brought us to our present strength. I know what happened in 1942. You will perhaps say that it was sabotage and underground activity that had brought the country to its present strength. It cannot be denied that sabotage activity was carried on in the name of the Congress during the '42 struggle, but I deny *in toto* that the strength of the masses is due to that. Whatever strength the masses have, is due entirely to *ahimsa* — however imperfect or defective its practice might have been. Our *ahimsa* was imperfect because we were imperfect, because it was presented to you by an imperfect being like myself. If then, even in the hands of imperfect instruments it could produce such brilliant results, what could it not achieve in the hands of a perfect Satyagrahi?

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happened in 1942, the inner meaning of that struggle and the reason why it stopped short where it did.

#### NO BED OF ROSES

"This is no time for dalliance or ease. I told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he must wear the crown of thorns for the sake of the nation and he has agreed. The Constituent Assembly is going to be no bed of roses for you but only a bed of thorns. You may not shirk it.

"That does not mean that everybody should want to go into it. Only those should go there who are especially fitted for the task by virtue of their legal training or special talent. It is not a prize to be sought as a reward for sacrifices, but a duty to be faced even like mounting the gallows or sacrifice of one's all at the altar of service.

"There is another reason why you should join the Constituent Assembly. If you asked me whether in the event of your rejecting the proposed Constituent Assembly or the Constituent Assembly failing to materialize, I would advise the people to launch civil disobedience, individual or mass, or undertake a fast myself, my reply is 'No'. I believe in walking alone. I came alone in this world, I have walked alone in the valley of the shadow of death and I shall quit alone when the time comes. I know I am quite capable of launching Satyagraha even if I am all alone. I have done so before. But this is no occasion for a fast or civil disobedience. I regard the Constituent Assembly as the substitute of Satyagraha. It is constructive Satyagraha.

#### DUTY OF A SATYAGRAHI

"The alternative is constructive work which you have never done justice to. If you had, you would have today got the Constituent Assembly of Jaiprakash's dream instead of the present one. But a Satyagrahi cannot wait or delay action till perfect conditions are forthcoming. He will act with whatever material is at hand, purge it of dross and convert it into pure gold. Whatever may be the defects in the State Document of May 16th, I have no doubt as to the honesty of those who have framed it. They know they have got to quit. They want to quit in an orderly manner. And to that end they have produced the Document they could under the circumstances. I refuse to believe that they came all the way from England to deceive us.

"A Polish lady has sent me a note just today saying that all Europeans had received secret instructions to leave India as the British army would no longer be able to give them adequate protection. If it is so, it is a sad reflection on us. We would be unworthy of the name of Satyagrahi if even an English child did not feel secure in our midst. Even if we succeed in driving out the Europeans by these tactics, something worse will take their place. Our Quit India resolution has no malice about it. It only means that we will no longer be exploited.

"Let us not be cowardly, but approach our task with confidence and courage. Let not the fear of being deceived dismay us. No one can deceive a Satyagrahi. Never mind the darkness that fills my mind. He will turn it into light."

## Notes

### When a Bullock Ghani is 'Furniture'

The Railway Priority Rules have been used to kill Village Industries. The interpretation of Priority Rules would be amusing, were not the results so tragic. For months on end we have not been able to send out equipment for village industries such as, paddy husking, floor grinding, oil pressing, beekeeping, paper-making etc., because of the ludicrous ideas railway servants have. As our implements are made of wood they refuse to classify them as "Machinery and its parts or tools". According to them machines etc. are always of steel or iron! So we cannot be placed under Class IV "Maintenance of Industrial Production". Hence the Ghani is classified as 'Civilian' furniture which is Class VI and even the Ghani models about 1 foot in height are so classified. Stone *chakkis* are classified as personal luggage!

It is interesting to note that cigarettes, liquors, empty bottles etc. get a priority over us as they are placed under Class V.

The clause provides for the transport of paper from "Mills" but the railways refused to book hand-made paper because we do not call ourselves a "Mill". The Chief Traffic Manager writes that "paper cuttings is considered as raw material, only when consigned to paper Mills" and that as we are not a "Mill", it cannot be booked for us as "raw materials". Can stupidity go further? Or is it a wanton attempt to destroy artisans? It would appear that these are not the whims of an ignorant "goods clerk" but the obduracy of highly placed officials at Headquarters.

### Controls and Controls

Government controls are the order of the day, but how many of these controllers understand the principles underlying controls? Controls are being used indiscriminately and their very purpose is being frustrated.

Where return on capital and profits are the objective of a business—as in centralized industries—price control checks accumulation of wealth and profiteering. On the other hand, in decentralized industries, where the return the artisan gets is a wage, such price controls will act as an obstacle on distribution of wealth. The latter is harmful in a poor country like ours.

Where certain articles are produced both by centralized methods and by decentralized processes, as in the case of cloth or oil, price controls may be applied to mill products but not to handmade goods, if we follow the fundamental principles of public finance and abstain from restricting the much desired distribution of wealth.

Many provincial governments are killing village industries by their indiscriminate use of price controls. Practically, they have brought the Ghani oil pressing to the brink of ruin by their control of prices of oil seeds, Ghani oil cakes and oils. Is it too much to expect that our representative governments will alter this state of affairs by an intelligent use of controls?

J. C. K.



# HARIJAN

July 21

1946

## KHADI IN TOWNS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Your scheme for making village India self-sufficient in the matter of clothing has hit town lovers of Khadi pretty hard. You have gone so far as to say that sales bhandars may close as such and that townfolk may even revert to the use of mill cloth.

"While there is no quarrel with the new ideology and the consequent basic change in the running of bhandars nor with the introduction of a certain quota of yarn currency for purchasing Khadi, I would like you to solve the difficulty of town buyers who must use only Khadi."

Let the readers fully understand the so-called new plan for Khadi. I call it so-called, because what is being done is the logical step, if Khadi is to clothe the villagers, as from the very start it was intended to do. Khadi was never meant merely for the townspeople, it was never meant to bleed the villagers as they are being bled so that the townspeople can live. Khadi was from its inception conceived for the sake of reversing the order though never to bleed the townspeople. To reverse the order was to restore the natural relation. Towns there were before the British arrival. Things were bad enough then. Now they are much worse. Towns became cities. The latter, in spite of their Indian millionaires, lived mainly for the British masters. Khadi was to undo the grave mischief. Mill cloth is the symbol of the slavery of village India as Khadi is or should be the symbol of its freedom, both economic and political. If it cannot be that, it is meaningless. Therefore, any healthy change undergone in the process of Khadi development is to be welcomed.

The defect in the existing development, good though it appeared, was not good enough for the villagers who spun yarn and wove Khadi but did not use it themselves. They neither understood nor appreciated the dignity and value that its use carried. The fault was not theirs. The workers themselves did not. The town dwellers had to wear Khadi and do the penance. They were willing to buy penance for a few extra rupees which they could easily spare and be called patriots in the bargain. But how could the Charkha Sangh (called in English All India Spinners' Association) belie its faith by ignoring the very foundation of Khadi? And so it is employing its resources to making the villagers Khadi-clad. It naturally begins with the spinners and weavers of hand-spun. If the move succeeds, as it is bound to, there will be after a time, ample Khadi in the city and town markets. Then the only cloth available in India will be Khadi. The A. I. S. A. is diligently

working at the consummation. If its researches show that Khadi has no such potentiality, it will have no hesitation in declaring its insolvency. Let the reader remember that it is a science which deals with the psychology of forty crores of people in the machine age. Thus considered, it is a tremendous problem, though at the same time fascinating and interesting. The very defeat, if defeat it is to be, will itself be no defeat. Let it be understood that it is not an attempt to go back to the dark ages when the Charkha was the symbol of the slavery of the masses. Surely it will be a triumph of human understanding, i. e. of the soul of India, when India makes an effort through the Charkha to break her bonds asunder. The free man eats the same bread as the slave. The one eats the bread of freedom, the other of slavery.

But if the city dwellers and the town dwellers would learn the glad tidings that the Charkha has to give, they will willingly employ their leisure time in carding, spinning, and weaving rather than in gambling on the race course or drinking and idling away their time in their clubs. And their children? Why—they could spin for their parents, for the liberty of India and have education of the type that India wants. I was in Rome and Mussolini's officials took pride in showing the graceful manoeuvres of the little children who were being taught all naval tricks. And do the English children do otherwise than learn in their mother tongue what England needs? It is only reserved for India to teach her children the foreigners' language and through it, such things as the latter need. Who but a foreigner has devised the education code?

The A. I. S. A. sales depots will be used for a better purpose than before. They will teach the people, who, I hope, will flock to them, all the tricks of spinning and weaving. If they do, they will have all the Khadi they need. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Lastly, let the reader know too that nowadays Khadi like mill cloth is scarce. Let me not go into the reason why.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

## The Drink Evil

"The first glass makes a man animated, his vivacity great, his colour heightened. In this condition he is like the peacock. When the fumes of the liquor rise into his head, he is gay, leaps and gambols as an ape. Drunkenness takes possession of him, he is like a furious lion. When it is at its height he is like a swine; he falls and grovels on the ground, stretches himself out and goes to sleep."

The above is said to be an old Mohammedan account of the stages of intoxication. The drink habit is growing in the West. We copy much that is bad from them. Let us avoid this evil, which is alien to our soil.

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happened in 1942, the inner meaning of that struggle and the reason why it stopped short where it did.

#### NO BED OF ROSES

"This is no time for dalliance or ease. I told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he must wear the crown of thorns for the sake of the nation and he has agreed. The Constituent Assembly is going to be no bed of roses for you but only a bed of thorns. You may not shirk it.

"That does not mean that everybody should want to go into it. Only those should go there who are especially fitted for the task by virtue of their legal training or special talent. It is not a prize to be sought as a reward for sacrifices, but a duty to be faced even like mounting the gallows or sacrifice of one's all at the altar of service.

"There is another reason why you should join the Constituent Assembly. If you asked me whether in the event of your rejecting the proposed Constituent Assembly or the Constituent Assembly failing to materialize, I would advise the people to launch civil disobedience, individual or mass, or undertake a fast myself, my reply is 'No'. I believe in walking alone. I came alone in this world, I have walked alone in the valley of the shadow of death and I shall quit alone when the time comes. I know I am quite capable of launching Satyagraha even if I am all alone. I have done so before. But this is no occasion for a fast or civil disobedience. I regard the Constituent Assembly as the substitute of Satyagraha. It is constructive Satyagraha.

#### DUTY OF A SATYAGRAHI

"The alternative is constructive work which you have never done justice to. If you had, you would have today got the Constituent Assembly of Jaiprakash's dream instead of the present one. But a Satyagrahi cannot wait or delay action till perfect conditions are forthcoming. He will act with whatever material is at hand, purge it of dross and convert it into pure gold. Whatever may be the defects in the State Document of May 16th, I have no doubt as to the honesty of those who have framed it. They know they have got to quit. They want to quit in an orderly manner. And to that end they have produced the Document they could under the circumstances. I refuse to believe that they came all the way from England to deceive us.

"A Polish lady has sent me a note just today saying that all Europeans had received secret instructions to leave India as the British army would no longer be able to give them adequate protection. If it is so, it is a sad reflection on us. We would be unworthy of the name of Satyagrahi if even an English child did not feel secure in our midst. Even if we succeed in driving out the Europeans by these tactics, something worse will take their place. Our Quit India resolution has no malice about it. It only means that we will no longer be exploited.

"Let us not be cowardly, but approach our task with confidence and courage. Let not the fear of being deceived dismay us. No one can deceive a Satyagrahi. Never mind the darkness that fills my mind. He will turn it into light."

## Notes

### When a Bullock Ghani is 'Furniture'

The Railway Priority Rules have been used to kill Village Industries. The interpretation of Priority Rules would be amusing, were not the results so tragic. For months on end we have not been able to send out equipment for village industries such as, paddy husking, floor grinding, oil pressing, beekeeping, paper-making etc., because of the ludicrous ideas railway servants have. As our implements are made of wood they refuse to classify them as "Machinery and its parts or tools". According to them machines etc. are always of steel or iron! So we cannot be placed under Class IV "Maintenance of Industrial Production". Hence the Ghani is classified as 'Civilian' furniture which is Class VI and even the Ghani models about 1 foot in height are so classified. Stone *chakkis* are classified as personal luggage!

It is interesting to note that cigarettes, liquors, empty bottles etc. get a priority over us as they are placed under Class V.

The clause provides for the transport of paper from "Mills" but the railways refused to book hand-made paper because we do not call ourselves a "Mill". The Chief Traffic Manager writes that "paper cuttings is considered as raw material, only when consigned to paper Mills" and that as we are not a "Mill", it cannot be booked for us as "raw materials". Can stupidity go further? Or is it a wanton attempt to destroy artisans? It would appear that these are not the whims of an ignorant "goods clerk" but the obduracy of highly placed officials at Headquarters.

### Controls and Controls

Government controls are the order of the day, but how many of these controllers understand the principles underlying controls? Controls are being used indiscriminately and their very purpose is being frustrated.

Where return on capital and profits are the objective of a business — as in centralized industries — price control checks accumulation of wealth and profiteering. On the other hand, in decentralized industries, where the return the artisan gets is a wage, such price controls will act as an obstacle on distribution of wealth. The latter is harmful in a poor country like ours.

Where certain articles are produced both by centralized methods and by decentralized processes, as in the case of cloth or oil, price controls may be applied to mill products but not to handmade goods, if we follow the fundamental principles of public finance and abstain from restricting the much desired distribution of wealth.

Many provincial governments are killing village industries by their indiscriminate use of price controls. Practically, they have brought the Ghani oil pressing to the brink of ruin by their control of prices of oil seeds, Ghani oil cakes and oils. Is it too much to expect that our representative governments will alter this state of affairs by an intelligent use of controls?

J. C. K.

# HARIJAN

July 21

1946

## KHADI IN TOWNS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Your scheme for making village India self-sufficient in the matter of clothing has hit town lovers of Khadi pretty hard. You have gone so far as to say that sales bhandars may close as such and that townsfolk may even revert to the use of mill cloth.

"While there is no quarrel with the new ideology and the consequent basic change in the running of bhandars nor with the introduction of a certain quota of yarn currency for purchasing Khadi, I would like you to solve the difficulty of town buyers who must use only Khadi."

Let the readers fully understand the so-called new plan for Khadi. I call it so-called, because what is being done is the logical step, if Khadi is to clothe the villagers, as from the very start it was intended to do. Khadi was never meant merely for the townspeople, it was never meant to bleed the villagers as they are being bled so that the townspeople can live. Khadi was from its inception conceived for the sake of reversing the order though never to bleed the townspeople. To reverse the order was to restore the natural relation. Towns there were before the British arrival. Things were bad enough then. Now they are much worse. Towns became cities. The latter, in spite of their Indian millionaires, lived mainly for the British masters. Khadi was to undo the grave mischief. Mill cloth is the symbol of the slavery of village India as Khadi is or should be the symbol of its freedom, both economic and political. If it cannot be that, it is meaningless. Therefore, any healthy change undergone in the process of Khadi development is to be welcomed.

The defect in the existing development, good though it appeared, was not good enough for the villagers who spun yarn and wove Khadi but did not use it themselves. They neither understood nor appreciated the dignity and value that its use carried. The fault was not theirs. The workers themselves did not. The town dwellers had to wear Khadi and do the penance. They were willing to buy penance for a few extra rupees which they could easily spare and be called patriots in the bargain. But how could the Charkha Sangh (called in English All India Spinners' Association) belie its faith by ignoring the very foundation of Khadi? And so it is employing its resources to making the villagers Khadi-clad. It naturally begins with the spinners and weavers of hand-spun. If the move succeeds, as it is bound to, there will be after a time, ample Khadi in the city and town markets. Then the only cloth available in India will be Khadi. The A. I. S. A. is diligently

working at the consummation. If its researches show that Khadi has no such potentiality; it will have no hesitation in declaring its insolvency. Let the reader remember that it is a science which deals with the psychology of forty crores of people in the machine age. Thus considered, it is a tremendous problem, though at the same time fascinating and interesting. The very defeat, if defeat it is to be, will itself be no defeat. Let it be understood that it is not an attempt to go back to the dark ages when the Charkha was the symbol of the slavery of the masses. Surely it will be a triumph of human understanding, i. e. of the soul of India, when India makes an effort through the Charkha to break her bonds asunder. The free man eats the same bread as the slave. The one eats the bread of freedom, the other of slavery.

But if the city dwellers and the town dwellers would learn the glad tidings that the Charkha has to give, they will willingly employ their leisure time in carding, spinning, and weaving rather than in gambling on the race course or drinking and idling away their time in their clubs. And their children? Why—they could spin for their parents, for the liberty of India and have education of the type that India wants. I was in Rome and Mussolini's officials took pride in showing the graceful manoeuvres of the little children who were being taught all naval tricks. And do the English children do otherwise than learn in their mother tongue what England needs? It is only reserved for India to teach her children the foreigners' language and through it, such things as the latter need. Who but a foreigner has devised the education code?

The A. I. S. A. sales depots will be used for a better purpose than before. They will teach the people, who, I hope, will flock to them, all the tricks of spinning and weaving. If they do, they will have all the Khadi they need. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Lastly, let the reader know too that nowadays Khadi like mill cloth is scarce. Let me not go into the reason why.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

## The Drink Evil

"The first glass makes a man animated, his vivacity great, his colour heightened. In this condition he is like the peacock. When the fumes of the liquor rise into his head, he is gay, leaps and gambols as an ape. Drunkenness takes possession of him, he is like a furious lion. When it is at its height he is like a swine; he falls and grovels on the ground, stretches himself out and goes to sleep."

The above is said to be an old Mohammedan account of the stages of intoxication. The drink habit is growing in the West. We copy much that is bad from them. Let us avoid this evil, which is alien to our soil.

Bombay, 7-7-'46

A. K.

## JEWES AND PALESTINE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hitherto I have refrained practically from saying anything public regarding the Jew-Arab controversy. I have done so for good reasons. That does not mean any want of interest in the question, but it does mean that I do not consider myself sufficiently equipped with knowledge for the purpose. For the same reason I have tried to evade many world events. Without airing my views on them, I have enough irons in the fire. But four lines of a newspaper column have done the trick and evoked a letter from a friend who has sent me a cutting which I would have missed but for the friend drawing my attention to it. It is true that I did say some such thing in the course of a long conversation with Mr. Louis Fischer on the subject. I do believe that the Jews have been cruelly wronged by the world. "Ghetto" is, so far as I am aware, the name given to Jewish locations in many parts of Europe. But for their heartless persecution, probably no question of return to Palestine would ever have arisen. The world should have been their home, if only for the sake of their distinguished contribution to it.

But, in my opinion, they have erred grievously in seeking to impose themselves on Palestine with the aid of America and Britain and now with the aid of naked terrorism. Their citizenship of the world should have and would have made them honoured guests of any country. Their thrift, their varied talent, their great industry should have made them welcome anywhere. It is a blot on the Christian world that they have been singled out, owing to a wrong reading of the New Testament, for prejudice against them. "If an individual Jew does a wrong, the whole Jewish world is to blame for it." If an individual Jew like Einstein makes a great discovery or another composes unsurpassable music, the merit goes to the authors and not to the community to which they belong.

No wonder that my sympathy goes out to the Jews in their unenviably sad plight. But one would have thought, adversity would teach them lessons of peace. Why should they depend upon American money or British arms for forcing themselves on an unwelcome land? Why should they resort to terrorism to make good their forcible landing in Palestine? If they were to adopt the matchless weapon of non-violence whose use their best prophets have taught and which Jesus the Jew who gladly wore the crown of thorns bequeathed to a groaning world, their case would be the world's, and I have no doubt that among the many things that the Jews have given to the world, this would be the best and the brightest. It is twice blessed. It will make them happy and rich in the true sense of the word and it will be a soothing balm to the aching world.

Panchgani, 14-7-'46

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### PRAYER

Q. Is it possible during prayers, for thousands who assemble at your prayer gatherings, to concentrate their minds on anything whatever?

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A wag asks three questions in this matter. One requiring an answer runs: "Is not political education infinitely superior to the religious?" In my opinion, political education is nothing worth, if it is not backed by a sound grounding in religion by which is not meant sectional or sectarian belief. Man without religion is man without roots. Therefore, religion is the basis on which all life structure has to be erected, if life is to be real.

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Gandhiji failed to understand how a culture or civilization worth the name could require legal protection. The Indians were resisting the ghetto law in a civil, i. e. non-violent and therefore civilized way. They welcomed the penalty for the breach of a law which could not be morally defended. But the White hooligans too were breaking their own laws. Theirs was criminal disobedience. It was a matter of pride for India that the children of indentured labourers and traders—many of them descendants of Harijans—were proving themselves such brave Satyagrahis. As against this, the Whites were resorting to lynch law. "After all," remarked Gandhiji, "civil resistance had its birth in Asia. Jesus was an Asiatic. If he was reborn and went to South Africa today and lived there, he would have to live in a ghetto."

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herself but lend a helping hand to some of her neighbours too in meeting the cloth famine. In the course of an address before the prayer gathering on the 10th he outlined his plan which had been discussed by the Executive Committee of the A. I. S. A. in its meeting in the afternoon that day.

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The second day's discourse turned on the 'dignity of poverty'. In the song that had been sung it was said that God is the friend of the poor. Poverty, remarked Gandhiji, had a dignity in our country. The poor man was not ashamed of his poverty. He preferred his hut to the rich man's palace. He even took pride in it. Though poor in material goods, he was not poor in spirit. Contentment was his treasure. He might as well say to himself, "since we cannot all become rich and own palaces, let us at least pull down the palaces of the rich and bring them down to our level." That could bring no happiness or peace either to themselves or anyone else, and God would certainly be not the friend and helper of the poor of such description. Poverty, in the sense of inequality of material possessions was there in every part of the world. That was perhaps in a certain measure inevitable, for all men are not equal either in their talents or the measure of their needs. Even in America which was fabulously rich and where

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Panchgani 15-7-'46

PYARELAL

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Panchgani, 14-7-'46

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## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. I am a young businessman of 21 years and have 11 dependents. I believe in truth and non-violence but find I cannot strictly follow it in business. What should I do? Abandoning the business means suffering for my relations.

A. This begs the question. It is difficult but not impossible to conduct strictly honest business. The fact is that the honester a business the more successful it is. Hence the proverb coined by businessmen "Honesty is the best policy". What the correspondent lacks is application and an accurate knowledge of honest business methods. What is true is that honesty is incompatible with the amassing of a large fortune. "Verily, verily, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God." Nor therefore should an honest businessman, however capable he may be, support idlers whether eleven or more or fewer. The eleven dependents cannot all be infants or incapables. Honesty makes no impossible demands upon the resources of a businessman. An honest man cannot have dishonest kinsmen. The questioner will find on introspection that there is nothing wrong with honest business but that there is something wrong with him. Let him find out what it is that is wrong with him.

Q. Are the time, place and manner of death predestined by the Almighty for each individual? If so, why worry even if we are ill?

A. I do not know whether time, place and the manner of death are predestined. All I do know is that 'not a blade of grass moves but by His will'. This too I know hazily. What is hazy today will be clear tomorrow or the day after by prayerful waiting. Let this however be quite clear. The Almighty is not a person like us. He or It is the greatest living Force or Law in the world. Accordingly He does not act by caprice, nor does that Law admit of any amendment or improvement. His will is fixed and changeless, everything else changes every second. Surely, it does not follow from the doctrine of predestination that we may not 'worry' in the care of ourselves even if we are ill. Indifference to illness is a crime greater than that of falling ill. There is no end to the effort to do better today than yesterday. We have to 'worry' and find out why we are or have become ill. Health, not 'illth', is the law of nature. Let us investigate the law of nature and obey it, if we will not be ill or, if having fallen ill, will be restored.

Panchgani, 18-7-'46

## HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH UNDER FIRE

"I am responsible for the policy of conducting Harijan uplift work through the agency of the *savarna* Hindus. They had to do expiation. All of them could not render direct service for lack of necessary qualifications but they could all help with money. That would be one way of doing expiation." In these words Gandhiji expounded the present policy of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, a "society of penitents" as he aptly described it. The meeting itself was remarkable for searching self-examination through a barrage of questions that were posed to and answered by Gandhiji. It was a process of uncensored loud thinking. The questions and answers were as under:

### SELF-EXAMINATION

Q. The Communist Party has successfully organized sweepers' unions and helped them to secure their rights through *hartals* etc. But the Harijan Sevak Sangh's activities are confined mostly to welfare work. It cannot therefore successfully compete with the Communists for popularity among the Harijans. Don't you think that in view of this, the Harijan Sevak Sangh ought to alter its policy and method of work?

A. We must be guided in our policy by our sense of right, not by the lure of winning cheap popularity. If the Harijan Sevak Sangh is convinced that it is working on the right line, it will keep on to it, regardless of what others might or might not do. Thus we may organize unions or even induce *hartals*, not from political motives or for such purposes but for bettering the social or economic position of Harijans.

Q. The feeling is gaining ground among the Harijans that the Congress is showing more solicitude for Muslim demands than for the just rights of the Harijans. What have you to say to it?

A. The Congress being a political organization is likely to be more susceptible to political pressure, which the Muslims are in a far stronger position to exert than the Harijans. If it succumbs to that pressure, it will pay the price for it. The Harijan Sevak Sangh, however, being a non-political organization should never put expediency before its primary duty towards the Harijans.

### UNTOUCHABILITY AND SAVARNA HINDUS

Q. In your recent correspondence with Shri Shyamlal you have said that caste ought to go root and branch if untouchability is to be completely eradicated. Then, why do not you make anti-untouchability work part of a wider crusade against the caste system itself? If you dig out the root, the branches will wither by themselves.

A. It is one thing for me to hold certain views and quite another to make my views acceptable in their entirety to society at large. My mind, I hope, is ever growing, ever moving forward. All may not keep pace with it. I have therefore to exercise utmost patience and be satisfied with hastening slowly. As you must have seen from my preface to a recent Navajivan publication of my writings on *Varna-Vyavastha*, I am wholly in agreement with you in principle. If I live up to 125 years, I do expect to convert the entire Hindu society to my view.

Q. Would you advise the so-called *savarna* Hindus to start, even under the present circumstances, an agitation in selected places for securing elementary civic and social rights for the Harijans? Would you for this purpose advise the Harijan Sevak Sangh to organize Satyagraha against the *savarna* Hindus if necessary?

A. I would not advise the Sangh as an organization to offer Satyagraha against the *savarna* Hindus, but I would certainly not only advise but expect members of the Sangh in their individual capacity to organize such Satyagraha in their respective places. I shall certainly support any such move on their part if it is undertaken in the proper spirit. It is their duty.

#### STEPPING UP THE TEMPO

Q. Would you, in the absence of popular governments in the provinces, advise the Sangh to carry on a vigorous and energetic programme of temple entry for Harijans?

A. I could. I understand it is being done even at present but at a rather slow pace. I would certainly like its tempo to be stepped up.

Q. Can the members of the Sangh refuse to inter-dine with the untouchables? Have your views on this question undergone any change?

A. At one time I did say that inter-dining was not an essential part of the campaign for the removal of untouchability. Personally, I was for it. Today I encourage it. In fact, today I even go further, as a perusal of my recent preface to which I have already referred would show.

Q. Should not the Harijan Sevak Sangh try to secure for the Harijans political power by demanding due representation for them on *gram panchayats*, municipalities and legislatures?

A. Certainly it ought to. No effort can be too great for it.

Q. Should not the Sangh give instructions in the essentials of Hindu religion in the Harijan hostels and in Harijan gatherings of adults?

A. It ought to be the primary duty of the Sangh to give to Harijan children and adults a grounding in the essentials of Hindu religion. If they were brought up in ignorance of these, they would not continue to remain in the Hindu fold, and the responsibility for it would rest on those who had failed to give them the necessary instructions.

Shri Sitaram Shastri of Vinaya Ashram, Guntur, asked whether the Sangh ought not to specially train a body of missionaries to carry on propaganda work among the *savarna* Hindus. He was prepared to start a training centre for that purpose in his Ashram if he were given adequate help.

Gandhiji however had grave doubts as to the practicability of the suggestion. In fact, the question had actually been raised by Shri Ghanashyamadas Birla several years ago and dropped after full discussion. He would be quite satisfied, if at least the members of the Sangh would fully come up to the ideal.

#### AN ORGANIZATION OF PENITENTS

Gandhiji was next asked: "Ought not we to set up a precedent for having Harijan representatives in the Sangh or at least one Harijan member in the Executive Committee of the Sangh?" In reply he referred to the history of the birth of the Harijan Sevak Sangh at the conclusion of the Poona Pact, which resulted in the modification of the decision of the MacDonald Government, on the question of the representation of the minorities. It was felt that if the rot was to be effectively stopped, Hinduism ought to be completely rid of the curse of untouchability. This called for a real change of heart and repentance for its past sins on the part of Hindu society. It was to that end that the Harijan Sevak Sangh was formed.

"I am therefore opposed to both the propositions," proceeded Gandhiji. "I know that under the present arrangement some Harijans are included in the Board of the Sangh. But this was a concession to Thakkar Bapa's weakness. I have described the Harijan Sevak Sangh as an organization of penitent sinners. Its object is to call upon so-called *savarna* Hindus to do expiation for having harboured untouchability. The inclusion of a Harijan in the Sangh would be mere eye-wash and make-believe, as his would be a mere voice in the wilderness. Before long, he would himself heartily wish to be out of it. I say this from my personal experience of the way in which committees function. I know the Sangh cannot always keep up to the mark. It is of course open to the Sangh to alter its scope and give Harijans a majority in its Executive Committee or appoint a competent body of representative Harijans to act as a board of advisers and supervisors and keep the Sangh on the alert and on the right track."

Gandhiji was next asked to give his opinion on the recent work in the Gwalior State to enlist the services of the Sadhu community in the cause of Harijan uplift. Gandhiji replying said he had grave doubts as to the correctness or advisability of the step. It seemed to him to smack of politics. He would welcome the assistance of true *sadhus*, if it was available. But he confessed, he looked in vain in the country for *sadhus* of his conception. Such *sadhus* as he saw disappointed him. There might be here and there honourable exceptions and their help would be welcome. But he was frankly sceptical of the possibility of utilizing *sadhus* as a body for their work. Even if they tried the experiment, he was afraid they would come to the parting of the ways before long.

Another friend asked whether a portion of the Kasturba Memorial Trust Fund ought not to be earmarked for Harijan sisters. Gandhiji's reply was that they could have the whole of it if they could show the capacity to utilize it. No special earmarking of a part was therefore necessary.

## FINAL DIAGNOSIS AND REMEDY

The questions and answers finished, Gandhiji addressed a few general remarks to those assembled to give his diagnosis of the relative sluggishness of the Harijan Sevak Sangh's activities and his remedy for the same. "I am responsible for the policy of conducting Harijan uplift work through the agency of the *savarna* Hindus. They had to do expiation. All of them, I argued to myself, could help with money even if they could not, owing to lack of necessary qualifications render direct service. For instance, they might not be able themselves to do teaching work, but they could engage a competent teacher to give education to Harijan children. That would be one way of doing expiation. They would be able to penetrate Harijan society and help in its progress." He knew there were sceptical critics, who questioned whether this kind of work could lead to the eradication of untouchability. He himself was at one time among the doubters. But he had since realized his mistake. He owed a debt of gratitude in this respect to the late Shri Devdhar, at whose activity he had at one time looked askance and which he had even criticized. An year's experience, however, had cured him of his conceit and taught him humility. He realized that if he confined himself exclusively to doing propaganda among the *savarna* Hindus with a view to their conversion, he might have to wait till the Greek Kalends and in the meantime the actual uplift work among the Harijans would remain hopelessly bogged. His own experience had since convinced him that if they could only have sufficient workers with the requisite purity and devotion and spirit of sacrifice to work among Harijans, untouchability would become a thing of the past, even if the *savarna* Hindus were left severely alone. But that would mean that they must first become Harijans at heart and live and labour among the Harijans as Harijans. "But can the members of the Harijan Sevak Sangh truthfully claim to have eradicated the last trace of untouchability from their own hearts? Are their professions altogether on a par with their practice?" he asked.

A member asked as to what his criterion was in that respect. "Are you married?" questioned Gandhiji in return. "I happen to be," replied the puzzled interlocutor. "Then have you an unmarried daughter?" resumed Gandhiji. "If you have, get for her a Harijan bridegroom, not to satisfy her lust but in a purely religious spirit and I shall send you a wire of congratulations at my expense."

"You will now realize," continued Gandhiji, "why the Harijan *sevak*s are unable to move the hearts of the *savarna* Hindus. The reason is that they have not that fire of faith in their hearts, that impatient hunger for service which is the first essential for an effective appeal. Let but a handful of *savarna* Hindus go forth in that true missionary spirit and they will leaven the entire Hindu mass. But not even a whole army of missionaries so called will produce any effect upon them." It needed a Malaviyaji to make such a missionary. He (Gandhiji) could not convert his own sister. And if he could not, argued he, how could he blame others. That would show how hard and thorny was that path. It was however open to them, if they felt that they had the necessary qualification, to try the experiment for themselves in their locality.

The reason for this partial failure, Gandhiji proceeded to explain, was also that the approach of most of the members of the Harijan Sevak Sangh to their mission was not unmixed with political motives. If they really wanted to penetrate the hearts of *savarna* Hindus, they ought to be filled with a purely religious spirit. Mere dialectics was a poor weapon for this kind of work. As it was, they were too much weighed down by inertia, heedlessness and woodenness of mind.

"The other method is more fierce and not altogether free from danger," continued Gandhiji. "It is the method of fasting." He himself had before condemned fasting when it seemed to him to be wrong or morally unjustified. But to shirk a fast when there was a clear moral indication was a dereliction from duty. Such a fast had to be based on unadulterated truth and *ahimsa*.

In passing he hinted at the possibility of his having to go through one more fast in his life, possibly even more than one. He warned them however that he had no present thought of any. It was only a vague premonition.

Panchgani, 20-7-'46

PYARELAL

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the Press:

Doctor A. G. Tendulkar, President Goa Congress Committee is the last one from Goa who has come to me with the latest news from the place. He tells me that there are several parties there, working not necessarily for its inhabitants but for power. Yet at bottom the fight is good. He has produced voluminous papers in support of the statement that confusion reigns supreme in the minds of Goans, correctly described as Gomantakas. This confusion is bad in that, the inhabitants of these Portuguese possessions are novices in the art of real politics. Its separate existence, it is clear, can only depend on the goodwill of the mighty British Government and the impotence of its Indian residents. It is therefore most essential for the success of the movement, that it should be conducted by the Gomantakas on the clearest possible issue i. e. civil liberty. The larger question of Swaraj should await its attainment by the whole of India unless of course the Portuguese Government wisely come to terms with the inhabitants of the settlement through friendly negotiations. It cannot be attained by any direct action of the citizens, whether violent or non-violent. In non-violent action success is assured where every inhabitant is a hero ready to lay down his or her life. It is less to be thought of in Goa than in the more numerous and better seasoned and awakened British India. Therefore the clearest possible issue of civil liberty must be kept steadily in view.

The second condition of success is that the fight must be through non-violent and therefore also entirely open means.

Thirdly there should be no parties struggling for power and position. Where the goal and the means are common, different parties have no meaning.

On reading the literature I find two persons called loyalists who have already made lavish declarations saying that nothing is wrong in Goa and that a false agitation is being carried on by some mischievous persons. Let not the circle of these loyalists grow larger. The best way to avoid this growth is for all parties to become one.

Panchgani, 24-7-'46



# HARIJAN

July 28

1946

## INDEPENDENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You have said in your article in the 'Harijan' of July 15, under the caption 'The Real Danger', that Congressmen in general certainly do not know the kind of Independence they want. Would you kindly give them a broad but comprehensive picture of the Independent India of your own conception?

A. I do not know that I have not, from time to time, given my idea of Indian Independence. Since however, this question is part of a series, it is better to answer it even at the risk of repetition.

Independence of India should mean independence of the whole of India, including what is called India of the States and the other foreign Powers, French and Portuguese, who are there, I presume, by British sufferance. Independence must mean that of the people of India, not of those who are today ruling over them. The rulers should depend on the will of those who are under their heels. Thus, they have to be servants of the people, ready to do their will.

Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic or *panchayat* having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from without. Thus, ultimately, it is the individual who is the unit. This does not exclude dependence on and willing help from neighbours or from the world. It will be free and voluntary play of mutual forces. Such a society is necessarily highly cultured in which every man and woman knows what he or she wants and, what is more, knows that no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour.

This society must naturally be based on truth and non-violence which, in my opinion, are not possible without a living belief in God meaning a self-existent, all-knowing living Force which inheres every other force known to the world and which depends on none and which will live when all other forces may conceivably perish or cease to act. I am unable to account for my life without belief in this all-embracing living Light.

In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be everwidening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals,

never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units.

Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it. I may be taunted with the retort that this is all Utopian and, therefore, not worth a single thought. If Euclid's point, though incapable of being drawn by human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live. Let India live for this true picture, though never realizable in its completeness. We must have a proper picture of what we want, before we can have something approaching it. If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim verity for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last.

In this picture every religion has its full and equal place. We are all leaves of a majestic tree whose trunk cannot be shaken off its roots which are deep down in the bowels of the earth. The mightiest wind cannot move it.

In this there is no room for machines that would displace human labour and that would concentrate power in a few hands. Labour has its unique place in a cultured human family. Every machine that helps every individual has a place. But I must confess that I have never sat down to think out what that machine can be. I have thought of Singer's sewing machine. But even that is perfunctory. I do not need it to fill in my picture.

Q. Do you believe that the proposed Constituent Assembly could be used for the realization of your picture?

A. The Constituent Assembly has all the possibilities for the realization of my picture. Yet I cannot hope for much, not because the State Paper holds no such possibilities but because the document, being wholly of a voluntary nature, requires the common consent of the many parties to it. These have no common goal. Congressmen themselves are not of one mind even on the contents of Independence. I do not know how many swear by non-violence or the Charkha or, believing in decentralization, regard the village as the nucleus. I know on the contrary that many would have India become a first-class military power and wish for India to have a strong centre and build the whole structure round it. In the medley of these conflicts I know that if India is to be leader in clean action based on clean thought, God will confound the wisdom of these big men and will provide the villages with the power to express themselves as they should.

Q. If the Constituent Assembly fizzles out because of the "danger from within", as you have remarked in the above-mentioned article, would you advise the Congress to accept the alternative of a general country-wide strike and capture of



power, either non-violently or with the use of necessary force? What is your alternative in that eventuality if the above is not approved by you?

A. I must not contemplate darkness before it stares me in the face. And in no case can I be party, irrespective of non-violence, to a universal strike and capture of power. Though, therefore, I do not know what I should do in the case of a breakdown, I know that the actuality will find me ready with an alternative. My sole reliance being on the living Power which we call God, He will put the alternative in my hand when the time has come, not a minute sooner.

Panchgani, 21-7-'46

## THE REVOLUTIONARY CHARKHA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar has written a booklet in Hindustani entitled "The Revolutionary Charkha". Though only 40 small pages, it embodies all that pertains to the new scheme. It tells how true Swaraj and true revolution lie hidden in the successful working of the same. But the revolution will remain on paper only, unless the scheme is taken up in earnest and action proves its truth. Hence, it is of great importance to show people how the scheme can be worked to success. Today city-folk are very perturbed because they cannot buy Khadi even though they are prepared to pay handsomely for it. Such a scarcity has happened before, but at that time I was able to console them by assuring them that Khadi would soon be made available, because it was a matter purely of pecuniary adjustment. Today money will not avail, nor can true revolution be brought about by money. It is a difficult task to change the habit of a life time, to banish laziness and to build instead of destroying. It is easy to loot a train and take possession of ten thousand rupees but hard to earn that amount through the sweat of one's brow. It is a common occurrence for persons in the share market to make a lakh of rupees in a single day. But who has even heard of a similar sum being earned in a day by personal labour? A beggar has been known to become rich by drawing a winning ticket in a lottery but no poor man can amass wealth in the twinkling of an eye through the labour of his hands. He will get what is his daily market value, may be eight annas or may be even two.

It is one thing to produce Khadi through the labour of forty crore hands, wholly another to produce mill cloth. True Swaraj cannot come through machines worked by a few thousand hands. But if 20 crores were to produce Khadi through their own understanding labour for personal use and the remainder for sale, then they would surely change the face of India. It is another matter to affirm that 20 out of 40 crores will never take the trouble to produce cloth for their needs. I at least can never own to it.

Panchgani, 18-7-'46

(From *Harijansevak*).

## A TRAGIC PHENOMENON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

My post contains so many letters from persons who want to be in the Constituent Assembly that it frightens me into the suspicion that, if these letters are an indication of the general feeling, the intelligentsia is more anxious about personal aggrandizement than about India's Independence. And if I, though I have no connection with the applications of candidates for elections, receive so many letters, how many more must the members of the Working Committee be receiving? These correspondents should know that I take no interest in these elections, I do not attend meetings at which these applications are considered and that I often only know from newspapers who have been elected. It is on rare occasions that my advice is sought as to the choice to be made. But I write this more to draw attention to the disease of which these applications are a sign than to warn my correspondents against building any expectation of my intervention. It is wrong to think communally in such elections, it is wrong to think that anyone is good enough for the Constituent Assembly, it is altogether wrong to think that the election carries any honour with it, it is a post of service if one is fitted for the labours and, lastly, it is wrong to regard the post as one for making a few rupees while the Assembly lasts. The Constituent Assembly should have such members only who know something about constitutions all the world over, above all, about the constitution that India's genius demands. It is debasing to think that true service consists in getting a seat in the Assembly. True service lies outside. The field of service outside is limitless. In the fight for Independence, the Assembly, like the one in course of formation, has a place. Nevertheless it is a very small place and that too if we use it wisely and well; certainly not, if there is a scramble for a seat in it. The scramble warrants the fear that it may become a hunting ground for place-seekers. I am free to confess that a Constituent Assembly is the logical outcome of parliamentary activity. The labours of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru opened my eyes to the fact that the parliamentary programme had a place in the national activity for Independence. I strove hard against it. It is certainly inconsistent with pure non-cooperation. But pure non-cooperation never held the field. What came into being also waned. Had there been universal non-cooperation, of the non-violent type in the Congress ranks, there would have been no parliamentary programme. Non-violent non-cooperation with evil means co-operation with all that is good. Therefore, non-violent non-cooperation with a foreign government necessarily means an indigenous government based on non-violence. Had there been such complete non-cooperation, there would be Swaraj today based on non-violence. But this never happened. In the circumstances it would have been vain to struggle against what the nation had been familiar with and from which it could not be

completely weaned. The parliamentary step having been taken, it would have been improper to boycott the present effort. But that does not, can never mean that there should be indecent competition for filling the seats in it. Let us recognize the limitations.

Panchgani, 18-7-'46

## "SCHEDULED CASTES"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A copy of a printed leaflet was thrown into my car on 6th July as I was driving to the A. I. C. C. meeting in Bombay. It was again handed to me by Shri Rajbhoj on the 12th instant. It is addressed to the members of the A. I. C. C. I promised to deal with the questions in these pages. I do so, now.

The questions are such as not to need an answer from the members. I should not wonder if no member had answered them. They betray gross ignorance of Congress history. It is hardly the province of men gathered together for a particular purpose to deal with extraneous matters. But it is the province of newspapers to dispel ignorance. It is doubly mine, being conductor of a weekly and a Harijan by choice.

Q. What is going to be the place of the Untouchables in your Swaraj? The Congress has talked a lot about protecting the minorities. Why has the Congress failed to produce its blue-print of the plan for protecting the minorities? Is this silence not calculated to create want of confidence in the *bona fides* of the Congress?

A. The place of Untouchables in the Swaraj of my conception will be the same in every respect as that of the so-called caste Hindus. Such is also the position of the Congress. It has talked less and done more for minorities than any other cosmopolitan body known to me. There is no blue-print necessary when work speaks.

Q. Does the Congress regard the Untouchables as a minority? Mr. Gandhi in an article in the Harijan in 1939 admitted that the only real minority in India were the Untouchables. Why did Maulana Azad in his last letter to the Viceroy say that the Congress was not prepared to recognize the Untouchables as a minority?

A. The Congress should not regard the Untouchables as a minority for the simple reason that they are not a minority in the sense in which Parsis, Jews, Christians and others can call themselves minorities. Harijans are a minority, if *Brāhmins*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* are minorities and *Shudras* are a majority. These are not minorities and majorities in the sense we are used to. We have fortunately not come to that pass. When we do, it will be good-bye to any kind of Swaraj. The English may go today, they will some day, but if we become savages cutting one another's throats we will have the freedom that savages have.

The President of the Bombay Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation should have given the quotation referred to by him from the article in the 'Harijan' of 1939. He has not taken the trouble of giving

even the number and page of the 'Harijan' in question. I have no recollection of ever having made the statement attributed to me. What the Maulana Saheb is reported to have said was undoubtedly right, irrespective of what I wrote in 1939 or did not write.

Q. What is the significance of the statement that the Congress does not regard the Untouchables as a minority? Does it mean that the Congress will take away even those political safeguards which have been secured by the Untouchables under the present Government of India Act?

A. The significance is that the Untouchables are an integral part of Hindus. They are, therefore, better than minorities and worse if they claim to be and become a distinct community. A few educated Untouchables may keep themselves as a class apart but the mass of them must sink or swim with the Hindus who, if they continue their misbehaviour towards Harijans—the so-called Untouchables, must become extinct as a separate branch of the human family.

What 'political safeguards' the questioner has in view, I do not know. If he refers to 'separate' electorates they must go even to the extent they exist today. They are a device of Satan named Imperialism. It was never meant for the protection of the 'Untouchables'. It was a prop of Imperialism. Every statutory separation has been in furtherance of the policy of 'divide and rule'. It is inherent in the life of Imperialism even if it were to be called by a sweeter name.

Q. Does the Congress admit or does it not admit that the candidates of the Scheduled Castes who have been elected to the Provincial Legislatures came to the bottom in the primary elections and the candidates put up by the Scheduled Castes Federation came to the top? Does the Congress admit or does it not admit that if in the final election the failed candidates were elected, it was entirely due to the Hindu votes? Can the Congress deny that candidates elected by Hindu votes cannot be regarded as the real representatives of the Scheduled Castes?

A. I have not the statistics to verify the statement. My impression is to the contrary except in some cases.

Who were the 'failed' candidates? They could not offer themselves for the joint vote. The first four in the primary elections are the successful candidates, i. e. eligible for the joint vote. Surely it is a thing to be proud of, if the last successful candidate in the primary list won because of the caste Hindu vote at the joint election.

The Congress must deny that the top man at the primary election who failed to secure enough or any caste Hindu votes was the real representative of the Scheduled Castes. Can Sjt. Gaekwad and others like him, so long as they are Hindus, be indifferent to the vote of their fellow Hindus, even though the latter are caste men. They must not cut the branch on which they are sitting. Separation

must mean either change of religion or setting up a new religion — confusion added to confusion.

Q. At the time of the Poona Pact, Mr. Gandhi gave a pledge that the Hindus will not interfere in the selection of the Scheduled Castes to the seats reserved for them. Why did the Congress violate the pledge and commit breach of faith?

A. I gave no such pledge as is imputed to me. The joint vote for the sake of which I fasted was interference, if it can be so called. If any other interference is meant, the questioner must explain and quote my writing in support of the contention.

Q. In the Simla Conference called by Lord Wavell in 1945, the Congress raised no objection to two representatives of the Scheduled Castes being included in the Executive Council. Why did the Congress reduce the representation of the Scheduled Castes this time to one? Does it not prove that the Congress cannot be trusted to keep its word and that as soon as the Congress obtains the right to decide, it will break all its promises and withdraw all the political safeguards secured by the Scheduled Castes?

A. I do not understand this charge at all. The Congress, so far as I know, has committed no breach of faith.

Q. It has been admitted by all the workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and also by Mr. Gandhi that the removal of untouchability has made no headway at all. On the contrary, the tyranny and oppression of the Untouchables by the caste Hindus which has been going on for ages, has increased in its rigour and has taken manifold forms. It is necessary to ventilate these grievances on the floor of the legislatures if any redress is to be obtained. No sensible man will deny that this work of ventilating the grievances cannot be done except by the representatives of the Scheduled Castes who are returned through separate electorates. Why does the Congress alone oppose the demand of the Scheduled Castes for separate electorates?

A. I have made no statement, and I do not know that the Harijan Sevak Sangh has, to the effect that the removal of untouchability has made 'no headway at all'. What all of us have admitted is that removal, so far as the caste Hindus are concerned, has made no satisfactory headway. That is not a new complaint. It is of long standing. Woe to the reformer who is easily satisfied with the progress of the reform, on which his mind is set. The reform is two-sided. So far as work among the Harijans is concerned, the Sangh has made fair strides. That in itself is no small contribution to the cause of removal of untouchability. The work among the touchables has gone on at a snail's pace. It is an uphill task. Yet I assert that it is making sure progress, though undoubtedly slow.

The charge that the tyranny and oppression by caste Hindus have "increased and have become intensified in rigour" is wholly wrong and cannot be sustained. What is true, and it is a healthy sign, is that there is a growing consciousness of the wrong

among the Harijans, thanks largely to the efforts and the increase in the number of reformers and their impatience of the wrong. But they dare not be satisfied with the results so far achieved. They have to go much farther than they have done. I am sure that will never be through the legislatures or legislation, necessary as both are, though to a very limited extent. As I have said in a previous issue, it is the hoary custom and not law, that is responsible for the mischief. Custom is any day tougher than law. It can be removed only by enlightened public opinion.

Progress will be totally blocked by separation. It is a nightmare which must be given up, unless the goal of separation is extinction of Hindus including the so-called Scheduled Classes. They can only be misrepresented by separate electorates. How can others who are not interested in Scheduled Classes oppose separation?

Q. There is no connection between the religion of a community and its demand for separate electorates. Even communities professing one religion have claimed separate electorates. Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians profess one common religion. Yet all of them have separate electorates. Nobody has raised any objection to their separate electorates, not even the Congress. Why does the Congress oppose the demand of the Scheduled Castes for separate electorates on the ground of common religion which it does not rely upon in other cases?

A. This question can only arise in the minds of those who support separate electorates as good in themselves. Not so the Congress. The parallel of Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Indian Christians is inapplicable and fatal. That separation is a glaring example of the mischief that separate electorates are, as also of Imperialism gone mad. Arrogance cannot go farther. Europeans have been separated as the ruling race, Anglo-Indians being a cross breed have been kept distinct from Indian Christians.

Q. There is no social separation between the Hindus and the Sikhs. In one family one member is a Sikh and the other a Hindu. The Hindus and the Sikhs intermarry and interdine. Yet the Sikhs have separate electorates to which the Congress has never raised any objection. The Untouchables in the matter of social intercourse are far more separated from the Hindus than all the Sikhs and Muslims. If the Sikhs and Muslims can have separate electorates why not the Untouchables?

A. The Congress would do away today with these separate electorates, if it had the power — not the power that the sword gives but that of persuasion. It is perfectly true that more is common between Hindus and Sikhs than between caste Hindus and Untouchables. That is a blot upon caste Hindu and Hinduism. But the remedy is not to add evil to evil but to reform Hinduism, so that the demand for separation on the part of Untouchables dies a natural death. Meantime Hindus cannot be expected to commit suicide which separation of Harijans from caste Hindus must mean.

Panchgani, 19-7-'46

## INSPIRING FOR GRAMASEVAKS

Shri Baldev Chaube, alias Swami Satyanand, renounced a promising career when he non-cooperated from college in 1920 and adopted service of the country as his mission in life. For ten years he served as a member of the late Lala Lajpatrai's Servants of the People Society. Then in 1934, he took a further step and decided to become a *grama-sevak*.

Before that, though he was a habitual wearer of Khadi, he had not taken much practical interest in Charkha. The realization that Khadi was the concrete expression of the spirit of *ahimsa* came to him later. His subsequent story makes such fascinating reading that I reproduce it below almost word for word :

"Towards the close of 1934 I decided to take up village work on self-help principle. Accordingly, I set up a 'Harijan Gurukul' in the small village of Dehrihat in the Azamgarh district, U. P. I had to find expenses for my family and the inmates of the Gurukul. In pursuance of the self-help principle, we learnt to build *kutchas* huts, make window frames out of split bamboo and to sink pit latrines. We did our own grinding, cooking and utensil cleaning, span for our clothing requirements, collected leaves for fuel and grew vegetables ourselves on a small plot of ground. We chalked out a programme of teaching village children, Harijan service and other such Congress activity. Special emphasis was laid on prayer and physical labour. By dint of perseverance we soon became experts in the art of building *pucca* walls. Our Gurukul is seven miles from the nearest railway station. During the period under review I had to make thirty-five trips between the station and the Ashram, out of which only two were made with the help of a conveyance, all the rest were made on foot.

"After three years, in 1938, we were able to secure 25 *bighas* of agricultural land, rent free. The same year, owing to floods in the Ghagra river there was widespread distress in the villages around the Ashram. We organized relief through spinning. Before long the numbers of spinners ran into thousands. During the 1942 struggle although we had scrupulously avoided taking part in any violent activity, we came in for our due share of repression. Our huts were burnt down, our assets seized. But Khadi has taken too deep a root. Even while I was under detention some of my companions restarted Khadi work and it has progressed from strength to strength since then.

"On my release from detention, we organized a spinning *yajna* to commemorate the late Kasturba's death anniversary. I believe in the efficacy of such *yajnas*. Beginning from March the 4th 1944, non-stop spinning was started and 25-lakh yards of yarn was spun in 345 days. The *yajna* was performed on the ruins of the demolished or the charred remains of half-burnt Ashram huts and buildings. The result was that new huts and buildings began

to rise on the ashes and ruins of the old and the feeling of frustration disappeared among the workers and people at large.

"In the winter of 1935, I was for seven months the superintendent of the Khadi Vidyalaya hostel at Sevagram. That had enabled me to learn the technique of spinning and the allied processes and to become acquainted with the principles of basic education. I have now introduced Khadi work in the Gurukul and made it the medium for Harijan service, rural economic uplift and political education of the people. Harijan youngmen are now gradually coming forward and several of them have become managers and workers in the various departments of the Gurukul. Half the number of our spinners are Mussalman sisters and almost all the weavers. At present we are running a yarn and a Khadi production centre and three Khadi sale depots. We have 20 workers in the Khadi, 5 in the agricultural and 5 in the educational department, thus making a total of 30. Twelve students are receiving training in Khadi work. All the departments are self-sufficient. For the Vidyalaya we are receiving Rs. 35/- per month in aid. Our principal centre is situated 30 or 35 miles from the railway line in the midst of green fields and clustering villages."

In a separate statement Swamiji has given detailed figures of production and the money distributed as wages through the different processes, which shows that from September 1943 to December 1945, 418 maunds of yarn worth Rs. 44,165/- was produced. This was converted into 78,805 sq. yds. of Khadi. The wages distributed on this outturn for weaving, washing, dyeing and calendering came to Rs. 26,891. In the year ending June 1946 the total production of Khadi through the Gurukul will come to Rs. 75,000 worth. The number of spinners working under the Gurukul are 2000. Out of the total Khadi produced, Rs. 20,000 worth of Khadi was consumed by the spinners themselves, the bulk of the rest was more or less locally consumed, only a small proportion being occasionally sent out to the various districts.

As a result of the Government repression during the 1942 struggle, the institution suffered loss in assets and property to the extent of Rs. 27,000 according to the current rates. Nothing daunted the Swamiji on his release obtained a loan of Rs. 6,000 through Babu Shri Prakash to finance the Gurukul's activity. Since then, as a result of the acute cloth shortage, the demand from the people of the surrounding villages for opening new production centres, for spinning and carding instruments and cotton as well as for instruction in spinning and the auxiliary processes has been growing apace. Accordingly, cotton worth Rs. 35,000 was purchased through the Bharat Bank on credit and deposited in the bank's warehouse in addition to Khadi worth Rs. 10,000 as security. The institution has to pay Rs. 250 per month on the mortgage interest. It is clear that a philanthropic activity like Khadi cannot



bear such a load of interest. Under the advice of Babu Purshottamdas Tandon and others, therefore, it has been decided to raise a fund sufficient to make the institution independent of interest-bearing loans. Babu Shri Prakash has agreed to become the treasurer. It would be a shame if a worthy institution like this has to suffer for lack of funds.

On the train to Poona,

29-6-'46

PYARELAL

## RICKSHAW PULLERS

To those of us who have lived in the hills, the lightening of the burden of rickshaw pullers, if not the abolition of this form of human labour, should be common cause.

The Labour Investigating Committee of the Government of India recently issued a report which is revealing. The Committee chose Simla, Madras and Calcutta as representative centres respectively of hill stations and the plains of Northern and Southern India for an *ad hoc* survey of the social and economic conditions of these poor labourers.

Simla has a population of the best part of 3000 rickshaw pullers during the season. They are drawn mostly from the hill States surrounding Simla and Kangra though some also come from other adjacent areas of the Punjab.

The task of a rickshaw puller on hill roads with their ups and downs, turns and twists, is difficult and a very strenuous occupation, to put it mildly. 86% of the pullers are between 15 to 30 years of age. Enquiry showed that over 60% had not worked for more than five years, those who had worked for a period of 15 years and more being only 9.71%. My own experience is that the rickshaw pullers who serve in private houses and are well looked after are able to pull for 10 or 12 years but those who ply vehicles for hire are often exhausted after even two or three years. And this period too is only possible because of the seasonal nature of the work. The men are agriculturists but owing to pressure on land, have to migrate in order to supplement their meagre incomes. Some years ago, when a few of us were wondering whether small electric broughams or some mechanical device or a small tramway could not eliminate rickshaws, a deputation came and implored me not to be party to a scheme which would entail loss of valuable income to them, the latter working out at only about Rs. 100 per head in savings in a good season.

79% of the pullers are in debt, over 70% of which is on account of marriage or inherited. The average indebtedness per individual works out at the shocking sum of Rs. 482. This is indeed a sad commentary on our social structure and needs radical treatment. Loans are generally taken from the money lender and the rates of interest vary from 12½ to 37%, again a shocking commentary.

There is no shift system, there being a 24 hour liability of work on the pullers.

Rickshaw pulling puts a very great strain on human nerves, the exertion being particularly great

on the legs. Pediculosis is a universal complaint. Teeth and gum troubles are common as also dental caries. 12.5% were found to be suffering from disordered action of the heart while 56.8% of these cases were markedly anaemic. Varicose veins are very common and exposure to rain and snow subjects the pullers in certain seasons to bronchitis and pneumonia which, in their case, are often fatal. The Municipality did at one time have a special medical officer to look after the rickshaw pullers but the post was abolished without cogent reasons some years ago and medical facilities are today inadequate. Some members of the Women's Conference have offered for some years voluntary aid for simple ailments and dressing of wounds etc. to the men twice a week for a couple of hours at a time and this service is most gratefully accepted.

Housing conditions are most unsatisfactory. Sanitary arrangements are poor. Some improvements have been made in certain quarters recently but the whole question needs overhauling and urgent redress. One kitchen for 22 persons and those too without chimneys, 32 men accommodated in a room 60 sq. ft. or eight men in a room 12' x 8' are conditions which should not exist in India's so-called summer capital nor indeed, for that matter, anywhere. Adequate clothing and waterproofs should be provided by authority and the fares should be still further raised.

Rickshaws, as a means of conveyance, may be said to be unavoidable in the hills where horse and motor transport is impossible. But what about rickshaws in the plains? These surely should be stopped by law from plying.

In Madras rickshaw pullers are drawn mainly from the depressed classes of adjoining districts. They come because they do not find work in their villages all the year round. Several pullers from the two neighbouring districts of Chingleput and South Arcot alleged that they were compelled to take to rickshaw pulling not only because of lack of employment as agricultural labourers but also because of oppression by caste men and rackrenting by landlords.

The majority of pullers drop out within a period of 10 years. Only 4.4% are literate. Though the majority are married, only about 36% lived with their families in Madras. Immorality is, therefore, rife. 61% are indebted, debt per capita being 112. The cause of debt is again marriages, domestic needs as well as ancestral debts. Pullers have their own moneylenders from amongst their village kinsmen. The method by which the creditors collect the interest as well as the principal due to them is interesting. Only small sums are lent, usually Rs. 10 and interest for one month at one or two annas per rupee is deducted, i. e. at 75 or 150% per annum respectively at the time of paying the principal. Thereafter, the creditor starts collecting the entire principal in small instalments of as. 5 per day, so that a borrower of Rs. 10 repays the debt in 32 days. Daily collections in the *cheris*



where the pullers live are a common sight. Investigation reveals the tragedy of our mass ignorance. In the case of 11% the borrowers did not know the terms on which they had borrowed money and their creditors went on collecting interest for an indefinite period.

No special medical facilities exist for these unfortunate workers and they suffer from all the diseases due to under-nourishment and over-exertion.

Clothing is neither clean nor adequate. Hours of work are not regulated. Alcoholic drink is prevalent. Even women are addicted and children are brought up in this habit from childhood. They aver that rickshaw pulling is impossible without the help of toddy. A quarter of the Tamil puller's monthly earnings goes on drink for himself and family. Telugu pullers are much more moderate, drinking only on Sunday afternoons. They, however, smoke strong country-made cigars. The majority of both smoke *bidis*.

The net monthly earnings of an average puller may stand at Rs. 25 to Rs. 30.

The tenement rooms rented by the Telugu pullers lack ventilation and amenities such as water and lighting. Sanitary arrangements are 'insufficient and stinking'. The following description of one set of dwellings for the pullers is graphic :

"It consists of 52 small huts each partitioned off from the other only by palmyra matting. Roofing is of old tin sheets and the rooms are very hot during the day especially in the summer. The doorway is so low that one can only enter by squatting. There is only one tap for all these 52 huts containing a total population of 214 persons. The number of flush-out latrines is only two. In the premises of the *cheri* is situated a well from which women draw water and take their bath in the open, there being no bathroom for either men or women. No lighting arrangements exist. The rent is Rs. 2 per hut *per mensem*."

Single pullers are homeless. They sleep on pavements, bathe under public taps, eat their meals from vendors of food in the streets and during rainy nights seek shelter under overbridges or in the open verandahs of some kindly disposed persons or stand shivering and try to keep themselves dry under the hoods of their own rickshaws.

Tamil pullers who have families live in *cheris* because of their low social status and the stigma of untouchability. Their huts are built of thatch. The roofs, in some cases of sheets made from old kerosine oil tins, rest on mud walls of 2 to 4 feet in height. The entrance is so low and narrow that one has to creep on hands and knees to get inside the hut. Cooking is done in one part of the hut. There are no windows or ventilators and hence it is dark and suffocating inside. It is difficult to stand erect as the roofing is so low. The flooring is uneven and very damp, especially in *cheris* situated in low lying areas. Sanitary conditions are deplorable, there being very often no facilities for drainage or conservancy. At the time of enquiry 61

occupants were living in 20 huts, each hut measuring about 50 sq. ft. and fetching a rental of Rs. 1/8 p. m. There are no lighting arrangements. A small narrow drain runs right in the centre of the *cheri*, but it was choked up, emitting a stinking smell. There is only one common latrine for all the 20 families. There is no well or tap and they have to fetch water from the nearest public tap. The vehicles have to be parked in the open space between the rows of huts.

In Calcutta the number of rickshaw pullers was 30,000 in 1944. The majority of these is from some well defined zones of Bihar and U. P. Here too they come mostly from villages in order to supplement the family income from the land. Smoking tobacco is a common habit. The lower castes go in for even *ganja*. As most of them live away from their families, the standard of morality is low and the incidence of venereal disease high. Earnings vary, according to season, from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per day. The work of pulling 6 to 8 hours daily is very strenuous but lucrative from their point of view. Like their brethren elsewhere they are ill-clad and exposed to cold and rain during the winter and rainy seasons. Plying rickshaws barefooted on the intensely heated tar macadamized roads of the city is another hardship. Housing conditions are, as usual, appalling and these unfortunates have little or no protection from the inclemencies of the weather.

Answers to enquiries from Nagpur, Vizagapatam, Murree, Madura and Delhi relate the same tale of woe. Mussooree with our recent experiences there may well join the list.

The writer of the report sums up as follows :

"Whatever ameliorative measures may be undertaken for improving the condition of pullers, the fundamental fact should not be overlooked that this type of labour is a degradation of human personality. The Commissioner of the Madura Municipality rightly voicing the feelings of all conscientious people has aptly stated in reply to my questionnaire that the ultimate aim should be to abolish this form of conveyance as it is an offence against human dignity. Every word of this statement is pregnant with truth and the general consensus of opinion is that there should be planning in respect of the early abolition of the jin and the cycle rickshaw. If light motor cycle rickshaws could be introduced as part of an organized transport service in all towns, the stigma attached to rickshaw pulling would disappear and the puller of today may be enabled to become the motor-rickshaw driver of tomorrow."

It is good that the Government at long last turned its attention to this evil. The general public is still horribly apathetic. To see young stalwarts being carried uphill by panting pullers or in the plains by cycle-riders is a lamentable sight and shows their degradation just as much as, if not more than, the degradation of the victims whom economic circumstances have compelled to take up such a service.

29-6-'46

A. K.

## WEEKLY LETTER

It was glorious weather with passing sunshine and cloud when we arrived here. The air was mild and agreeable and the vista of the surrounding hills with the sleepy silence brooding on their lonely tops and the picturesque fields and villages spread out in the valleys below like a rich plush carpet with curious designs laid out in dark green and gold on it with geometrical precision lured one out of doors. But Gandhiji spoiled it for himself as he kept on thinking of the rice crop which badly needed rains in this part of the year. It has begun to pour since as if in answer to his prayer and a raw blustering wind that penetrates the marrow of one's bones and surly weather keep one imprisoned within doors. But Gandhiji enjoys it and feels happy in anticipation of the golden harvest which will in due season fill the barns of the poor cultivators.

Thanks to the postal strike, there was some welcome relief from the bulging daily mail bag, particularly during the last week. But during the current week there was a steady stream of visitors which again made one time-conscious. There was Louis Fischer, excerpts from whose discussion with Gandhiji will be given later in these columns. Then there were Shri Jaiprakash and party, the Raja Saheb of Aundh and Appa Pant with Shankerrao Deo and others, also Nana Patil, dubbed Robin Hood of these parts, an I. N. A. man who came to persuade Gandhiji "to give them a chance" and a deputation from East Africa where the anti-Indian scandal of South Africa threatens to be repeated. But I must defer treatment of these subjects till next week.

The evening prayer gatherings continue to be held as before in the Parsi Girls' High School hall. The prayer is preceded by the singing of a verse from the Zend Avesta by the girl students of the school followed by a song in Gujarati. These provide the texts to Gandhiji for his after-prayer discourses. Sometimes foreign or Indian news serves as a peg on which to hang the lesson of prayer or to illustrate its meaning or application. Here are a few cullings from these discourses :

"In the song that has been sung today, the devotee says: 'Keep my heart pure—guide me on the path of truth. Give me true happiness which springs from holding on to truth. Destroy the misery which results from relinquishing truth.' Believe me when I tell you after 60 years of personal experience that the only real misfortune is to abandon the path of truth. If you but realize this, your one prayer to God will always be to enable you to put up without flinching with any number of trials and hardships that may fall to your lot in the pursuit of truth."

Here is another: "The verse from the Zend Avesta describes five kinds of physicians, but the fifth is the true physician, who depends on nothing but the name of God for healing. That is just what I have been saying in connection with nature cure. *Ramanama* is the sovereign remedy. It is an agreeable

surprise to me to find an authority for it in the *gatha*."

"In the song that has been sung, the poet says that God is hidden and yet present everywhere," he remarked on still another day. "That is true. He knows our innermost thoughts better than we ourselves can do. One who depends on God will never be afraid of anybody, not even of the most despotic government on earth or its officers. For he will have as his protector the King of kings from whose eye nothing is hid."

In his discourse on the 20th he said: "The verse from the *gatha* sung today says: 'Let me remember Thee by making my heart pure by righteous thought, by performing good and wise deeds and by right speech.' Unless all these conditions are fulfilled, one cannot expect to come near God."

"Then the poet says: 'We bow to Thee and thank Thee for all that Thou hast done for us. We will always remain Thy debtors.' What is this debt towards God and how can one repay it? The answer is, by discharging one's duty completely. And since no mortal can completely discharge his duty in life, he must for ever remain a debtor to God."

"Just as a tree has many branches but one root, similarly the various religions are the leaves and branches of the same tree," observed Gandhiji on another occasion. Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism were the main branches but as for varieties of religion, they were as numerous as mankind. If they took the name of God in the prayer gathering and forgot all about it on going out, it was not prayer but blasphemy. Religion had to be lived every moment of one's life.

"The girls have sung," he proceeded, "'With folded hands, O Mazda! I beg of Thee to give me true knowledge and enable me to devote every moment of my life to the service of Thy creation.' It is a great prayer. The devotee begs of God to fill him or her with the thirst for service, so that service will become a pleasure and not a task. But what is the meaning of service? Is killing fellow human beings in war, for instance, also service? No. Therefore the devotee says 'Whatever I do, whether in order to serve others or myself, let all my deeds be pure and noble. Let them fill me with Thy joy.' A man who lives up to this prayer would always be filled with His joy."

Referring to the riots in Ahmedabad he said that the Hindus and Muslims in Ahmedabad had not yet got over their insanity. Islam meant peace, Hindus claimed to follow the path of *ahimsa*. They both swore by God but in practice they followed Satan. The Muslim stabbed the innocent Hindu and the Hindu stabbed the innocent Muslim. Of the three workers who were killed in Ahmedabad some days ago one was a Muslim. It was a Muslim's dagger that killed him. He was in the company of Hindus. No one even knew that he was a Muslim. One of his companions Vasantrao was well known to and commanded the respect of both Hindus and Muslims. While in jail one of his Muslim companions went

on a fast. There was an overwhelming majority of Hindus amongst the Satyagrahi prisoners. Vasantrao felt that he ought to give his moral support to the Muslim brother and went on a sympathetic fast. His senior companions in jail, tried to dissuade him. "Are you wiser than all of us? You know the Muslim friend's fast is not justified. If it was, we would all have fasted with him." His reply was: "I do not claim to be wise. I prefer to be a fool. I seek your blessings. If this Muslim friend dies in jail in the midst of all of us Hindus, with what face shall I return to my Muslim friends outside? Therefore, I would far rather die with him, whatever the issue of his fast." Neither died in the end, but Vasantrao proved by his action that he was a true Hindu and a true Muslim combined into one."

Gandhiji concluded by exhorting the audience to cultivate that mentality. He was sure that if they prayed to God to restore to sanity the Hindus and Muslims of Ahmedabad, their prayer would not go unheeded, but leap across space and melt the hearts of the deluded rioters in Ahmedabad.

Panchgani, 21-7-'46

PYARELAL

## BUTCHERY IN AHMEDABAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Butchery has been going on in Ahmedabad for several days. It is difficult to say who is at fault. The policy of the Government is not to let the public know as to who has knifed whom. The Congress Government has adhered to this policy. So we should believe that there is good reason behind this hush hush. It may be that this is on a par with a thief's mother feigning grief over her son's theft. In Ahmedabad everyone must know who is the aggressor or who is more at fault. My job is not to find that out. Mine is comparatively easier work.

The golden path is that one of the parties to the mutual slaughter should desist. Then alone can true peace be established and madness come to an end. In my childhood I and a cousin of mine took *bhang* and like two mad men we went on laughing at each other. When the intoxication was over on the following morning, we were both ashamed of ourselves and could not face each other. The above incident was harmless in comparison. What is taking place in Ahmedabad is frightful.

Is it not enough that three young men have laid down their lives in the attempt to put down the flames? I spoke about it at the prayer meeting at Poona. Several friends have written to me about the three martyrs. If we were wise, these sacrifices would have quenched the fire. But that has not happened. It does not mean that the sacrifices have gone in vain. It only means that many more are necessary to extinguish such flames.

The alternative is that both must exhaust themselves; they must face police bullets. Some may be

sent to jail and some mount the gallows before peace is restored. This is the wrong way. Fire put out in this fashion is bound to flare up again. This process does not reduce the poison. It is simply suppressed. It spreads through the whole body and causes more mischief.

Peace restored with the help of the police and its elder brother the military will strengthen the hold of the foreign government and emasculate us still further. Poet Iqbal has written the immortal line:

मज़हब नहीं सिखाता आपसमें बैर रखना।

"Religion does not inculcate mutual strife." Could there be a greater proof of our cowardice than fighting amongst ourselves?

There is a method about everything—even mutual fight. If we must fight, why should we seek the help of the police and the military? The Government should clearly say that the military, whilst it is in India, will only be used for maintaining cleanliness, cultivating unused land and the like. The police will be used to catch *bona fide* thieves. Neither will be used to put down communal riots.

Let Ahmedabad folk be brave enough to eschew the help of the police and the military, let them not be cowards. Rioters are mostly hooligans who do their nefarious deeds in the dark. I am told that most of the stabbings have been in the back. Seldom or never have they been in the chest. Why should one be frightened of such people? One should rather brave death at their hands in the hope that the sacrifice will bring them to sanity. If one has not the requisite courage to face death, one must defend oneself by putting up a fight. The question may be asked as to how one should fight against those who stab you unawares from behind. It may not be possible to prevent such stabbing, but if the onlookers are not in collusion with the evil-doers and are not devoid of courage, they will catch hold of the culprit and hand him over to the police or to the community to which he belongs. Or they can bring him before the people's *panchayat*. Only they may not take the law into their own hands.

Panchgani, 22-7-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## CLOTH SHORTAGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Manu Subedar who takes interest in Khadi and other village industries, sent me the following note some time ago. But I delayed publication in order that I might make some more effective use of it than giving it in 'Harijan'. I could not think of any. Hence this publication for the use, not only of all provincial governments but also of private individuals or organizations, in however limited the field may be.

Here is Shri Subedar's scheme :

"One bale of cotton should be given to every village collectively. The people of the village could spin this yarn. The yarn will be used either for doubling or as weft and cloth could be made.

"One bale would yield approximately 2,400 yards of cloth (or 1,800 according to count).

"If *charkhas* and *takkis* are wanted, they should be supplied by the State. (Manufacture should be organized in jails).

"The cloth, when ready, should be made available to the people of the village on a per head ration basis.

"If and when it is important to collect grain in those villages, where there is supposed to be a grain surplus in the hands of the farmers, the cloth should be substituted only for grain. In other cases, the people of the village should collect enough to pay for the value of the bale of cotton. In other words, for the price of cotton (which is in the first instance, advanced by Government), they would get cloth.

"While cloth shortage would be eased, cotton surplus would also be taken away and it will help the grower of cotton.

"As the village *Pancha* would have to take over the cotton bale and deal with the whole thing, the beginning would be made of :

- i) village industry,
- ii) joint and collective effort,
- iii) participation and labour contribution by the small and the big ones, and
- iv) elimination of the middleman.

"If the experiment were made in the first instance with twenty thousand villages of the Bombay Presidency, or even two thousand of them, the results would be seen in the course of the next six weeks.

"Government will have to lock up funds for the cotton at the rate of Rs. 225 per bale. Much of this money will return either in the form of grain or in the form of cash. But it will have incidentally marked the beginning of something which the villages can do for themselves.

"Assistance may have to be given where looms are not available, or where the yarn produced is not capable of being used both as warp and as weft. But these are details in organization, which could

be attended to by someone at the headquarters of every district.

"On return of price of bale by a village, a fresh bale should be sent to them by Government as an advance."

I may add that this is a variation upon the one suggested by me. In my opinion, the original is probably better. But I attach greater value to Shri Subedar's note because he has worked out the figures, suggested a beginning with a bale of cotton and more specially because he as an economist has thought out his scheme independently of me. It will be easy enough to find flaws in every human scheme. Our business is to remove flaws if we know how or to make a beginning in spite of the flaws which we know but cannot mend. No reform is possible if we wait for perfection.

Panchgani, 27-7-'46

## AFTER FOUR YEARS

THE WANDERING JEW

Louis Fischer, whose quest for lost causes has turned him into a veritable Wandering Jew, sought out Gandhiji at Panchgani during the week. Espousing worthy causes is with him a biological necessity. He regards the Indian problem as being central to world peace. In 1942, in the course of a famous interview, he helped Gandhiji to discover and remedy a vital gap in the Quit India proposal. Now that India is once more at the cross-roads, he has again found his occupation here.

He had seen Gandhiji at Poona before the A. I. C. C. meeting. But it did not give him full satisfaction. "Somehow I could not come to grips with the main problem as I could in 1942," he remarked afterwards. He had his revenge this time during a series of three interviews that he had with Gandhiji on two successive days. The talks covered a variety of subjects from the proposed Constituent Assembly, the Hindu-Muslim problem and untouchability to socialism, non-violence and the ethics of retaliatory measures against South Africa, interspersed with lighter intervals in which quick thrust and parry served to relieve the strain of more serious discussions.

A SOVEREIGN BODY?

Fischer opened with a broadside on the question of the Constituent Assembly. "I would go into the Constituent Assembly and use it for a different purpose — as a battle-field — and declare it to be a sovereign body. What do you say to this?"

"It is no use declaring somebody else's creation a sovereign body," said Gandhiji. "After all, it is a British creation. A body does not become a sovereign body by merely asserting it. To become sovereign, you have to behave in a sovereign way. Three tailors of Tooley Street in Johannesburg declared that they were a sovereign body. It ended in nothing. It was just a farce.

"I do not consider the proposed Constituent Assembly to be non-revolutionary. I have said, and I

mean it cent percent, that the proposed Constituent Assembly is an effective substitute for civil disobedience of the constructive type. Whilst I have the greatest admiration for the self-denial and spirit of sacrifice of our Socialist friends, I have never concealed the sharp difference between their method and mine. They frankly believe in violence and all that is in its bosom. I believe in non-violence through and through."

#### SOCIALIST WITH A DIFFERENCE

That turned the discussion on to socialism. "You are a socialist and so are they," interpolated Fischer.

Gandhiji: "I am, they are not. I was a socialist before many of them were born. I carried conviction to a rabid socialist in Johannesburg, but that is neither here nor there. My claim will live when their socialism is dead."

"What do you mean by *your* socialism?"

"My socialism means 'even unto this last'. I do not want to rise on the ashes of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. In their socialism, probably these have no place. Their one aim is material progress. For instance, America aims at having a car for every citizen. I do not. I want freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius if I want to. That does not mean that I want to do any such thing. Under the other socialism, there is no individual freedom. You own nothing, not even your body."

"Yes, but there are variations. My socialism in its modified form means that the State does not own everything. It does in Russia. There you certainly do not own your body even. You may be arrested at any time, though you may have committed no crime. They may send you wherever they like."

"Does not under your socialism, the State own your children and educate them in any way it likes?"

"All States do that. America does it."

"Then America is not very different from Russia."

"You really object to dictatorship."

"But socialism is dictatorship or else arm-chair philosophy. I call myself a communist also."

"O, don't. It is terrible for you to call yourself a communist. I want what you want, what Jaiprakash and the Socialists want: a free world. But the Communists don't. They want a system which enslaves the body and the mind."

"Would you say that of Marx?"

"The Communists have corrupted the Marxist teaching to suit their purpose."

"What about Lenin?"

"Lenin started it. Stalin has since completed it. When the Communists come to you, they want to get into the Congress and control the Congress and use it for their own ends."

"So do the Socialists. My communism is not very different from socialism. It is a harmonious blending of the two. Communism, as I have understood it, is a natural corollary of socialism."

"Yes, you are right. There was a time when the two could not be distinguished. But today Socialists are very different from Communists."

"You mean to say, you do not want communism of Stalin's type."

"But the Indian Communists want communism of the Stalin type in India and want to use your name for that purpose."

"They won't succeed."

#### PLAYING THE GAME

Fischer reverted to the Constituent Assembly. "So you will not yourself go into the Constituent Assembly, but will support it."

"Yes. But it is wrong to say we are going to the Constituent Assembly to seize power. Though it is not a sovereign body, it is as near it as possible."

"Pandit Jawaharlal said that if the British tried to impose a treaty in terms of the State Paper of May 16, he will tear it up."

"Yes, an imposed treaty from outside."

"And he said, Congress will not go into groupings."

"Yes. I have said the same thing — unless the Federal Court or some other court gives a different decision. As I see it, much can come out of the Constituent Assembly, if the British will play the game."

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

"You say and I believe they will," remarked Fischer. "But supposing they do not, won't you then offer your form of protest?"

"Not until the conditions are favourable. But it is wrong to speculate about the future, still more so to anticipate failure. If we take care of the present, the future will take care of itself."

#### UNTOUCHABILITY AND THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

They then passed on to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhiji startled his visitor by proffering the remark that the Hindu-Muslim question, in the final analysis, was an offshoot of the untouchability question. "When Hinduism is perfectly reformed and purged of the last trace of untouchability, there will be no communal problem left."

"I have heard," remarked Fischer, "that though the Congress Harijans have won at the elections against non-Congress Harijans, they were able to do so only with the Hindu votes!"

"What was the joint election for, if not to enable the caste Hindus to make a selection from successful candidates at the primary elections?" replied Gandhiji. "No failed candidate at the primary elections can offer himself as a candidate at the joint elections. Moreover, it is not correct to say, as has been claimed, that in the majority of cases, the Congress Harijans won against the non-Congress candidates with the caste Hindu votes. In Madras the non-Congress Harijans were defeated almost to a man in the primary elections, wherever they contested them. In the majority of cases the Congress Harijans were returned unopposed."

"Some of them want separate electorates," remarked Fischer.

"Yes. But we have resisted it. By separate electorates they put themselves outside the pale of Hinduism and perpetuate the bar sinister."

"That is true. But, anyhow, they might say that Hindus have put them outside the pale."

"But today the Hindus are penitent."

"Are they adequately penitent?"

"I am sorry to say 'not yet'. If they were, there would be no untouchability and no communal problem as I have already said."

"Is there less social contact between the Hindus and Muslims," next asked Fischer.

"No, rather the contrary. But politically there is a bar, thanks to Lord Minto."



## ETHICS OF RECIPROCITY

After a little sword play Fischer changed over to another topic.

"Your young men are too Indo-centric," he said.

"That is only partly true. I won't say we have become international," replied Gandhiji, "but we have taken up forlorn causes, e. g. the cause of the exploited nations, because we are ourselves the chief exploited nation."

"The growing anti-White feeling here is bad," proceeded Gandhiji's interviewer. "In Taj Mahal Hotel they have put up a notice 'South Africans not admitted'. I do not like it. Your non-violence should make you more generous."

"That won't be non-violence. Today the White man rules in India. So, if Taj Mahal has the gumption to put up that notice, it is a feather in its cap."

Fischer's liberalism felt hurt. "That is what any nationalist will say. You must say something better," he remarked.

"Then I will be a nationalist for once," replied Gandhiji with firmness. "They have no right to be here if they do not deal with Indians on terms of equality."

"No right — yes," rejoined Fischer. "But you must give them more than their right. You must invite them."

"Yes, when I am the Viceroy."

"You mean the President of the Indian Republic."

"No. I will be quite content to be the Viceroy, a constitutional Viceroy, for the time being," said Gandhiji. "The first thing I will do, will be to vacate the Viceregal Lodge and give it to the Harijans. I will then invite the South African White visitors to my hut and say to them: 'You have ground my people to powder. But we won't copy you. We will give you more than you deserve. We won't lynch you as you do in South Africa,' and thus shame them into doing the right."

"There is so much anti-White feeling today," put in Fischer somewhat troubled in mind.

"Of course, I am opposed to that. It can do no good to anybody."

"The world is so divided. And there might be another war and that may be between the Coloured and the White races."

"Europe seems to be heading for another war. It is not sufficiently exhausted."

"Europe is terribly exhausted. But with the atom bomb human beings don't matter so much. A few scientists are enough. The next war will be carried on by pressing a few buttons. That is why colour war is so dangerous."

"Anything is better than cowardice. It is violence double distilled." And to illustrate his remark Gandhiji narrated the story of a Negro clergyman with a Herculean frame in South Africa saying 'pardon me brother,' when insulted by a White man, and sneaking into a coloured man's compartment. "That is not non-violence. It is a travesty of Jesus' teaching. It would have been more manly to retaliate."

"You are not afraid of what happens to you but what it may mean to others," replied Fischer, analysing the illustration adduced by Gandhiji. "It takes a great deal of irresponsibility to give vent to your feelings and slap the White man under the circumstances described by you. In India the situation is different. The White men are not so numerous here."

"You are mistaken," replied Gandhiji. "Why, one Englishman is killed and a whole village is razed to the ground as a reprisal. What vindictiveness!"

## A CONUNDRUM ANSWERED

That finished the first day's discussion. But some conundrums about Gandhiji's attitude in regard to the Constituent Assembly continued to trouble Fischer's mind and he reverted to them in the course of his discussion the next day.

"If the Working Committee had reacted to your 'groping in the dark' or as you have called it your instinct about the long-term proposals, they would have rejected them."

"Yes, but I did not let them," replied Gandhiji.

"You mean you did not insist."

"More than that. I prevented them from following my instinct unless they also felt likewise. It is no use conjecturing what would have happened. The fact however remains that Dr. Rajendra Prasad asked me: 'Does your instinct go so far that you would prevent us from accepting the long-term proposals, whether we understand you or not?' I said, 'No. Follow your reason since my own reason does not support my instinct. My instinct rebels against my reason. I have placed my misgivings before you as I want to be faithful to you. I myself have not followed my instinct unless my reason backed it.'"

"But you have said that you follow your instinct when it speaks to you on occasions as, for instance, you did before certain fasts that you undertook."

"Yes, but even in these cases, before the fast began, my reason was able to back my instinct. My reason failed my instinct on the long-term proposals."

"Then, why did you inject your 'instinct' into the political situation?"

"Because I was loyal to my friends. I wanted to retain my faith in the *bona fides* of the Cabinet Mission. So I told the Cabinet Mission also about my misgivings. I said to myself, 'Supposing they meant ill, they would feel ashamed.'"

## A TESTAMENT OF FAITH

"You are strongly constitutionalist now. Is it for fear of the alternative — violence?" finally asked Fischer.

"No. If India is destined to go through a blood bath, it will do so. The thing I would fear is my own cowardice or dishonesty. I have neither. So I say, we must go in and work it out. If they are dishonest, they will be found out. The loss will not be ours but theirs."

"I think you are afraid of the spirit of violence. It is widespread. I wonder whether it has not captured the mood of the youth and you are aware of it, and you fear that mood."

"It has not captured the imagination of the country. I admit that it has captured the imagination of a section of the youth."

"It is a mood that has got to be combated."

"Yes. I am doing it in my own way. It is my implicit faith that it is a survival which will kill itself in time. It cannot live. It is so contrary to the spirit of India. But what is the use of talking? I believe in an inscrutable Providence which presides over our destinies — call it God or by any other name you like. All I contend is that it is not the fear of violence that makes me advise the country to go to the Constituent Assembly. It is repugnant in a non-violent attitude not to accept an honourable substitute for civil revolt."

Panchgani, 27-7-'46

PYARELAL

# HARIJAN

August 4

1946

## 9TH AUGUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

9th August like 6th April, 13th April and 26th January is a red letter day in the battle of India's freedom. They are days for universal hartal in terms of Satyagraha, i. e. truth and non-violence. But today, considered in terms of Satyagraha, hartals are generally taboo and more specially so, on the coming 9th of August. They would be fitting if hartals are designed to signalize violence.

Two powerful voices have spoken: one of the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the other of the President of the Socialist Group, Shri Jaiprakash Narain. It is delicate for me to give my opinion when these two ardent lovers of their country speak in opposition. But as a Satyagrahi I must overcome the delicacy.

Jaiprakash Narain is a Congressman. It is an open secret that he was offered a seat on the Working Committee by Panditji, naturally under the belief that whatever views he entertained, he was too honest to be disloyal to the Congress in action. If, now, in spite of knowing the Congress President's views to the contrary, he adheres to his own opinion given to the contrary, it would appear to be an act of disloyalty to the Congress. If, therefore, he has not withdrawn from the false position, I hope, recognizing the aptness of my remarks, he will see the wisdom of retracing his steps.

The Working Committee, rightly or wrongly, has taken a step. It has been endorsed by the A. I. C. C. It is up to every Congressman to support the Congress going to the Constituent Assembly, by creating the atmosphere suitable for work in that Assembly. This I say even to those who distrust good faith in everything the British do. They may warn the Congress of the dangers they sense. This they were allowed, by the President to have the fullest latitude to do at the recent A. I. C. C. meeting. Anything in excess of that opposition is surely harmful for the country. I would consider as such the hartal on the 9th August.

The Congress cannot have the cake and eat it too. It must be left free, it must be helped, to develop freedom through the 'Constituent Assembly'. It will not be a waste of effort to honestly work the 'Assembly' for the purpose. The Congress must not kill the hen before it has laid.

Then mark the atmosphere in the country. There is senseless disorder as in Ahmedabad and elsewhere. There is a parody of Satyagraha in the show staged by Dr. Ambedkar. In Satyagraha the cause has to be just and clear as well as the means. The cause is certainly vague, even if the means are non-violent. I doubt the wisdom of the sympathetic paralysis of all business in Bombay and elsewhere, assuming the postal strike to be good on merits. Many would seem to have left off all thinking.

They seem to take up any nostrum without caring to examine its merits. To call for hartal in this atmosphere is to invite disorder. No disorder is conducive to the growth of independence. Considered from every point of view, I hope that 9th August next will see no hartal in India, but a peaceful and dignified, orderly celebration of the day as advised by the President of the Congress.

Panchgani, 27-7-'46

[P. S.: Before the despatch of this to 'Harijan' I saw to my joy the withdrawal by Shri Jaiprakash of his proposal for hartal on 9th August. I am glad that the spirit of discipline has dictated this withdrawal. I might have cancelled the foregoing but for the important incidental observations in it.

M. K. G.]

## HEAL THYSELF

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent has written to me about the butchery that is going on in Ahmedabad. I give below the relevant portions from his letter.

"I wish to write to you about the means to be employed for putting down riots. About two months ago you wrote an article on Ahimsa Seva Dal — non-violent volunteer corps. But looking to the situation in the country, the suggestion will not do. Just as you have taught us how to fight against the British Government non-violently, you should go to some place of riot and show us the way of quelling riots in a non-violent manner by personal example. Supposing you were in Ahmedabad today and went out to quell the riots, any number of volunteers will join you. Two of our Congress workers Shri Vasantrao and Shri Rajabali went out in such a quest and fell a prey to the *goonda's* knife. They laid down their lives in the pursuit of an ideal and they deserve all praise. But no one else had the courage to follow in their footsteps. They have not the same self-confidence. If they had it, there would be no riots and, even if riots broke out, they would never assume the proportion and the form that the present day riots do. But the fact remains that such a state is merely an imaginary thing today.

"Your guidance and example can inspire many like me with courage and self-confidence. Once you have shown the way, the local workers will be able to follow it whenever occasion demands it. I feel that unless you set an example in action, your writings and utterances will not be of any use to the ordinary people, and even Congressmen, in organizing non-violent protection of society."

I like the suggestion mentioned above. People followed my advice and took to non-violent resistance against the British Government, because they wanted to offer some sort of resistance. But their non-violence, I must confess, was born of their helplessness. Therefore, it was the weapon of the weak. That is why, today we worship Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his Azad Hind Fauj. We forget that Netaji himself had told his soldiers that on going to India, they must follow the way of non-violence. This I have from the leaders of the I. N. A. But we have lost all sense of discrimination. To restore it, the I. N. A. men will have to live up to the ideal placed before them by Netaji. The work of those who believe in non-violence is very difficult in this atmosphere which is full of violence. But the

path of true non-violence requires much more courage than violence. We have not been able to give proof of such non-violence. We might look upon the action of Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Shri Vasantrao and Shri Rajabali as examples of the non-violence of the brave. But when communal feelings run high, we are unable to demonstrate any effect of the sacrifices mentioned above. For that, many like Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi will have to lay down their lives. The fact that no one else in Ahmedabad has followed the example, set by Shri Vasantrao and Shri Rajabali shows that we have not yet developed the spirit of sacrifice to the extent of laying down our lives in non-violent action. The correspondent has rightly said that under these circumstances, I should act myself whether others join me or not. It will be disgraceful on my part to sit at home and tell others to go and lay down their lives. Such a thing cannot be an indication of non-violence. I have never had the chance to test my non-violence in the face of communal riots. It might be argued that it was my cowardice which prevented me from seeking such a chance. Be that as it may, God willing, the chance will still come to me, and by throwing me in the fire, He will purify me and make the path of non-violence clear. No one should take it to mean that sacrifice of my life will arrest all violence. Several lives like mine, will have to be given if the terrible violence that has spread all over, is to stop and non-violence reign supreme in its place. The poet has sung :

“हरिने मारग छे शूरानो, नहीं कायरतुं काम जोने ।”

“The path of Truth is for the brave, never for the coward.” The path of Truth is the path of non-violence.

Panchgani, 26-6-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. I have been repeating *Ramanama* according to your advice and I am getting better. I must add that the medical treatment for tuberculosis is also being followed. You have said that eating little and eating the right food enables a man to be healthy and promotes longevity. I have observed the rule about eating sparingly for the last twentyfive years. Why should I have fallen a prey to tuberculosis? Would you say, I should attribute this ill luck to some evil deed in this life or in the previous one?

You say a man can live up to 125 years. Then why should God have carried away Mahadevbhai, who was so useful to you? He observed the rule of eating moderately and having a balanced diet and he served you as his God. Why did he fall a prey to high blood-pressure? Why did Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who is looked upon as an incarnation of God, fall a prey to cancer, as deadly a disease as tuberculosis? Why was he not able to fight it successfully?

A. I have been expounding the rules of maintaining health as I know them. Spare and balanced diet may not be the same for everybody. It can be best worked out by the individual for himself through proper reading and careful thought. But that does not mean that the individual cannot make mistakes or that his or her knowledge is

complete. That is why life has been called a laboratory. One should learn from the experience of others and go forward and if he is not successful, he should not blame others or even himself. One should not be too ready to find fault with the rule, but if after careful thought, one comes to the conclusion that a certain rule is wrong, he should be able to tell the right one and declare it.

So far as your own case is concerned, there may be several causes leading to your illness. Who can say whether you have made the right use of the five 'powers' in your own case? So long as I believe in the laws of nature as I know them, I have to say that you must have erred somewhere. As for Mahadev and Ramakrishna Paramahansa, to feel that even they must have erred somehow is fitter than to say that the laws are wrong. These rules are not my creation. They are the laws of nature according to experienced men. I believe them and try to live up to my belief. Man is after all an imperfect creature. How can he know the whole truth? That the allopathic doctors do not believe in them or, if they do, they do so in a different sense, does not impress me. What I have said, does not and should not in any way, detract from the greatness of the individuals mentioned.

Q. In 'Harijanbandhu' of 14-4-'46, you have said, "God is the Law and the Law-giver." I do not understand it. Laws are made by man and they keep on changing with time. For instance, Draupadi had five husbands and yet she was considered a *sati*. A woman who does that today will be considered immoral.

A. Law here means the law of God. Man interprets that law according to his understanding. For instance, the rotation of the earth is a law of nature. We are convinced of its correctness today. Yet before Galileo, astronomers believed differently. As for Draupadi, the Mahabharata in my opinion is an allegory and not history. Draupadi means the soul wedded to the five senses.

Q. God cannot be realized through reason. He has to be understood through faith. Do you believe in rebirth or is it that the Hindu seers propounded it, in order to enable people to appreciate the significance of good and evil deeds and derive some satisfaction from the belief?

A. God cannot be realized through the intellect. Intellect can lead one to a certain extent and no further. It is a matter of faith and experience derived from that faith. One might rely on the experience of one's betters or else be satisfied with nothing less than personal experience. Full faith does not feel the want of experience. The distinction between good and evil is not meant to act as a consolation. Nor is faith in God meant for that purpose. The seers have held that there is good and evil and there is rebirth. I think this theory of reincarnation is capable of being understood by the intellect.

Q. The Congress has been fighting the British Government non-violently. When Congressmen come into power, they shoot their own brothers

who have gone astray and are causing trouble. Is it right? If the Congressmen in power have not the courage to lay down their lives, while attempting to put down the riots non-violently, does it not show that with the exception of a few individuals like Ravishankar Maharaj and Sane Guruji, the non-violence of Congressmen in general is, the non-violence of the weak?

A. The question of violence and non-violence raised by you is an old question. I have said a lot in this connection. If like many others, non-violence does not appeal to your heart, you should discard it. I shall not find fault with you for that, and, if others do, you should not care. The principle is this: "That which has been propounded by the *rishis*, practised by the sages and appeals to one's heart should be followed and put into practice." The question might arise as to what one is to do, when the thing that appeals to one's heart is contrary to what has been propounded by the *rishis* and practised by the sages. The answer is, that in such a case the individual can follow his bent at his own risk. Many reforms and new discoveries have been made in this way. Our Shankaracharyas have supported the institution of untouchability but both our head and heart consider it a blot on Hinduism. We do not care, if others consider our belief to be wrong.

Q. From 1920 you have described the British Government's officials as the arms of Ravana. Congress Governments use these arms. Again, the laws made by the British Government say that it is an offence to beat a prisoner arrested on suspicion or for an alleged offence, in order to extort a confession or to frighten him. During the 1942 revolution, many like me were severely beaten after arrest. Should not the Congress Governments hold an inquiry into the police excesses thus committed?

A. I have severely criticized the British Government and do so still. But that does not mean that all police officials under the British Government must necessarily be devil's disciples even when they come under Congress Governments. No one has questioned Congress Governments' right to inquire into the police excesses in 1942 or even before. But such rights are not always exercised. We all know that there are times when wisdom lies in not exercising certain rights. The Congress has in general followed the policy of not inquiring into the kind of excesses mentioned by you. You should know that often such offences are difficult to prove. I believe the right of inquiry has been exercised in cases, where the offence was beyond doubt. But my advice is, let us not sit in judgment on the Congress ministries. The belief that the Congress has acted wisely in accepting power should suffice.

Panchgani, 25-7-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

Q. Whilst the food policy was in the hands of the Advisors to the Provincial Governors, there was no effective method of checking them. Things under the responsible Provincial Governments are different. Should it not be a matter of conscience

with Congress ministers to get their rations from common rationing depots and take not a grain more from any other source? This will immediately have a far-reaching effect. Today all controlling centres for food grains or cloth have become public dens for thieving and corruption. Equipped with the moral force that the ministers will gain by acting as suggested, they will be able to fight out the evil with success.

A. This question is a consolidation of many letters of complaints. I wholly agree with the suggestion made in the question. I fancy that the suggested practice is already being observed, not only by the ministers but all other Government servants. I do not know of any other source, save the black market for getting supplies of foodstuffs. Of course, no exhortation can take the place of persons in authority, setting a good example. If they took their rations from the same stock as is given to the public, the keepers of stores will soon find that it would not pay to dole out rotten stuff to the public. The practice of the ministers and other high-placed men in England, taking their things in common with the public is, I am told, the usual thing, as it should be.

Panchgani, 28-7-'46

### DECCAN CHIEFS IN CONFERENCE

The plan for the formation of a Deccan States' Union has been occupying the attention of the Chiefs of the Deccan States for sometime past. The Rajasaheb of Aundh with Appasaheb Pant, his Prime Minister, Shri Shankerrao Deo and some others saw Gandhiji in this connection recently during his stay at Panchgani. They invited Gandhiji to meet the Chiefs of the Deccan States later in an informal conference. Gandhiji consented. The meeting took place on Sunday, July 28, in the Servants of India Society's Library Hall. Among those present were the Rajas of Aundh, Phaltan, Bhore, Miraj (Senior), Jamkhandi and Kurundwad (Senior), Appasaheb Pant and Shri Satwalekar from Aundh, Shris Kore, Sathe and Thomre from Sangli, the Dewan of Bhore and representatives from Budhgaon and Ramdrug. Tatyasaheb N. C. Kelkar and Shankerrao Deo were also present on the occasion by special invitation.

#### CORRECT ATTITUDE

Gandhiji being invited to address the distinguished gathering said that it was a great pleasure to him to be able to meet the Deccan Princes. He had read the papers and the note prepared for his edification by the Raja Saheb of Phaltan. He did not wish to speak on the papers. It was a good thing that the Princes were seriously thinking in terms of the whole of India, rather than of themselves and of the protection they had all these years thought they were getting from the Paramountcy of the British Power. Only a few years ago the Princes felt that they could not be safe except under the Paramountcy of the British Crown. It seemed to have dawned on most of them that that was not the correct attitude. This was but natural, for they were after all sons of the soil. He, the speaker, had



said openly on another occasion that the people of the States were slaves of slaves which the Princes were. They exercised their authority within their own principalities, so long as they were in the good books of the British Government. They were made or unmade at the pleasure of the British Crown. The Princes who had eyes opened to that vital fact were desirous of Indian Independence equally with the people of India. If then they felt that need, they did not want a union of the States but each State had first to form a union with its own people. Their people were the real power on whom they were to depend for their status. It became trusteeship if they became servants of their own people. If they took that attitude, they needed no terms with the Congress or with any other organization. The immediate need was an understanding with their own people.

He made bold to take up that attitude, though his might be a lonely voice. In his opinion, the Princes, as servants and trustees of their people, were worthy of their hire. It would then (but not before) be time to consider whether they and their people wanted a union among themselves. Such a union would be of a wholly different type from what they had conceived.

#### CREATION OF BRITISH RULERS

The speaker had a serious suspicion that the present proposal was a creation of the British Rulers, meaning the Political Agents. No blame need be imputed to them, if they advised such a union. They were brought up in no better tradition. They thought that when the British power was not in India, the Princes would fight amongst themselves. That fear was wholly unjustifiable. They honestly believed that before they retired, as they must within perhaps a few months, owing to force of circumstances, they should enable the Princes to consolidate their power by organizing them into a union.

It was his belief that if India was not merely to be independent of British control, but was to enjoy real freedom, which their country, by virtue of its ancient culture and tradition, was entitled to, it should grow from the bottom upwards, not be imposed from above. Otherwise, it would be a question of change of masters only. Instead of the English, there might be the Allied Powers or whosoever could impose himself on them. He did not look forward to that time. He looked forward to a time when India would come into her own because of her intrinsic merit. To that consummation the Princes could make a most handsome contribution.

If the Deccan Princes played their part and set a solid example, they would follow. For that purpose, the speaker repeated, they did not need the suggested union. If, on the other hand, at the back of their minds they had the idea that they would give the so-called responsible Government to the people to the ear and break it to the heart, then the proposed union would be a kind of military combination, after the manner of the European Powers. It would be used against the people despite their protestations. That Power

would be useless against a first-class military Power. They would be the first to lay down their arms before a venturesome aggressor. The British had taken good care not to give them training that might enable them to resist a Power like themselves by force of arms.

What applied to the States applied to the whole of India. She would have to serve a long period of tutelage at the feet of the Western nations before she could become a first-class military Power. A quarter of a century's effort that the Congress had spent in teaching the country non-violence would in that event have been utterly wasted. That was not a prospect to which he could look forward with equanimity.

He had suggested to the Raja Saheb of Aundh that the Princes should, with necessary changes, copy the constitution of Aundh, if they wanted to take their due share in building up of a free India. That constitution was designed for the people. He, the speaker, would have liked it to go much further in such matters as the amount and control of the privy purse, etc. But all that had to come naturally. It could not be imposed. The working of that constitution, he added, had made considerable progress — though not all the progress — which the Raja Saheb of Aundh, his Prime Minister or he, would have liked.

After Gandhiji had finished, a discussion followed and questions were asked. "Unless we unite, not a single State would have a survival value," remarked one of them and asked for Gandhiji's opinion on that point.

Gandhiji replied, "I am prepared to join issue on it though mine is perhaps a solitary voice. Every village has a survival value. Why should not your villages and hence you, the Princes, if you will be part of the people? Aundh, one of the smallest among you, has a greater survival value than many of you. It depends upon you. So far as the people are concerned, they are one with the rest of India already.

"In an article that I have written for the *Harijan*, you will see my picture of Independence. In that picture, the unit is the village community. The superstructure of Independence is not to be built on the village unit so that the top weighs down on and crushes the forty crores of people who constitute the base."

"But we shall ask our people to draw up their own constitution. The plan of union that we have drawn up, is only intended as a blue-print for their consideration," explained another.

"With the best intention in the world," replied Gandhiji, "you will not be able to do that. You are brought up in a different tradition. Therefore, I suggest you should see Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru about it, if you will really let the people judge. He is the proper person to deal with this question as the President of the States' People's Conference. You should not be afraid to go to the States' People's Conference with your suggestions. Let the Conference decide finally. Their present policy is



sound and not hostile to you, considered as servants and trustees of your people."

Q. "We are anxious to serve our mother country. But, we are so small that we cannot serve unless we merge into a union."

A. "Not in my picture of Independent India," replied Gandhiji. "A village unit as conceived by me is as strong as the strongest. My imaginary village consists of 1,000 souls. Such a unit can give a good account of itself, if it is well organized on a basis of self-sufficiency. Do not, therefore, think that, unless you have a big union, you will not be able to give a good account of yourself. If Princes are all of one mind and the interest of the people is first and themselves last, theirs will be a more solid union than the one now proposed."

#### VILLAGE REPUBLICS

Q. "What would you say if the States organized themselves on the basis of village republics first and then formed them into a union?"

A. "That would be excellent, but then you will speak a different language and proceed to work in an altogether different way."

Q. "But that may take a long time and, unless it is done by people outside first, our people will not take to it."

A. "I have said that the States can make the finest contribution to the building of India's future Independence, if they set the right example in their own territories. They as individual States being compact, homogenous units can well afford to make experiments in government. As it is, the Princes have taken the lead only in copying the bad points of the British system. They allow themselves to be led by the nose by their Ministers, whose administrative talent consists only in extorting money from their dumb, helpless subjects. By their tradition and training they are unfitted to do the job you have let them do. Therefore, my advice to you is: 'Make Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru your Chief Minister, if you are in earnest. Let him present you with an outline. He will naturally consult the people.'"

Q. "We want to organize ourselves into a union so that our people may have *swaraj* first without waiting for the labours of the Constituent Assembly to be finished, which may take time."

A. "That is the wrong way of going about the thing. If you are solicitous of the welfare of the people and want them to come into their own, give them the fullest liberty straightaway. By the time you have done that, the Constituent Assembly will have finished its work. The constitution which it will frame will not be for British India merely, but for the whole of India. That constitution will necessarily provide for a State union or unions, if it is desirable. You should assist them instead of anticipating them by forming your own union. Begin with the individual and you will not then go wrong."

"Are you," asked Tatyasaheb N. C. Kelkar, "opposed to the union, because it is suspect in your eyes?"

Gandhiji: "I began with that. But I do not oppose it on the ground of my suspicion. I suspect not you — A, B or C, but the circumstances. You do not know the danger and mischief you are running into. Hence my advice to you to hasten slowly."

Q. "If you stretch your argument, would it not apply equally to the district and taluq organization in the provinces? Why do not you ask for their dissolution?"

Gandhiji: "I am not asking you to dissolve anything that already exists — not that I am enamoured of the machinery of administration set up in British India. History tells us, it was devised mainly to facilitate revenue collection. You will follow it only at your cost. My point just now is: Do not do anything in the shape of unions. Leave that work to be done by the Constituent Assembly. As a Sanskrit poet says, अनारम्भो हि कार्याणां प्रथमं बुद्धिर्लक्षणम् (not to rush into new enterprises is the first mark of wisdom)."

Poona, 30-7-'46

PYARELAL

#### KHADI WORKERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have two questions about Khadi workers before me. One of these is in connection with village workers. It is their duty to spend their time, mainly in spinning and making others spin. The new conception of Khadi work includes all the processes from the cultivation of cotton to the preparation of cloth. A worker who does all these intelligently and can mend the spinning wheel or the spindle, will never have any difficulty in earning his livelihood and teaching others to do so. Along with it, and without letting Khadi work suffer, the worker might treat simple ailments and attend to the sanitation of the village. Education has to be imparted through a craft. Therefore I do not consider it apart from Khadi work. Those who come for education must wear Khadi and get education through Khadi.

The second question is how long should a Khadi worker work as a paid worker. In my view he should be self-supporting from the beginning. If that is not possible, he should fix a time limit for himself. Five years is the utmost limit in my opinion. A worker who is to become self-supporting at the end of five years, should reduce his allowance progressively from year to year. He cannot expect to become self-supporting all of a sudden at the end of five years. It is an art which requires careful thought and management. He who really teaches others should certainly become self-supporting himself.

Panchgani, 28-7-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

I

I. N. A. AGAIN

"Give us a chance. What would you have us do next?" said an I. N. A. Captain who came to see Gandhiji at Panchgani last week.

"You should give proof of the same courage and bravery here that you people displayed on the battle-field," replied Gandhiji. "There was perfect unity in the ranks of the I. N. A. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, all communities were like blood brothers. There was no high or low, no Untouchable. Demonstrate that unity here. But I am afraid you will not be able to do so."

"Yes, we cannot, so long as the British power rules over us," replied the I. N. A. friend.

"Well, there is a lot that can be done in spite of the British. I have voluntarily become a *bhangi*. Who can prevent me from doing so? Shah Nawaz today is an Indian first and an Indian last. Nobody can prevent him from doing so. In fact, wherever he goes, he puts up with his Hindu friends. But even so, he realizes that he cannot achieve here what he could outside India. The I. N. A. men on returning to their homes take the complexion from their environment. They shed what they had learnt outside and it is difficult to prevent them from falling into the old ruts.

"Again, if you expect India to spend lakhs on you, that is not right. You should be like Garibaldi's soldiers who were promised by their leader only 'blood, toil and tears'. They tilled the land and supported themselves when not engaged on the battle-field. No one paid them a salary. You have been trained by the Britishers who spend lavishly. If you expect medals like Victoria Crosses and such prizes as the British can give, you will be disappointed. The starving millions of India cannot afford that. You have to become one with them and serve them. Today the man in the street is terrified of the military. The military man acts like a bully and there can be no appeal against his high-handedness. You have to prove that you are friends and servants of the people, so that they will not be awed by you."

"We befriend the people here as we did outside India," put in the I. N. A. Captain.

"That is good," replied Gandhiji. "But I tell you, your leaders are finding it difficult to control the I. N. A. men in India. There are petty jealousies and rivalries. 'If A can get something, why not I?' — that is the kind of feeling coming uppermost. It was different abroad. You had a very capable leader in Netaji. In spite of our sharp differences, I have always admired his burning patriotism, courage and resourcefulness."

"You have no idea of the deep love and admiration he had for you," interrupted the Captain. "What should

be our contribution in the next struggle for Independence?" he asked next.

"The struggle for Independence is going on today. It has never stopped," replied Gandhiji. "But, if my will prevails, it will be a non-violent struggle. The lesson of the last 25 years of training in non-violence, has gone home to the masses. They have realized that in non-violence they have a weapon which enables a child, a woman or even a decrepit old man to resist the mightiest government successfully. If your spirit is strong, mere lack of physical strength ceases to be a handicap. *Per contra* I have seen the Zulus in South Africa with Herculean bodies tremble before a White child. White soldiers could go into the Zulu kraals and shoot men, women and children sleeping in their beds. There was no resistance in the Zulu and the physical strength could not make up for it."

### A DEDICATION

On the 21st of July, Gandhiji had the satisfaction of witnessing the realization of one of his pet projects when Sheth Shantilal of Ahmedabad formally dedicated 'Satish Kunj' property for the use of the poor. Prime Minister Shri Balasaheb Kher and Ministers Shri Patil and Shri Tapase had specially come from Poona for the occasion. Speaking after the evening prayer, Gandhiji said that when he came to Panchgani under medical advice in 1944, after his release from detention, he found that there was no place where the poor and the destitute could put up, in order to take advantage of the beautiful climate. And what about the Harijans? He had received a long letter from one of them describing their woes. "It is all right so long as his identity is unknown. But the moment it is discovered, that he is a Harijan, he suddenly becomes a *pariah*. He is unwelcome everywhere. All doors are shut against him. The shopkeeper receives his money but sells him the rottenest stuff and cheats him into the bargain by giving him less than the full measure. Should the poor unfortunate object, he is insulted and told to be gone. The landlord won't have him and asks him to quit. Where is the poor man to go?" It was heart-rending. He felt he could not come and stay in Panchgani, unless there was a place where the Harijans would be welcome like all others. It had therefore given him great pleasure that Panchgani was at last going to have such a place. Sheth Shantilal of Ahmedabad had purchased the 'Satish Kunj' property for Rs. 45000 and had agreed to get it reconditioned and bear the running expenses of the institution for ten years. In the *dharmashala* which was going to be built, the poor of all communities including the Harijans, would be able to come and stay without any distinction of caste or religion. They would be provided free accommodation but would have

to make their own arrangements as regards food etc. A Trust had been formed to look after the *dharmashala*, consisting of Sheth Shantilal of Ahmedabad, Sheth Mohanlal, Shri Bachharaj, Dr. Dinshah Mehta and Gandhiji. He would have liked the *dharmashala*, said Gandhiji, to be built out of funds, provided by the inhabitants of Panchgani itself. But finance was not everything. Although they had not contributed the money, they should give their blessings and co-operation. The institution would fail unless the people took active and genuine interest in it. He suggested that sisters from well-to-do families should visit the sick or the convalescent who might come to the *dharmashala* for a change of climate, soothe them by singing beautiful hymns and render them whatever service they could or was necessary.

The sanitary conditions in Panchgani were awful. In a climate like theirs there should never be any epidemics. Yet they had the plague only the year before and had to vacate the bazar which was indescribably dirty. There was water shortage in spite of a plentiful rainfall. Why could not the rain water be captured and utilized for water supply? In South Africa, where rainfall was scarce and there was a dearth of under-ground water supply, they had a reservoir in every house for storing rain water. It was the duty of all of them, most of all the Municipality and the Public Health Department to remedy these defects. The Prime Minister Shri Balasaheb Kher was there and was prepared to render them whatever help was necessary. If he were the Health Officer or the Chairman of the Panchgani Municipality, said Gandhiji, he would make the place so clean and neat that anybody might be able to lie down and sleep on the hill side in the open without any compunction. Today that was not possible, because of the Municipal insanitation. People spat and made nuisance here, there and everywhere indiscriminately. He spoke from knowledge, he said. Before he came under the Mahatmic handicap and was free to go into *dharmashalas* and other places of public utility without attracting crowds, he had occasion to study the conditions prevailing in those places. The insanitation, the filth and the stench of the public latrines and urinals of the railway stations and in the *dharmashalas* were simply awful. They could make Panchgani into a jewel among the hill stations, if only they did their duty.

#### SCAVENGING AS A FINE ART

He then proceeded to make some concrete suggestions. The first and foremost of course was sanitation and night-soil disposal. Having become a *bhangi* himself, he thought of it first. He had done a *bhangi's* job right from South Africa. He knew how to do it without becoming filthy himself. The sight of a *bhangi* carrying the night-soil basket on his head made him sick. Scavenging is a fine art. Not only must the cleaning be perfect, but the manner of doing it and the instruments used, must be clean and not revolting to one's sanitary sense. "You have only to see the privy I use. It is spotlessly clean without a trace of smell. That is so because I clean it myself. The municipal *bhangi* pours out the contents of the night-soil waggons over a cliff converting a beauty spot into a plague spot. If you

become your own *bhangis*, not only will you insure perfect sanitation for yourself, but you will make your surroundings clean and relieve the *bhangis* of the weight of oppression which today crushes them. Do not imagine, that thereby you would deprive them of their living. Today we have reduced them to the level of the beast. They earn a few coppers but only at the expense of their human dignity. The same *bhangi* serves in the municipality as well as in your bungalow, with the result that he can do justice to neither. Look at him as he eats his food, cowering under the shadow of the latrine wall, surrounded by filth. It is enough to break one's heart. It should not be difficult for you to find a more decent avocation for him to follow."

#### HANDICAP OF FUNDS

The Nawab Saheb of Wai who had seen him earlier in the day had told him that they knew what to do, but that the municipality was too poor and the necessary finances were lacking. He had asked the Nawab Saheb, said Gandhiji, to send him a small note setting forth their handicap. He hoped to be able to show him that what they wanted to do and what needed to be done, need not be held up for lack of funds. After all, the various improvements which he has suggested would not require more than ten lakhs of rupees. He wanted to tell the rich folk who frequented Panchgani that it was up to them to provide that amount. In free and progressive countries, the gentry considered it their special privilege and duty to shoulder the burden of providing municipal amenities and improvements. It was only in India that people looked for every little thing to the Government. They must learn to shed that mendicant habit if, they aspired to become a free and self-respecting nation.

Then they should do something to improve the drainage. For that a suitable scheme would have to be prepared by an engineer. He hoped that the work would be taken up without delay.

Lastly, he hoped that something would be done immediately about the disposal of the night-soil. The present practice was a sin against man and God and its continuation even for a single day should be a matter of utter shame to them. He was sorry to tell them that Dr. Dinshah had reported that even after nearly a fortnight, things were as bad as they were on their arrival in Panchgani.

He hoped that when he came to Panchgani next year God willing, he would find things different. The gulf that separated the rich and the poor today was appalling. It had to be bridged. The rich must share all their amenities with the poor in the fullest measure. Their joining in the prayer-gathering would have gone in vain if it did not help them to realize and do their duty. Such prayer would be vain repetition which could do no good to them, to him or to anybody.

Poona, 30-7-'46

#### II

Gandhiji's stay at Panchgani this year did not extend to more than a fortnight. Even so, it provided welcome relief to his overworked system. The three days' stay at Poona, where he arrived on the 28th July was packed with three conferences—the Deccan Chiefs'

conference and two conferences of the Industries and Educational Ministers respectively, from the various Provinces. An account of the Educational Ministers' conference will be given in the 'Harijan'. This left Uruli only four days.

#### LOKAMANYA TILAK'S ANNIVERSARY

The 25th anniversary of the late Lokamanya's demise which fell on the day Gandhiji reached Uruli, evoked poignant memories. Speaking, after the evening prayer, he recalled how he had gone to attend the Lokamanya's funeral on receiving the sad news over the telephone. The mammoth funeral procession was composed of Mussalmans, and Parsis no less than Hindus. He himself had got caught in the crush and narrowly escaped injury. Those were the days when our atmosphere was not poisoned by communal bitterness. Much water has flown under the bridge since then, but the memory of Lokamanya remains enshrined in the hearts and affection of his countrymen as ever before. The lapse of time has only added to his popularity. He is still with us, though he is physically no more. He has given us the *mantra* that Swaraj is our birthright. That birthright belongs equally to all. Like the Infinite it is inexhaustible. To divide it, is not to take away.

"May be that some questionable things are today being done in the late Lokamanya's name. That is the way of the world. Even divinity is not proof against abuse. The evil, however, remains with the evil-doer. It does not detract from the lustre of divinity.

India was today on the eve of attaining her birthright, Gandhiji went on to say. In his opinion, nature cure was an essential ingredient in the building of Swaraj of his conception. The attaining of true Swaraj presupposed the triple purification of body, mind and soul.

#### NATURE-CURING THIEVES

He could have hardly imagined when he uttered those words, that within twentyfour hours an occasion would arise to put that precept into practice. On the very next day a villager was brought to him with injuries on his body, received at the hands of thieves who had taken away ornaments etc. from his house. There were three ways, Gandhiji told the villagers of Uruli, of dealing with the case. The first was the stereotyped orthodox way of reporting to the police. Very often it only provided the police a further opportunity for corruption and brought no relief to the victim. The second way, which was followed by the general run of the village people, was to passively acquiesce in it. This was reprehensible as it was rooted in cowardice. Crime would flourish, while cowardice remained. What was more, by such acquiescence we ourselves became party to the crime. The third way, which Gandhiji commended, was that of pure Satyagraha. It required that we should regard even thieves and criminals as our brothers and sisters, and crime as a disease of which the latter were the victims and needed to be cured. Instead of bearing ill will towards a thief or a criminal and trying to get him punished they should try to get under his skin, understand the cause that had let him into crime and try to remedy it. They should, for instance, teach him a vocation and provide him with the means to make an honest living and thereby transform his life. They should

realize that a thief or a criminal was not a different being from themselves. Indeed, if they turned the searchlight inward and closely looked into their own souls, they would find that the difference between them was only one of degree. The rich, moneyed man who made his riches by exploitation or other questionable means, was no less guilty of robbery than the thief who picked a pocket or broke into a house and committed theft. Only the former took refuge behind the facade of respectability and escaped the penalty of law. Strictly speaking, remarked Gandhiji, all amassing or hoarding of wealth, above and beyond one's legitimate requirements was theft. There would be no occasion for thefts and therefore, no thieves, if there was a wise regulation of riches and absolute social justice prevailed. In the Swaraj of his conception, there would be no thieves and no criminals, or else it would be Swaraj only in name. The criminal was only an indication of the social malady and since nature cure, as he envisaged it, included the triple cure for body, mind and soul, they must not be satisfied with merely banishing physical illness from Uruli, their work must include the healing of the mind and soul too, so that there would be perfect social peace in their midst.

#### THE WAY OF SATYAGRAHA

If they followed the nature cure way of dealing with the criminal, which, as he had already explained, was the way of Satyagraha, they could not sit still in the face of crime. Only a perfect being could afford to lose himself within himself and withdraw completely from the cares and responsibilities of the world. But who could claim that perfection? "On the high sea a sudden calm is always regarded by experienced pilots and mariners with concern. Absolute calm is not the law of the ocean. It is the same with the ocean of life. More often than not, it portends rough weather. A Satyagrahi would therefore neither retaliate nor would he submit to the criminal, but seek to cure him by curing himself. He will not try to ride two horses at a time, viz. to pretend to follow the law of Satyagraha, while at the same time, seeking police aid. He must forswear the latter, in order to follow the former. If the criminal himself chooses to hand himself over to the police, it would be a different matter. You cannot expect to touch his heart and win his confidence, if at the same time you are prepared to go to the police and inform against him. That would be gross betrayal of trust. A reformer cannot afford to be an informer." And by way of illustration, he mentioned several instances of how he had refused to give information to the police, about persons who had been guilty of violence and came and confessed to him. No police officer could compel a Satyagrahi to give evidence against a person who had confessed to him. A Satyagrahi would never be guilty of a betrayal of trust. He wanted the people of Uruli to adopt the method of Satyagraha, for dealing with crime and criminals. They should contact the criminals in their homes, win their confidence and trust by loving and selfless service, wean them from evil and unclean habits and help to rehabilitate them by teaching them honest ways of living.

Badlapur, 5-8-'46

PYARELAL

# HARIJAN

August 11

1946

## STRIKES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The statement in the daily press that I had approved of the postal strike is not true. One day a postman asked to be allowed to just say 'Vande Mataram' to me. Kanu Gandhi brought him to me. The visitor, however, asked for my blessings for the postmen's strike which had just then commenced. I said to him that if the strike was justified and if they conducted themselves absolutely peacefully, they must succeed. This was no approval of the particular strike. Apart, however, from what I said and apart from the merits of the postmen's strike, I feel that as an expert in successful strikes of an absolutely peaceful nature, I owe it to the conductor of this strike as those of all others and the public to state the conditions of successful strikes.

Obviously there should be no strike which is not justifiable on merits. No unjust strike should succeed. All public sympathy must be withheld from such strikes.

The public has no means of judging the merits of a strike, unless it is backed by impartial persons enjoying public confidence. Interested men cannot judge the merits of their own case. Hence, there must be an arbitration accepted by the parties or a judicial adjudication. As a rule, the matter does not come before the public when there is accepted arbitration or adjudication. Cases have, however, happened when haughty employers have ignored awards or misguided employees, conscious of their power to assert themselves, have done likewise and have decided upon forcible extortion.

Strikes for economic betterment should never have a political end as an ulterior motive. Such a mixture never advances the political end and generally brings trouble upon strikers, even when they do not dislocate public life, as in the case of public utility services, such as the postal strike. The Government may suffer some inconvenience, but will not come to a standstill. Rich persons will put up expensive postal services but the vast mass of the poor people will be deprived during such a strike of a convenience of primary importance to which they have become used for generations. Such strikes can only take place when every other legitimate means has been adopted and failed.

In the present case we have National Provincial Governments. Postmen should consult these Governments before resorting to the extreme step. So far as I am aware, Shri Balasaheb Kher, Shri Mangaldas Pakwasa and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel have intervened. If their advice has been rejected by the men, they have taken a serious and dangerous

step. If all these powerful unions disregard their own Governments and the Working Committee members, they disown the Congress. They have a right to do so, if the Congress sells their interest.

Sympathetic strikes must be taboo until it is conclusively proved that the affected men have exhausted all the legitimate means at their disposal and until the Congress has been proved to have betrayed or neglected their interest or until the Congress has called for sympathetic strikes, in order to secure justice from obdurate and unsympathetic authorities.

One hears of strikes all over the country to paralyse the Government. This paralysis is an extreme political step, open only to a body like the Congress, not even to unions, however powerful they may be. If the Congress is the people's arm *par excellence* for the purpose of winning Independence, paralysing action should be retained solely in the hands of the Congress.

At the present moment, the Congress is engaged in making a success of the proposed Constituent Assembly. There are interminable difficulties in the way. Paralysing strikes must seriously hamper Congress action.

It follows from the foregoing that political strikes must be treated on their own merits and must never be mixed with or related to economic strikes. Political strikes have a definite place in non-violent action. They are never taken up haphazard. They must be open, never led by goondaism. They are calculated never to lead to violence.

Therefore, my humble suggestion to all strikers is to make a frank declaration of submission to arbitration or adjudication, to seek the guidance of the Congress and abide by its advice and for all sympathetic strikers to stop, whilst the Congress is engaged in making the contemplated Constituent Assembly a success and while Provincial National Governments are functioning.

Uruli-Kanchan, 3-8-'46

### Proverbs on the Drink Evil

The following is culled from J. Gilchrist Lawson's *The World's Best Proverbs and Maxims* (Grosset and Dunlap) :

Wine hath drowned more men than the sea—Publius Sirus.

The best cure for drunkenness is while sober to seek a drunken man (Chinese).

When wine is in, wit is out (Italian).

Bacchus kills more than Mars (German).

Drinking water neither makes a man sick nor in debt, nor his wife a widow — John Neale.

Drunkenness is an egg from which all vices are hatched.

Drunkenness is nothing but a voluntary madness — Seneca.

Drunkenness makes some men fools, some beasts and some devils.

Intemperance is the doctor's wet nurse (German).

V. G. D.



## THE MEANING OF NATURE CURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Many persons wish to come to Uruli-Kanchan in order to learn nature cure. I prevent them. The work in this village is being done on behalf of the Trust, of which the three Trustees are Dr. Dinshah Mehta, Shri Jehangir Patel and myself. Dr. Dinshah Mehta is an experienced nature cure physician but his experience has been gained in cities. He used to take in poor people in his clinic in Poona, but he gave them just the same treatment as he gave his rich patients. The nature cure of my conception for the villagers is limited to rendering such aid as can be given to them through what can be procured in the village. For example, I would not need either electricity or ice for them.

Such work can only be for those like me who have become village-minded, whose heart even while they live in a city is in the village. Therefore, the Trustees have given over the work entirely to me. I have begun it but I have no trained personnel. It is another thing that I take help from Dr. Mehta, whenever I need it. I have found a good helper in Dr. Bhagavat whose heart is in the villages and who has adopted the simple life. Even though he is an allopath, he believes whole-heartedly in nature cure. No labour is beneath his dignity or too much for him. He never tires. The others are all new to the work but they are filled with the spirit of service. The work is new to me too. Shri Datar has generously given his house for our use, free of rent, and thus enabled the work to go on. But the house is too small to admit students. So far I myself have not been able to take up my abode permanently in Uruli-Kanchan. I hope, *D. V.* to spend six months in future in the neighbourhood of Poona and six in Sevagram. Therefore, those who are anxious to learn nature cure will understand that in the circumstances, it is quite impossible for them to come to this village.

Now to my conception of nature cure. I have from time to time written a little about it, but as the idea is developing, it will be a good thing to tell something regarding its limitations in Uruli-Kanchan. Human ailments, whether of village or town, are of three kinds, viz. bodily, mental and spiritual. And what applies to one individual applies generally to the other and also to society as a whole.

The majority of the inhabitants of Uruli-Kanchan are business folk. Mangs live on one side of the village, Mahars on another and people of the Kanchan caste on yet another. The name of the village is derived from this last group. There are some gypsies living here too, who are termed criminal tribes under the law. The Mangs earn their living by making ropes etc. They were well off during the war but have now fallen on bad days and are living from hand to mouth. The problem that faces the nature cure doctor is how to deal with the malady of the Mangs, which is by no means an ailment to be ignored. It is really the duty of the businessman in Uruli-Kanchan to stamp out this social disease. No medicines from any dispensary are going to avail in this case and yet it is no less

poisonous a disease than cholera. Some of the tenements of the Mangs are fit only for a bonfire. But burning will not provide them with new dwellings. Where would they put their belongings, where would they seek shelter from rain and cold? These are the difficulties to be overcome and the nature cure physician cannot be blind to them. What can be done for the criminal tribes? They do not deliberately commit crime for the joy of it. They are victims of an age-long tradition and therefore labelled criminals. It becomes the duty of the residents of Uruli-Kanchan to free them from the evil habit. The nature cure man may not neglect this work. Such problems will continually face him. Thus on reflection we can see that the field of work for him is very wide and that it is work for true Swaraj. It can succeed through God's grace, only if all the workers and residents of Uruli-Kanchan are true and determined to reach the goal.

Uruli-Kanchan, 3-8-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following news from South Africa will be of interest to the readers.

Rev. Michael Scott who has thrown in his lot with Indians in their struggle there, has written a note under the caption "Not by Might". It is already published in the dailies. It should make a special appeal to all Europeans. He adds in a personal note:

"The spirit which enshrined you and your movement here, will not be extinguished by the powerful and cunning forces which are now arrayed against it."

An English sister writes from Durban:

"I went along to the camp almost the first day just to give the campers a word of encouragement and was quite impressed by their cheerfulness and general attitude—it was the "real thing" like some of the Indian movements I have seen. Then I went to the court one day too and it seemed as though those on trial (apparently) were really the judges and the officials and the Government were in the dock. If you have seen the statements by some of the leaders, you will see they give the same impression."

"Rev. Michael Scott is a very good man. He is only about 40 years old and wears "shirts" as do many high Anglicans and is addressed as "Father Scott". He reminds me somewhat of C. F. Andrews."

"I am glad to know that Manilal is coming back. He will be a help to the leaders here, though, as a matter of fact, the struggle on the Indian side has been on a very high level up to the present. It is that that has drawn a group of Europeans to support the struggle but the number is not very large yet."

As I have said before, the battle will certainly go to our countrymen if they remain truly non-violent. Non-violence knows no defeat.

Another friend writes:

"You have heard of Mrs. Naidoo's passing. She met with an accident about three months

before her death. During all that time the family could not get my phone number due to some error on the part of the exchange. Mrs. Naidoo wanted to see me but they could not contact me till the day after her death. I loved her. She was a sweet soul, a real friend and had a genius for home-making. There was always a beautiful atmosphere in the Naidoo home and one could drop in at any time, no matter how busy she was and always feel a welcome guest. And what a heroine she was! Think of the anxiety she must have gone through all the time the children were in India. I do hope that there will be a joint memorial to her and Thambe."

Incidentally I must mention that Mrs. Naidoo's husband was one of the first Satyagrahis during the days of our struggle there in my time.

Poona, 31-7-'46

## Notes

### Decentralization

Appasaheb Pant of Aundh State writes :

"The British have forged an adequate instrument in the "Services" to help them maintain themselves in this country. To maintain a sort of peace and order, and, especially a "peace of the grave" that instrument may be adequate.

"But one feels that our growth into a true democracy will be more hampered than helped through the use of this instrument, we shall have to discard all this old machinery and through our own experience, create a new one that will aid us in the formation of an equitable and democratic way of life.

"For this purpose, one feels that the decentralization of administrative power is the first step. Human dignity and self-reliance arise only out of responsibilities shouldered by the people themselves. The habit to look to a central authority to protect us, to give us justice, to feed us, to clothe us, has to be eradicated if true democracy has ever to emerge. Through mistakes and suffering will we learn the value of moral principles in human relationship.

"Centralization of power and authority leads to totalitarianism and human bondage. The test of the Congress in office with this centralized power in hand, lies in devising ways and means to create decentralization which will enable ordinary human beings to manage their affairs themselves and in that process become more human, creative and therefore happy."

Appasaheb writes from experience, having had much to do with the administration of Aundh.

Poona, 30-7-'46

M. K. G.

### True Non-Violence

"During these last few days, in order to rest the brain, I have been reading a Scott novel, 'The Talisman'. Here is a passage from it which will strongly appeal to you :

"The scene is where Richard Coeur-de-Lion is describing to de Vaux how he had been about to put to death with his own hand Sir Kenneth of Scotland for supposed treachery :

'And yet de Vaux! it is strange to see the bearing of the man. Coward or traitor he must

be, yet he abode the threatened blow of Richard Plantagenet, as our arm had been raised to lay knighthood on his shoulder. Had he shown the slightest sign of fear — had but a joint trembled or an eyelid quivered, I had shattered his head like a crystal goblet. But I cannot strike where there is neither fear nor resistance.'

"And it should be added here that neither was there hate. Sir Kenneth was a young and noble warrior second only to King Richard in physical built and strength. He stood penitent before Coeur-de-Lion for a misdeed into which he had been duped, but which honour bound him to accept. Scott describes him waiting for the blow to fall: 'Colourless, but firm as a marble statue, the Scot stood before him (the King), with his bare head' uncovered by any protection, his eyes cast down to the earth, his lips scarcely moving, yet muttering probably in prayer.'

"The three attributes, fearlessness, non-violence and freedom from hate which can overpower the strength and fury, even of a Coeur-de-Lion.

"You have always said, it is not the weapon which is at fault but the warrior who is wanting."

(From Mirabehn's letter)

### Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

[A Brief note on the working of the Trust is given below.]

The Trust has at present 26 Trustees with Gandhiji as the Chairman and Shri A. V. Thakkar as the Secretary.

The Trust has an Executive Committee consisting of 12 members.

The following are the Holding Trustees :

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas

Shri J. R. D. Tata

Shri G. D. Birla

Shri Ambalal Sarabhai

Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai

and Shri Shantikumar N. Morarji.

The Organizing Secretary of the Trust is Shrimati Suchetadevi Kripalani.

The Trust has an Advisory Medical Board as also a Shiksha Samiti.

All work in provinces is carried on by provincial agents who are all women.

The total collection up till now is Rs. 1,28,17,392-10-0

Total expenditure 2,01,866-2-10

As the object of the Trust is the welfare and education of women and children in rural areas only, it has been the policy of the Trust to carry on work in provinces and field centres only through the agency of women workers, so far as possible. Realizing fully well the dearth of trained and qualified women workers who may be ready to go and settle in villages, the Trust has mainly concentrated its attention on the training of women workers on the following lines

Nayi Talim, Improvement of Health Services, Village Industries, Gramaseva etc.

To impart training in the above subjects, Grama Sevika training centres have been opened in the provinces for a period of 6 months or one year. The first all India training camp for provincial instructors was conducted

for a month from the 5th of April to 4th of May, 1945 at Borivli, a suburb of Bombay. 90 trainees from all over the country attended this camp.

Training centres have also been started in the provinces of Bihar, Karnatak-Mysore (joint), Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bengal, U. P., Assam, Punjab, Rajputana, Mahakoshal, Kerala and Tamil Nad, where 15 to 35 trainees in each, are undergoing training in subjects such as domestic science, vegetable gardening, dairying, sanitation, games, Hindustani, Vastra-vijnan (charkha science), dietetics etc.

Besides, 9 women have completed three months' training in Balwadi education (Montessori course), 38 more are receiving Basic Education Teachers' training, a course of three months, and 35 have taken up a medical training course of 15 months.

Those who have already completed their course in gram-seva are expected to open centres for village work in their own districts or talukas. Eight such rural centres have been started in Maharashtra, 8 in Karnatak-Mysore and 26 in Bihar.

In the villages of Delhi, C. P., Tamil Nad and U. P. dispensaries for women and children have been opened and in certain places even maternity homes have been started. Similarly, in the villages of Punjab, Andhra, Orissa, Tamil Nad etc. basic schools have been opened.

## DOCTORS CRITICIZED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. Whether it is not a matter of common experience that the diagnosis by doctors is a very uncertain quantity and varies from time to time in the same case and often from doctor to doctor, and many cases remain undiagnosed, until they recover or die?

2. Assuming that the diagnosis is correct, what useful purpose does it serve, if it cannot be followed by remedial measures which lead to a cure, even on paper. Medical books do not speak with a certain voice on this point. If nature cure alone is to be followed, why is a diagnosis needed at all, considering that it recognizes the unity of disease and not hundreds of diseases which the doctors believe in?

3. Do the doctors make any use of their knowledge of the body in prescribing medical treatment as distinguished from surgical treatment? If not, why should the doctors get credit for having once upon a time, read physiology and anatomy which are soon forgotten for want of use in actual practice? Are not the *vaid*s entitled to equal credit or discredit for studying the physiology and pathology of *tridosha* and not making but a nominal use of it in actual practice?

4. Are not the 'defects' attributed to the *vaid*s, really due to the omission of its duty by the State to provide institutions for research etc.? How can the system be blamed for the fault of the individual or the Government? Even the doctors in private practice, carry out no research and very few of them even read about researches carried on abroad.

5. Does not the constant examination of Mahatmaj's body by the doctors, give them an undue and undeserved prominence in the public

eye and so tend to put into the background the other systems of medicine which also have an equal, if not a greater, claim on Mahatmaj's attention?

These are Shri Brijlal Nehru's questions to which I reply as follows:

1. What the question implies is very true. Nevertheless doctors flourish. This phenomenon should make us all think.

2. My experience is that a correct diagnosis is followed by a remedial measure, answering the diagnosis. It will be wrong to blame medical books because they mention several alternative measures. The complicated human system does not lend itself to one certain remedy. It would be untrue to say that nature cure does not demand any diagnosis. As it believes in unity of disease and unity of care, diagnosis adopted in nature cure is much simpler. Unity of disease and unity of care is a good generalization. No nature cure man blindly applies earth poultices in all cases.

3. It is highly unfair to say that in their practice, doctors make no use of their knowledge of physiology and anatomy. No comparison can be set up between doctors and *vaid*s for they employ wholly dissimilar methods of diagnosis. I am utterly ignorant of the value of the *tridosha* theory.

4. I am unable to subscribe to the condemnation of the State, for not providing institutions for research. I have always blamed the *vaid*s' apathy in the matter of real research. The top ones are busy making money. The others are too ignorant to do so or are easily satisfied with what they find in the orthodox Ayurvedic books. I am sorry for this view. I come to it, in spite of my great regard for the Ayurvedic system and the Yunani which are suited to the soil.

5. I do not think that constant examination by medical friends of my body gives them undue or any prominence. They do not stand in need of any. They were all flourishing before I appeared on the scene. Nor does it tend to put into the background the other systems of medicine. I have friends among *vaid*s and *hakims*. But they do not need elaborate or frequent diagnosis. I submit my body to the diagnosis which is unfortunately advertised but I do not submit it to the treatment by drugs. The treatment is principally confined to the use of the five agencies of nature, diet changes and massage.

My love of nature cure and of indigenous systems does not blind me to the advance that Western medicine has made in spite of the fact that I have stigmatized it as black magic. I have used the harsh term and I do not withdraw it, because of the fact, that it has countenanced vivisection and all the awfulness it means and because it will stop at no practice, however bad it may be, if it prolongs the life of the body and because it ignores the immortal soul which resides in the body. I cling to nature cure in spite of its great limitations and in spite of the lazy pretensions of nature curists. Above all, in nature cure, everybody can be his or her own doctor, not so in the various systems of medicine.

Uruli Kanchan, 4-8-'46

## LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

[The following is the text of Gandhiji's letter dated 2nd August, 1946, to H. E. Jose Bossa, Governor General of Portuguese India, in reply to his letter of the 18th July 1946, which has already appeared in the Press.]

Dear Friend,

It was kind of you to write to me in reply to what I had written in 'Harijan' about Goa affairs. I suppose you know that I have visited Mossambique, Delagoa and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purposes. Indeed, I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves. Nor does the history of the Portuguese Settlement in India prove the claim set forth by you. Indeed, what I see and know of the condition of things in Goa, is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof, not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.

Every account, received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India, confirms the contrary view. I suppose, the report of the sentence by your Court Martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far off Portuguese Settlement, is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact, that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile?

Though the politics of Dr. Lohia probably differ from mine, he has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for Independence, until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect. He has lighted a torch which the inhabitants of Goa cannot, except at their peril, allow to be extinguished. Both you and the inhabitants of Goa should feel thankful to the Doctor for lighting that torch. Therefore, your description of him as "stranger" would excite laughter, if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers, whether they come as philanthropists or as Governors exploiting the so-called weaker races of the earth.

You have talked of the abolition of caste distinctions. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more terrible than the system "caste" has been added by the Portuguese rulers.

I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself whole-heartedly for civil liberty and if

possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own government, and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such Government.

Yours etc.

M. K. Gandhi

[P. S. Since your letter was sent to the Press, I am publishing this in 'Harijan'. M. K. G.]

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### NATURE CURE AND MODERN TREATMENT

Q. Is there any room in your nature cure

1. for instruments such as the microscope, X-rays and others for purposes of diagnosis?

2. for the use of medicines which have been proved to be 75 per cent successful in the treatment of specific diseases as, for example, Quinine in malaria, emetin in dysentery, penicillin in pneumonia?

3. for instruction to people in the science of personal cleanliness, hygiene and sanitation, and the prevention of disease?

A. My nature cure is designed solely for villagers and villages. Therefore, there is no place in it for the microscope, X-rays and similar things. Nor is there room in nature cure for medicines, such as quinine, emetin and penicillin. Personal hygiene and healthy living are of primary importance. And these should suffice. If everyone could achieve perfection in this art, there could be no disease. And, while obeying all the laws of nature in order to cure illness, if it does come, the sovereign remedy ever lies in *Ramanama*. But this cure through *Ramanama* cannot become universal in the twinkling of an eye. To carry conviction to the patient, the physician has to be a living embodiment of the power of *Ramanama*. Meantime, all that can possibly be had from the five agencies of nature must be taken and used. They are earth, water, ether, fire and wind. This, to my mind, is the limit of nature cure. Therefore, my experiment in Uruli Kanchan consists in teaching the villagers, how to live clean and healthy lives and in trying to cure the sick through the proper use of the five agencies. If necessary, curative herbs that grow locally, may be used. Wholesome and balanced diet is, of course, an indispensable part of nature cure.

Uruli Kanchan, 2-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## HE LIVES

(By Sarojini Naidu)

On the eve of Mahadev Desai's fourth death-anniversary, my heart and mind are besieged by both pleasant and poignant recollections of the gifted and beloved being whose friendship was a privilege and whose comradeship a delight.

He was only twentyfive when Mahadev with the whole world before him, felt the magic call of the Mahatma's voice. I saw him when he first came bringing all the gold, frankincense and myrrh of his splendid youth and ideals, his rare literary talent and scholarship, his fervent patriotism, to lay at the feet of his great Master whom he served for twentyfive years with flawless devotion and fidelity.

How varied were his functions and duties in the course of his love discipleship to the Mahatma!

Innumerable pictures of Mahadev pass before my eyes in a swift pageant of memory: Mahadev as the leading inmate of Gandhiji's Ashram at Sabarmati, Wardha, Sevagram; Mahadev in laughing mood, the genial centre of an admiring circle, revelling in his lively wit and subtle humour; Mahadev with bent brows at his literary labours, translating beautiful thoughts, his own or his Guru's, into beautiful language; Mahadev in a gray shawl climbing the Viceregal steps in Delhi charged with a delicate political mission; Mahadev in London accompanying the Mahatma to the royal reception at the Buckingham Palace, a picturesque figure in his dazzling white Khadi; Mahadev with sweet and patient courtesy interpreting to groups of foreign pilgrims from Europe and America, the Near and the Far East, the lovely gospel of his Master whose inmost spirit he reflected as in a crystal mirror.

Most moving and enduring of all memories is the manner of his passing and the hours that followed his tragic end. Since the day of our arrests on the historic ninth of August and our removal to the Aga Khan Palace in Poona which was our prison, he seemed to be burdened and harassed by a prescient fear. The Mahatma's oft-repeated intention of a fast unto death might suddenly materialize in detention. On the night of the 14th August when all was still in our prison palace, Mahadev sat in my room till late talking with a strange sense of urgency as if time were limited. His conversation was a kind of brief and candid autobiographical review of his life, his experiences of his dearly cherished wife and son, but his main theme of course, was Mahatma Gandhi who to

him was the living symbol of the deity. He seemed to be haunted by a curious and pressing sense of fatality that night. On the next morning he seemed to be miraculously restored to a buoyant sense of hope. He walked in the garden with Gandhiji and when he returned to the house he said to me: "I don't know why I am so happy today." Shortly after he came to my room with a jest on his lips to meet the doctor who had asked for him. In a few minutes still smiling, he said, "My head is reeling", and almost before we were aware of it, suddenly he passed away, beyond response to the voices that cried to him to wake up and speak.

How can my pen find words of sufficient grace or tenderness to describe the last ceremony and rites which were performed by the stricken Master for his most beloved disciple. With trembling hands Gandhiji washed the marble-cold body unaided, anointed it with sandal paste and decorated it with flowers whispering, "Mahadev, I thought you would do this for me. Now I have to do it for you . . ." In the golden August afternoon of the 15th a mournful little procession followed Mahadev's bier to the improvised burning ground in a corner of the palace grounds . . . What at dawn had been a living flame became at sunset a pyramid of smouldering silver-gray ashes, soon to be scattered on the breast of a nearby sacred river.

Mahadev has vanished from our sight, but is Mahadev dead in reality? Does he not live in the love of his Master and the heart of the country which he served with such rich sacrifice and achievement?

12-8-'46

## IN MEMORIAM

(By C. R.)

It is now four years since the passing away of dear Mahadev Desai. Yet we have not been able to overcome the grief or the loss. Gandhiji is an essential figure in our life today, and we feel he has been maimed in an important limb. There is not a day that we pass through but something acutely reminds us of Mahadev's not being with us. He was one of those men whom no one could hope to replace. But in many cases, we are able to forget the dead through being absorbed in what others are doing. But in Mahadev's case, his service to the public through his devoted service to Gandhiji, was of that essential character, which does not admit of any kind of replacement.

12-8-'46



## WEEKLY LETTER

"You have called mine a negative attitude," remarked a friend to Gandhiji. "But I am quite clear in my own mind. I do not mind the Congress High Command carrying on negotiations with the Cabinet Mission. But suppose the negotiations fail. What then? The British Government is prepared with its plan of action in that case. But we are not. It is my belief that we shall have to go through another struggle before freedom can be won. I find that you have a revolutionary mentality. I do not like *himsa* anymore than you. It is bad. My goal is the same as yours. Show a sure non-violent way of achieving our goal of Independence within a definite period and I shall most willingly follow you. In a way I do believe in *ahimsa*. A repetition of the 1932-37 pattern of struggle won't do. The leaders are put behind the bars at the very commencement of the struggle and then all contact between them and the masses ceases. It is not fair that we should sit in jails in comparative comfort and safety and expect the people to face the fire. The leaders should bear the brunt. Let there be, say, a hundred people with your name on the top followed by those of other front-rank Congress leaders to start a chain fast unto death, after giving due notice to the Government and, I am sure, before the list is exhausted India will be free." The interviewer added that he himself would in that event, be prepared to abandon his own programme and join the fast. His complaint was that no top-ranking Congressman with the exception of Jairamdas Daulatram had yet received a bullet, although perhaps hundreds had died in recent years of bullets and lathi charges at the hands of the police and the military.

Taking the last point first, Gandhiji replied: "If and when the call comes to fast unto death, I will do so irrespective of others joining or not. Fasting unto death is the last and the most potent weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha. It is a sacred thing. But it must be accepted with all its implications. It is not the fast itself but what it implies that matters. Have not even hypocrites been known to make a pretence of fasting? Such fasts are a plague and a nuisance. They do not count. If I fast and you can send a hundred or even ten men who would undertake it with a pure heart, I shall be happy. But such a fast should not be undertaken inside the prison."

"What I mean is that mere jail-going is not enough. People should remain outside and face repression. Nine young boys faced the bullets and died before the Secretariat at Patna. Think how it would have electrified the masses, if it had been Rajendra Babu instead of these poor boys," resumed the interviewer.

"I agree with you there. I have said before that merely filling the prisons is not enough. It is only the jail-going of the pure in heart that can bring Swaraj. In fact in 1922, my instructions were that no one was to follow me in jail and that all should spin and carry out in full the constructive programme. The eighteen-fold constructive programme, if carried out in its entirety will, in my opinion, render civil disobedience unnecessary. The people of Bardoli in 1922 solemnly promised to carry out the constructive programme, to banish untouchability and liquor from their midst and to make

Khadi universal to the exclusion of mill cloth imported or Indian. They have failed to fulfil their pledge up till now."

"You say jail-going does not end the fight," proceeded the arguer. "We wanted to agitate for the abolition of the classification of political prisoners by the upper class prisoners voluntarily reducing themselves to 'C' class by refusing to accept privileged treatment. But some said that it was against your ideology. You wanted people to remain in the class in which they were placed."

"That is hardly correct," replied Gandhiji. "In fact I do not want even the distinction between the political and non-political prisoners. I stand for fair and humane treatment of all prisoners. But mine has been a lonely voice. Even when power was in our hands, we failed to abolish classification. I am the originator of jail-going as part of Satyagraha. My jail-going was born out of *ahimsa* and *ahimsa* and privilege go ill together. I have fought the Government from inside the jail. As it is, today all sorts of people go to jail. Inside the jail, they behave anyhow, even apologize and come out. Jail-going has become a farce."

## THE STRIKE FEVER

"What should be done about the strikes?" The Premier of one of the Congress Provinces was discussing the present strike fever with Gandhiji the other day. He lamented the unwarranted prolongation of a particular strike.

"Does it mean that the Congress has lost its hold on the people?" asked Gandhiji.

"No, but the Congress has not spoken with one voice and that has created confusion in the public mind."

"If the strike is unjustified on merits, it should be unequivocally denounced," suggested Gandhiji.

"By whom?"

"By the Congress, of course."

"What do you mean by the Congress?" asked the friend. "The Working Committee might have. It has not."

"By Congress, I mean the 400 millions of India speaking through the Working Committee," replied Gandhiji.

A militant suffragette who happened to be present here joined in: "But the Working Committee no longer speaks with one voice, thanks to your choice which you have imposed upon the country. You have stifled democracy," she remarked.

Gandhiji explained that the present Working Committee was not his choice but that of the Congress President who had been democratically elected. His part consisted mainly in persuading the Congress President to exercise his choice unfettered by consideration of personalities or the old tradition. The present Working Committee could not stay there for a day if it did not reflect the mind of democracy. The only condition was that democracy should be wide awake and functioning. As an illustration, he mentioned the case of Mr. Churchill who, in spite of his unique victories and achievements, had been set aside by the British people the moment, he ceased to reflect the nation's mind. "The return of labour to power in such overwhelming strength is a great event in the history

of political democracy. It has a lesson which we would do well to take to heart," he said.

Another in the company suggested that some sinister influence was at the back of the present strike fever. The motive was not economic but political. What was the remedy?

"You should reason with the strikers," replied Gandhiji, "warn them of the danger and resign if they or the people at large do not listen to you."

"But we owe a responsibility to the country. Shall we be justified in abandoning the country to sinister influences, who in fact want the Congress to go out of office and want to create chaos?" persisted the friend.

"That is the only way in which democracy can function," replied Gandhiji. "It will educate the people. Sinister influences will not flourish if popular support is not lacking. Once the people realize that the Congress won't carry on its rule by force, they will cease to act thoughtlessly or in an irresponsible manner and the sinister influence will be sterilized."

#### OH! FOR SOME RESPIRE

"It is to be seen what Sevagram does for me," exclaimed Gandhiji, with a sigh when I saw him last at Uruli, groaning under the burden he was carrying. "It is, however, not the burden that matters," he added, "but absence of detachment. I have not yet learnt sufficiently to leave things to God. But that must not become an additional cause for worry, if one has a living faith in God." Thanks to the Working Committee meeting, there is an unusual influx of visitors in the Ashram at all hours of the day. They surround his hut and have forced him to put up curtains in front of his doors in order to escape their eager attention. He took advantage of their presence at the evening prayer on the day of his arrival, to drive home a lesson. The day's sacrificial spinning by the Ashram inmates is recorded after the evening prayer as part of the daily routine. "If I ask you how many of you spin, I am afraid, very few hands will go up," he remarked addressing the visitors. "You have just heard the Ashram inmates giving an account of the day's spinning at the end of the prayers. The reason is that spinning has become a part and parcel of the Ashram prayer. The conception of spinning as sacrifice has been linked with the idea of God, the reason being that we believe that in the charkha and what it stands for, lies the only hope of salvation of the poor." He had come to realize that it was difficult to earn one's livelihood through the charkha, but the villagers could easily spin for their own clothes. Because they had not realized the self-help principle in the matter of clothing, they showed a deplorable lack of it in other things too. It stultified even agriculture, so that they suffered destitution in the midst of plenty. "We have plenty of fertile land where we can grow fruits, vegetables and other foodstuffs. But we do not make full use of our opportunity. Instead of eating fresh, whole foods, we eat them denatured. We grow cereals and eat them after converting them practically into dust. God has given us everything we need and He has endowed us with intellect and the use of two hands. We could raise our food, grow cotton and prepare our own clothes, rear cattle and supply milk to our children. Yet we go hungry and naked. Our children

are ill-fed and undernourished. Could there be anything more tragic?"

He compared the cities with the villages. The villages could subsist by themselves in regard to all the necessities of life. Not so the cities. They could neither grow their own food, nor produce cotton for cloth, nor keep cattle without the help and co-operation of the villages. And yet he knew of no village in India which was today self-sufficient. Sevagram should have been such a village. But it was still far from it. Our villagers were lazy and lethargic and killed time by gambling etc. If they tried to leave the wheel and concentrate on land exclusively, he warned them, they would soon find that it was not practicable. On the contrary, resuscitation of the wheel would help to revitalize agriculture by making them shed their inertia and apathy.

Referring to the unthinking admiration of the visitors who had literally laid siege to his hut the whole day, he described how it had driven him to desperation almost. He was sick of it. It could do no good either to him or to them. True admiration consisted in carrying out the wishes of the person one admired, not merely staring at him and thus wasting his time and one's own.

#### A CRUCIAL DECISION

A big step in educational reform was taken the other day when Shri Sriman Narayan Agarwal, the Principal and the Management of the Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha, decided to make Marathi the medium of instruction in their college. To formally inaugurate the change, a function was held on the 9th instant, when several distinguished visitors, including the Prime Minister of C. P. with several of his colleagues and the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University attended. The occasion was marked by an influx into Wardha of nearly ten thousand visitors from outside who threatened to throw the entire rationing system of the place out of gear. Originally the function was to have been held in the College Hall in the afternoon, when Gandhiji was to have addressed them. But the crowd was so undisciplined and unmanageable that the attempt had to be given up and Gandhiji addressed the gathering later at 6 p. m. in the open air. The idea was to combine the function with the public evening prayer.

Shri Ravishankar Shukla describing the etiology of the reform revealed how the Congress Ministry before it resigned office in 1940, had appointed a committee to go into the question of imparting university education through the mother tongue. The Committee had reported favourably. But in the meantime the Congress having gone out of office, its report was pigeon-holed by the Sec. 93 administration. It was only on the return of the Congress Ministry to office that it was unearthed. The Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, in the course of his remarks significantly remarked that by 1949 it might be possible to make the mother tongue the medium of the entire university education in C. P.

#### FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM

Giving a severe castigation to the unruly crowd that had indulged in window smashing and would have smashed in the roof too if they could, in the afternoon, Gandhiji remarked that it augured ill for the Independence to come. The Working Committee

which was holding its meeting in their city was considering how to win Independence for the people of India in the shortest time. It was not labouring for a change of masters. If the masses wanted to enjoy Independence, they had first to learn the secret of observing voluntary discipline. Otherwise discipline would have to be imposed upon them by the powers that be. That would not be Independence but its negation. Every people got the Government they deserved. If they indulged in hooliganism, so would the Government and its officials in the name of law and order. The result would not be freedom or Independence but a balancing of anarchies, each trying to keep the other in check. Voluntary discipline was the first requisite of corporate freedom. If the people were well-behaved, the Government officials would become their true servants. Otherwise they would ride on their necks, not without a semblance of justification. During the Boer War he had seen thousands of soldiers perform a noiseless march through a dense, topical jungle in the middle of the night, in pitch darkness for not even a match-stick was to be struck to light a cigarette, lest it should betray their movements to the enemy. The whole troop formation moved like one man in perfect silence and harmony. The need for discipline for a nation on its march towards Independence was infinitely greater. Without it, *Ramarajya* which meant the kingdom of God on earth would remain an empty dream.

The Principal and the Management of the Seksaria College had taken a big step in deciding to make the mother tongue the medium of instruction in their college. But the reform would be still-born if they were lazy or if the public did not co-operate.

A fear had been expressed, observed Gandhiji, that the propagation of *Rashtrabhasha* or the national tongue would prove inimical to the provincial languages. That fear was rooted in ignorance. The present step of the Seksaria College was a living refutation of that suspicion. Provincial tongues provided the sure foundation on which the edifice of the national tongue should rest. The two were intended to complement, not supplant each other.

He deprecated the suggestion that it would need a lot of research and preparation to enable them to impart technical education through the medium of the mother tongue. Those who argued like that, were unaware of the rich treasure of expressions and idioms that were buried in the dialects of our villages. In Gandhiji's opinion there was no need to go to Sanskrit or Persian in search for many expressions. He had been in Champaran and he had found that the village folk there, could fully express themselves with ease and without the help of a single foreign expression or idiom. As an illustration of their resourcefulness, he mentioned the word *hava gadi* which they had coined to denote a motor car. He challenged university scholars to coin a more poetic expression than that for a motor car.

One of the speakers had remarked that the reform would mean a saving of at least three years to the alumni of the college. But Gandhiji was of opinion that the saving in time and labour would be even greater. 'Moreover,' he added, 'what they learnt

through the mother tongue, they would easily be able to communicate to their mothers and sisters at home and thereby bring the latter into line with themselves. Woman had been described as man's better half. Today there was a hiatus between the thought world of men and women respectively in India, thanks to the intrusion of the foreign medium. Our womenfolk were backward and ignorant with the result that India was today like a patient with paralysis of the better side. India could not realize her full stature unless that handicap was removed.'

Sevagram,  
11-8-'46

PYARELAL

## HANDLING MILK IN ENGLAND

The average Britisher lives up to the age of 60 as against less than 30, which is the average expectation of life in India. Infant mortality in Britain is about 50 per thousand as against over 150 in India. The death rate in Britain is about 12 as against over 24 in India. There are several factors, which contribute to this difference, one of these being that Britain is better fed than India. And no wonder, for the pre-war income per head in Britain was £100 or say 1300 Rs. as against 65 Rs. in India, i. e. over 20 times as much. The daily consumption of milk per head in Britain was 39 oz. as against 7 oz. in India, and increased during the war by 28 p. c. Not only is the quantity of milk consumed in Britain greater than in India, but in Britain they handle it with care, while we in India are slovenly and negligent. The following passage from E. J. S. Lay's *Citizenship* (MacMillan) describes the elaborate precautions taken at a convalescent home in England:

"The cows on coming in to be milked pass from the field to a firm platform of concrete, where they cannot be splashed with dirt. They enter the 'milking byre' by a door other than that through which the pails of milk will later be carried, and this door is so placed that the cows never cross any place, over which milk has to be transported. The byre is scrupulously clean with hard floors and walls and large windows above and at the sides. Each cow is carefully washed before milking begins, and a flow of clean water runs in the gutters of the byre. The milkman wears special clean clothes and takes almost as much care to be clean-handed for his task, as a hospital nurse. He milks into a pail with a curved top, into which no dirt or dust can fall.

"This pail of milk is now carried across a yard which cows never enter. It is poured into a large receptacle which stands high up on the wall of the byre and is reached by a short ladder. Thence it flows through a number of layers of close filtering material and passes by a pipe (which is sterilized after each period of use) to the interior of the dairy where it drips over a refrigerator and is received by way of another strainer into a large 'can. It is now ready to be taken across to the home."

V. G. D.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### THE CENTRAL POINT MISSED

The following questions have been given by a British Military Officer who read with great interest the article in the 'Harijan' of July 28, 1946, on 'Independence'. The Officer is a military engineer, widely travelled in America and Europe, and has seen with his own eyes the horrors of the war in Germany.

Q. 1. In this ideal State (there is no doubt that it is ideal) how can one be sure that outside aggression can be avoided? If the State has no modern army with modern weapons which are the product of the machine age, an invading army with modern weapons could overrun the country and subject the inhabitants to slavery.

A. The questioner, who claims to have read and re-read my article carefully and says he has liked it and is a military man, has evidently missed the central point of my article, viz. that however small a nation or even a group may be, it is able, even as the individual, provided that it has one mind as also the will and the grit to defend its honour and self-respect against a whole world in arms. Therein consists the matchless strength and beauty of the unarmed. That is non-violent defence which neither knows nor accepts defeat at any stage. Therefore, a nation or a group which has made non-violence its final policy, cannot be subjected to slavery even by the atom bomb.

### WHY IN WANT OF FOOD?

Q. 2. India at the present time cannot grow enough food for its population. To buy food from abroad, India must sell other goods to pay for it, and in order to sell such goods, India must produce at competitive prices which, in my opinion, cannot be done without modern machines. How can this be done, unless the machine replaces manual labour?

A. The statement in the first sentence of the question is wholly wrong. I hold, in spite of opinions expressed to the contrary, that India is able at the present moment to grow enough food. I have previously stated the condition for growing enough food, viz. that the Government at the head should be National and a Government that knows its business and is capable of dealing sternly with all profiteering, black-marketing and, worst of all, laziness of mind and body.

The second part of the question really falls to the ground if my answer to the first is correct. But for the sake of dismissing the plea on behalf of modern machines as against human labour of which there is plenty in a land like India, I would say that if all the able-bodied millions work with one mind and with zeal, they could compete on their own terms with any nation, however well-equipped it may be with modern machines. The questioner should not forget that modern machines have up till now gone side by side with the exploitation of the machineless nations, dubbed weak. I use the participle 'dubbed' because they will refuse to be weak, immediately they realize the fact that they are even at the present moment

stronger than the nation equipped with the most modern weapons and machinery.

### SWARAJ THROUGH SPINNING

A Congressman writes:

Q. "You will perhaps agree that in spite of considerable publicity spinning and weaving have not yet found favour with the public to the extent to which they should have done. I think if every Congress Committee—at least those of the big cities—starts a sort of coaching class for the public for this purpose, it can do immense good. Many people—particularly the poor—do not take to spinning because they do not know spinning and weaving, what type of wheels are more convenient to use and give greater output, how these are properly operated upon, how best they should dispose of or utilize the yarn thus produced etc. If once or twice a week, some such classes are undertaken after proper publicity, and people are instructed in this technique by practical demonstrations, things should improve much. At least the experiment is worth a trial by the Congress. Even if regular classes are not held but a group or groups of experts of this technique undertake a tour and give demonstrations and instructions to the public for some days in each city, it can serve the purpose to a considerable extent."

Questions like the above often come to me from Congressmen. Since this is exhaustive, I reproduce it as it is. The signature is undecipherable. Therefore, I am unable to say to which province the questioner belongs. Surely it would have been appropriate if the writer had been good enough to frame his letter in Hindustani. The vast mass of Congressmen who are not on the Congress register but who are more Congressmen than the registered ones, do not know English and those who do, care less for spinning than for being on the Congress register, for reasons they know and which I need not specify. There is, however, a great deal in what the writer says. If all Congress offices became institutions for teaching the art of spinning from the anterior and posterior processes right up to the manufacture of khadi, I am quite clear that the face of the villages would be changed and Swaraj would be ushered in through the effort of the masses. I have shown in these columns, how it will be ushered in. These lines are written to emphasize the point made by the correspondent.

Sevagram, 8-8-'46

### How to Think of God

A correspondent writes:

"You say that the rule should be that during prayers, everyone should sit with closed eyes and think of nothing but God. The question arises as to how and in what form we have to think of God?"

True meditation consists in closing the eyes and ears of the mind to all else, except the object of one's devotion. Hence the closing of eyes during prayers is an aid to such concentration. Man's conception of God is naturally limited. Each one has, therefore, to think of Him as best appeals to him, provided that the conception is pure and uplifting.

Sevagram, 10-8-'46

M. K. G.

## A KHADI LOVER'S COMPLAINT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Gujarati Khadi lover living in South India writes as follows:

"In the Khadi Bhandar here, it is hard to get cotton, spindles, charkhas and their accessories. I have up till now been carrying on with my own cotton. The slivers from cotton bought here were not at all good. I discovered it was of poor quality after I had bought it. I found hand-carding (*tunai*) of it difficult and could not get anyone here to teach me either.

"I have just given my full quota of self-spun and self-carded yarn for 1946 to be woven into cloth. At first one could procure coupons for self-spun yarn and buy a certain amount of Khadi with it. The yarn given in is to be woven into *saris* and *dhotis*. How are we to buy cloth for our other requirements of underwear, sheets, towels etc.? I went to the Bhandar recently and they demanded the same number of hanks as the amount of rupees the cloth was worth. In addition I was told I had to be a member of the Bhandar. I spend 2 to 2½ hours daily in carding and spinning. If I can spare any more time, I devote it also to this work. But, in spite of all my labour, I shall never be able to produce enough yarn for my requirements. What am I to do? The fact that I am un-acquainted with the language is another difficulty. It would be easier if all the rules regarding Khadi were written up in Hindustani. Moreover, it seems impossible to get anything done without outside influence. Is one to call it one's misfortune or part of our nature? One needs some backing even to buy a spindle, to say nothing about a charkha. If the Charkha Sangh people themselves do not realize what difficulties one has to face in the matter of buying even small requirements, to whom can one turn for help?

"I spoke about this to a well-known Gujarati friend here. He got enraged. 'Gandhiji has constituted himself Viceroy. Why then should he listen to anyone? He does whatever comes into his head. Let him do so. We shall get Khadi from wherever we can and, what is more, we shall encourage uncertified Khadi. As for Pyarelalji, he only puts up to Gandhiji what he chooses and throws the rest into the waste paper basket.'"

The above angry criticism about my post does not need any comment, beyond saying that every worth-while letter is put up before me and that, if I were to be acquainted with or read every letter that comes, the whole of my time would be spent on the post and I would be rendered useless for my real work. But what has been said about Khadi demands consideration. That Sales Bhandars may disappear under the new scheme, only means that they should be converted into schools for teaching all the processes of Khadi. Therefore, cotton, charkhas, spindles and all other accessories of spinning, carding and ginning should certainly be available there. Above all the Khadi worker should be polite and obliging at all times. If he is not, it will mean the end of Khadi and it will be

a tragedy if Khadi workers themselves were to be the cause of its death.

The criticism in the letter under reference can only be applicable to one or two Bhandars. This note is, therefore, only meant for those to whom it does apply. All such should early set their house in order.

Khadi wearers who spin regularly and give in their self-spun yarn for being woven into cloth should be, as they are, entitled to purchase against cash the amount of Khadi which, according to the A. I. S. A. rules, their above-mentioned yarn permits them to buy.

Sevagram, 6-8-'46 (From *Harijanbandhu*)

## RAMANAMA AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend sends me a letter received by him for an answer. The letter is long. I have only copied here the relevant part:

"India is in his blood, but why should he cause resentment among his countrymen who are not of his religious faith, by holding daily prayer meetings and chanting *Ramanama* (meaning the name of Rama, the Hindu God)? He should realize that India is full of manifold faiths and most of the conservatives are apt to mistake him (and this is one of the pleas of the Muslim League), if he openly goes on talking in the name of the Hindu Gods. One of his pet terms is the establishment of *Rama-Rajya* (the rule of Rama). What would a devout Muslim feel about this?"

I must repeat for the thousandth time that *Ramanama* is one of the many names for God. The same prayer meetings have recitations from the Quran and the Zend Avesta. Devout Muslims, for the very reason that they are devout, have never objected to the chant of *Ramanama*. *Ramanama* is not an idle chant. It is conceived as a mode of addressing the all pervasive God known to me, as to millions of Hindus, by the familiar name of *Ramanama*. 'Nama' at the end of Rama is the most significant part. It means the 'nama' without the Rama of history. Be that as it may, why should an open profession by me of my faith offend anybody, much less the Muslim League? No one is obliged to join these meetings and having joined is not obliged to take part in the chant. All that the visitors are expected to do is not to mar the harmony of the meeting and to tolerate the proceedings even when they are not in sympathy with any part.

As to the use of the phrase '*Rama-Rajya*,' why should it offend after my having defined its meaning many times? It is a convenient and expressive phrase, the meaning of which no alternative can so fully express to millions. When I visit the Frontier Province or address predominantly Muslim audiences I would express my meaning to them by calling it Khudai Raj, while to a Christian audience I would describe it as the Kingdom of God on earth. Any other mode would, for me, be self-suppression and hypocrisy.

Sevagram, 8-8-'46



## WHAT A CHILD CAN TEACH US

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is a little girl of five years of age in Madras named Aruna who, when I was there in January last, saw me spin and thereafter was seized with the desire to practise it. She is born in a home which has the khadi atmosphere. Her parents are not such as to force their child to do things. They are content to let her imbibe what she can, from the atmosphere surrounding her. When the child herself expressed a desire to practise spinning, they gladly gave her every encouragement. The result was that Aruna was able to produce one sliver after one day's labour and when she saw me spinning that sliver of her creation, her joy knew no bounds. I explained to her the defects in her first sliver and in order to remove these, her parents gave her every help. Since then the child has been making good slivers and spinning regularly. Thus this little one learnt two lessons at the same time, viz. to clean and card the cotton and make slivers and also to give to others the produce of her labour. Children often take money from their parents to give presents to others. Then the merit really accrues to the parents. It is a very different thing when the child gives out of the labour of its own hands in whatever form that be. And is that not the truest form of gift?

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## IS GOD A PERSON OR FORCE ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend from Baroda writes in English:

"You ask us to pray to God to give light to the Whites in South Africa and strength and courage to the Indians there to remain steadfast to the end. A prayer of this nature can only be addressed to a person. If God is an all-pervading and all-powerful force, what is the point of praying to Him? He goes on with his work whatever happens."

I have written on this topic before. But as it is a question that crops up again and again in different languages, further elucidation is likely to help someone or the other. In my opinion, Rama, Rahaman, Ahurmazda, God or Krishna are all attempts on the part of man to name that invincible force which is the greatest of all forces. It is inherent in man, imperfect though he be, ceaselessly to strive after perfection. In the attempt he falls into reverie. And, just as a child tries to stand, falls down again and again and ultimately learns how to walk, even so man, with all his intelligence, is a mere infant as compared to the infinite and ageless God. This may appear to be an exaggeration but is not. Man can only describe God in his own poor language. The power we call God defies description. Nor does that power stand in need of any human effort to describe Him. It is man who requires the means whereby he can describe that Power which is vaster than the ocean. If this premise is accepted, there is no need to ask why we pray. Man can only conceive God within the limitations of his

own mind. If God is vast and boundless as the ocean, how can a tiny drop like man imagine what He is? He can only experience what the ocean is like, if he falls into and is merged in it. This realization is beyond description. In Madame Blavatsky's language man, in praying, worships his own glorified self. He can truly pray, who has the conviction that God is within him. He who has not, need not pray. God will not be offended, but I can say from experience that he who does not pray is certainly a loser. What matters then whether one man worships God as Person and another as Force? Both do right according to their lights. None knows and perhaps never will know what is the absolutely proper way to pray. The ideal must always remain the ideal. One need only remember that God is the Force among all the forces. All other forces are material. But God is the vital force or spirit which is all-pervading, all-embracing and therefore beyond human ken.

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## WHAT A FAST CAN SAVE

Indonesia has promised us 50,000 tons of rice  
 =  $2,240 \times \frac{1}{2}$  lakh lbs.  
 = 1,120 lakh lbs.  
 = 112 million lbs.

This is enough to feed 112 million adults for one day at the rate of 1 lb. per head.

Therefore, if 112 million adults fast one day, the result is the same as though we got 50,000 tons of rice from Indonesia.

Suggestion :

All adults, except the very aged, invalids and manual labourers should miss the evening meal on Saturdays.

There are 240 million adults in India, of whom 80 million are manual workers.

Therefore, if the average saving by an adult missing a Saturday evening meal is 8 oz., the total possible saving by all adults (except manual workers) missing 26 meals on 26 Saturdays during the remainder of the year would be 2080 million lbs. of cereals = 0.92 million tons of cereals.

This would remove the anticipated food deficiency. All parties, all Governments and all individuals, papers, etc. should make a drive for the observance of the Saturday evening fast. The sharing by the Indian population of the starvation which is descending on parts of the country will mean in fact sharing of food.

Thus that starvation can be staved off. Besides, those who observe the fast, will in most cases gain in health.

Even if the drive achieves only a 10% success, the grain saved would be 92,000 tons—substantially more than the quantity promised from Indonesia. These 92,000 tons would have been obtained at no cost to the nation, and would represent (on the other hand) saving not only in food but in expenditure by individual families.

(From the *Daily Mail Bag*)

# HARIJAN

August 18

1946

MAHADEV DESAI

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

It is difficult to write about one who was a dear friend and comrade and with whom are associated so many intimate memories. As I think of him, those memories revive and the past rises up bringing a procession of pictures of days gone by.

There are so many things we take for granted, even friends. Mahadev had become some kind of an institution for many of us. Quiet, able, efficient, hard-working, forgetful of self, utterly devoted, the more one knew him, the more he grew in one's estimation and liking. For nearly a quarter of a century, we knew each other and often we worked together at common tasks. What he did, he did well and thoroughly. He had the scholar's outlook and at the same time the human touch which endears. So our affection and admiration for him grew, and when suddenly he was no more, there was a gulf and a vacuum and a feeling of desolation seized us. For one who formed so much a part of our lives and our work was no more, a dear comrade had gone and there was no one to take his place.

Yet his memory endures and cheers and strengthens us for the days of trial are not over and the future is full of difficulty. How one wishes that Mahadev was with us now with his wise and friendly counsel.

Wardha, 10-8-'46

## HIS LAST ARTICLE

[This is the last article written by Mahadevbhai in the Aga Khan Palace referred to in "Mahadev Desai—The Last Phase," P.]

### THE HOUSE OF TRUTHFUL LEARNING

I wonder if the above is the right name for the institution, opened by Gandhiji on the eve of his departure for Bombay, for the training of Basic Education teachers. Literally translated the name would be *The House of New Education*. But I am tempted to give it the name at the top because of the spirit in which it has been conceived. For, Shrimati Ashadevi in requesting Gandhiji to declare it open not only recited verses from the Upanishads glorifying Truth, but said that the institution would have for its foundation nothing but that Truth. The verse specially containing the pledge so to say means: "I will utter (do?) the right, I will utter the truth. May it protect me."

That was enough to provide Gandhiji with a text for his speech that day, which became of a solemn religious character. This put me in mind of a speech Gandhiji gave in Switzerland in December 1931 before an audience of devout pacifists. It was in reply to the question, 'why do you regard God as Truth?' He said:

"In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as the one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe—and I think it is the truth—that God has as many

names as there are creatures and, therefore, we also say that God is nameless, and since God has many forms, we also consider Him formless, and since He speaks through many tongues, we consider Him to be speechless and so on. And so, when I came to study Islam, I found that Islam too had many names of God.

"I would say with those who say 'God is Love'.

But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be Love, God is Truth, above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth. But two years ago I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, viz. that, 'God is Truth' and 'Truth is God'. I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth which began nearly fifty years ago. I then found that the nearest approach to Truth was through love. But I also found that love has many meanings in the English language (at least?) and that human love in the sense of passion could become a degrading thing (also?). I found too that love in the sense of *ahimsa* had only a limited number of votaries in the world. But I never found a double meaning in connection with Truth and (not?) even atheists had not demurred to the necessity or power of Truth. But in their passion for discovering Truth, the atheists have not hesitated to deny the very existence of God—from their own point of view rightly. And it was because of this reasoning that I saw that rather than say that God is Truth, I should say that Truth is God... Add to this the great difficulty, that millions have taken the name of God X and in His name committed nameless atrocities. Not that scientists very often do not commit atrocities in the name of Truth... Then there is another thing in Hindu philosophy, viz. God alone is and nothing else exists, and the same truth you find emphasized and exemplified in the *kalema* of Islam. There you find it clearly stated that God alone is and nothing else exists. In fact the Sanskrit word for Truth is a word which literally means that which exists—*Sat*. For these and several other reasons that I can give you, I have come to the conclusion that the definition—Truth is God—gives me the greatest satisfaction. And when you want to find Truth as God, the only inevitable means is Love, i. e. non-violence, and since I believe that ultimately means and end are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is Love.

"Truth is what the voice within tells you. Those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows... If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to a zero." M. D.

## HIS GREATEST CHARACTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The greatest characteristic I can think of about Mahadev Desai was his ability to reduce himself to zero, whenever occasion demanded it.

Sevagram, 12-8-'46

## THE DISCIPLE AND HIS MASTER

### A UNIQUE DISCIPLE

At the time of Mahadevbhai's cruel and untimely death in detention, Gandhiji was allowed to receive two condolence messages out of the hundreds that poured in from all over the country. One of these was from Shri Mathuradas Tricumji, an ex-Mayor of Bombay and a nephew of Gandhiji. There was one sentence in his letter which beautifully summed up the relationship between Bapu and Mahadevbhai. He said: "Lord Buddha had only one disciple and that was Ananda; so is the case of Mahadev with regard to you." Lord Buddha had thousands upon thousands of disciples. But Ananda towered head over shoulders above the rest. Similarly Mahadevbhai's gifts had given him a unique position among all those who have endeavoured to serve Bapu from close quarters. It is not an easy job. Mahadevbhai often used to tell me: "Living with Bapu is like living on the edge of a volcano. When the volcano will burst and blow you off, you never can tell." The reason is that Bapu towers so far above the level of all the rest, that those who surround him, often fall short of his expectations in spite of their best efforts to prove worthy disciples of the great master. Moreover, in spite of his great spiritual height, Bapu is very human. He does not expect to find perfection in those who come to him. But he does expect them to have a burning desire to attain perfection. The rate of progress that he expects from his associates varies in different cases and although he can overlook and forgive faults as big as a mountain, there are times when mere trifles assume mountainous proportions, especially in the case of those who are nearest to him.

### HIS LIFE-LONG PRAYER

Mahadevbhai told me once: "My one prayer in life has been that I may die in Bapu's service, but I am aware of the fact that at any time, I might prove unworthy of it and have to quit at a moment's notice." I did not believe him: it seemed so inconceivable to picture Bapu without him. Yet during the few years of my association with Mahadevbhai and Bapu, I saw occasions when even Mahadevbhai was at the point of quitting, as for instance at the time of the Delang incident.

From Delang, Durgaben (Mrs. Desai) and Shrimati Kasturba had gone to Jagannath Puri and there as a result of their orthodox upbringing, they felt that they ought to visit the temples. So they went inside the temples, forgetting Bapu's teaching that caste Hindus should not visit temples if they were not open to Harijans. Mahadevbhai's young son of about twelve refused to go in. He stood outside and talked to the Pujaris, trying to show them the wrong of keeping the Harijans out. On their return from Puri, the story was told by somebody. None of us thought much of it, beyond patting young Narayan (Mahadevbhai's son) on the back for his courage and wisdom beyond his years. But Bapu took a very serious view of the whole thing. He gave a talk to Ba who humbly confessed her error

and apologized for it. Bapu did not blame her. "I neglected her education and I must be held responsible for her mistakes, not she." Then he took Mahadevbhai to task for neglecting Durgaben's education. "You have taken interest in Narayan, so that he knows much more than an average boy at his age. Should you not have taken the same interest in Durga's education? What is the use of your writing articles in the *Harijan* on the subject of untouchability and opening of temples to Harijans, when you do not carry the message to your own home? Ba is too old to learn, but not Durga." Mahadevbhai tried to put up some sort of defence. It made matters worse. What had seemed a trifle to us all assumed such magnitude that Mahadevbhai actually packed up his things and got ready to quit. But he had become part and parcel of Bapu himself. His utility was so great, his dedication so complete that the catastrophe (Mahadevbhai's separation from Bapu whether by death or in life could not be termed anything else except a catastrophe) was averted. God granted his prayer and Mahadevbhai served Bapu till the very end. He died in harness on the 15th of August, 1942, serving his Master and serving his country with his last breath.

Soon after Mahadevbhai's death I asked Bapu one day, "Out of all the deaths that you have been faced with so far, has not Mahadevbhai's death affected you the most?" "Jamnalal, Maganlal and Mahadev, each one of them was unique in his own line," he replied. "I consider each one of them to be irreplaceable. But I will say this, that out of the three, Mahadev had chosen to lose himself completely in me. I might say that he had ceased to have an individuality apart from mine."

### A CHARMING PERSONALITY

Although Mahadevbhai was old enough to be my father, his mind was so young and fresh that one could never look upon him as anything except as a friend or a brother. I saw him as a small child in 1919 for the first time. My brother Pyarelal had joined Gandhiji a short time before that. I have a clear recollection of Mahadevbhai at that meeting. He had struck me as being more loving and affectionate than anybody else in Gandhiji's camp. It was this characteristic of Mahadevbhai, this ability to win over people young and old, as soon as he came in contact with them, that made him so precious in Bapu's camp. It enabled him to lighten much of Bapu's burden by settling many domestic problems around Bapu. It also enabled him to introduce some valuable workers and friends to Bapu. I remember Bapu once telling me that it was Mahadevbhai who had brought Rajaji to him.

### EARLY REMINISCENCES

Practically every one of Mahadevbhai's friends felt that he cared for him or her the most. To my mother, he was dearer than a son and to me he had become more than a blood brother. Soon after I joined Gandhiji in 1938, Mahadevbhai took to going out for early morning walks along with my brother and myself. My brother later dropped out. But I kept it on. During these walks Mahadevbhai

told me many reminiscences of his early days. Little did I know that he would be going away so soon and so suddenly and I kept no record of those talks. I feel sorry for it now. He told me about his childhood and the loss of his mother at a tender age. He told me of his student days which he had spent in poverty and then as to how he had become a practising lawyer and later took to co-operative banking. Life was just becoming easy for him and his father was beginning to look forward to his own son soon becoming rich and influential, when Mahadevbhai came in contact with Gandhiji. He told me : "Bapu was just then drawing up the rules of conduct for the Ashramites. I felt deeply interested. I and Narhari used to go to the Ashram almost every evening. I had many interesting discussions on the subject with Gandhiji. I felt more and more drawn to him and his mode of life. But for some time, Bapu tried to keep me off out of regard for my wife and my father. But I persisted and at last Bapu yielded. I still remember the day when I received a brief post card from him. There was one sentence in it which made my heart leap with joy. He had said : 'I would love to have you by my side.' Immediately he resigned from his job, broke up his household at Ahmedabad and became an inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. Whatever money he had saved was soon given over to the Ashram funds, and to the great distress of his father, Mahadevbhai took the vow of poverty.

#### TWENTYFIVE YEARS OF SELFLESS SERVICE

Right from the day of his joining Bapu to the day of his death, Mahadevbhai was constantly serving Bapu. Before he came, Bapu generally had no companion when he travelled about. He did all his work himself and needed 'no looking after' as he put it. "But Mahadev soon took charge of me. He looked after my luggage, he looked after my food, he washed my clothes and he did my secretarial work."

After Mahadevbhai's death at the Aga Khan Palace, I was rather hard worked for about a month till the Government sent my brother Pyarelal from Arthur Road Prison, Bombay, to stay with us. Before he came I attended to Bapu's and Ba's massage etc., cooked their food, washed the clothes, attended to my duties as the medical officer of the camp and did whatever secretarial work there was to be done. Somebody reported to Bapu that I was being overworked. I tried to reassure him. "Please do not worry about me, Bapu. It is good for me to keep busy." "I am really not worried," said he. "If you are confident that you can manage it all, I will not think anymore about it. After all Mahadev has done more than you in his time. He did not have to attend to massage etc. and the medical duties, but he washed my clothes, when I put on a huge turban, of coarse Khadi; a thick Khadi *dhōti* and a *peran* and an *angarkha*. The clothes washing that you do is child's play, compared to what Mahadev used to do. On top of that he had to cook for me, see people on my behalf, attend to the correspondence and write articles for *Young India*."

At another time Bapu told me : "One great quality of Mahadev was that he was always willing to do whatever work was entrusted to him and do it enthusiastically. Thus he became a good writer, a good cook and a good coolie. That is generally the fate of all those who come to work with me."

On that fateful morning of August the 15th, 1942, Mahadevbhai got up earlier than usual. He extracted moosambi juice for Bapu's breakfast and prepared tea and toasts for the rest of the family before we had got ready. The toasts were so nicely made that everybody complimented him on his skill. In his usual good humour he joked, "So now I will be able to get a Khansama's job anywhere." Mrs. Naidu retorted, "What is it that you are not in Bapu's household already, Khansama, bearer, secretary and what not?"

At another time Bapu said to me, "I am a good teacher. The proof is that my pupils have often outdone me in the things that I taught them." (This he was telling me in order to stimulate my interest in the study of Sanskrit which I had started learning from him in jail). I was reluctant to believe the statment. So Bapu started giving examples. "In South Africa I learned shoe-making first and taught it to others. But afterwards both Kallenbach and Maganlal made better shoes than myself. Similarly, I introduced spinning in the Ashram by learning it first myself and then teaching it to others. But now I am a back number among the spinners. Mahadev learnt it from me and he span so much better than I."

"But, Bapu, these are your side activities," I persisted. "Your chief work has been giving out original ideas and writing for *Young India* and *Harijan*." "As for giving ideas," replied Bapu, "I have some originality. But writing is a by-product. I write to propagate my ideas. Journalism is not my profession and even there, though Mahadev learned journalism from me, he came to have a more facile pen than myself."

#### DISCIPLE OR SON ?

Bapu is different from the other great sages of the past, in so far that he has renounced the world and yet he has not renounced it. He has not ceased to love his own children, but he has extended his paternal love to all those who come in contact with him. By becoming a universal Bapu (father), he has not ceased to be Bapu to his own children, but his children cannot and do not expect from him anything more than anyone of his associates and co-workers. Thus Mahadevbhai also found in Bapu a father in every sense of the term. He told me once that shortly after his joining Bapu in 1916, they were travelling together on a very hot and sultry night. Bapu lay down to sleep and Mahadevbhai started fanning him. He was tired and soon he himself fell asleep. When he woke up, he found Bapu fanning him. The weather had been so sultry that when Mahadevbhai fell asleep and the fanning stopped, Bapu woke up. So he sat up with a fan and fanned Mahadevbhai as a mother would do for her child.

Mrs. Naidu told me once that when Mahadevbhai joined Bapu, he was so handsome and so fresh that



Bapu used to say "Mahadev is a rose". At that time, Mrs. Naidu nicknamed him Ghul-e-Gujarat (The rose of Gujarat).

#### BAPU'S BOSWELL

In spite of his deep learning, there was a child-like simplicity about Mahadevbhai. He was versatile and he was original. His one passion in life was to lighten Bapu's burden and interpret his ideas. If Bapu took up the subject of spinning, Mahadevbhai read up all the literature available on the subject and presented the substance of his study to Bapu in the form of articles for *Young India* or *Harijan*. If Bapu took up the subject of village industries or basic education or anything else, Mahadevbhai tried to study it and get to the very bottom of it, so that he could expand the ideas put forth by Bapu and enable the public to understand him better. He recorded his utterances and kept writing a sort of biography of Bapu in the form of his weekly letters in *Young India* and *Harijan*.

Soon after his death in detention, one day Bapu expressed his grief at the separation by saying: "He aspired to be my Boswell and yet he always wished to die before me. How could he do better? So he has gone and left me to write his biography instead." What an irony of fate! "It is cruel of children to wish for death before their parents. It is selfish," he remarked on another occasion. But his philosophy came to his aid. "I may not be able to convince others, but I do feel that death is never untimely in the real sense of the term," he said. "No one dies before he or she has finished his work in this world. Mahadev had put forth the work of a century in fifty years. So he has gone to his well-earned rest."

#### SHADOW OF THE FAST

The shadow of Bapu's fast in detention had begun to loom large some time before the August arrests. There were discussions on the ethics of fasting in Satyagraha. They deeply distressed Mahadevbhai. He was strongly opposed to the idea of Bapu going on a fast under any circumstance. He tried to argue it with Bapu. But when Bapu told him that if he has to fast, it will be in answer to a higher call, Mahadevbhai was left without an answer. But the idea continued to oppress him. During the four days that I was with him at the Aga Khan Palace, I often heard him give expression to his anxiety on that score. He simply could not bear the idea of Bapu going on a fast. Was it the emotional strain or the consequent changes in the higher centres which resulted in a standstill of the pump on that fateful morning of the 15th of August 1942?

#### THE LAST ACT

Whenever Mahadevbhai got ill, he used to send for me. I sometimes joked. "You are a great man, you should have big doctors attending on you. I feel so nervous to treat you." One day he became serious. "Sushila, you are my sister. I have confidence in you and would much rather die in your hands than in the hands of anybody else." Prophetic words! Little did either of us realize at that time that such a day was fast approaching.

It was a strange coincidence which resulted in my reaching Bombay just in time to be arrested with Shri Kasturba on the 9th of August, 1942. Bapu called it a work of Providence, even a miracle. We were kept in the Arthur Road Prison at Bombay for two days and taken to the Aga Khan Palace on the 11th. Bapu was drafting his letter to the Viceroy. It was drafted more than once. Mahadevbhai had to copy it each time. Seeing me there he remarked, "You will help me with this copying, won't you?" So I made one copy. After some further alterations, the final copy was made in Mahadevbhai's beautiful handwriting, signed by Bapu and handed over to the Superintendent of the Camp on the 14th of August for posting. That night Mahadevbhai gave massage to Bapu's head. I had a cold and had retired early.

#### 15TH AUGUST, 1942—THE PREPARATION

As I have said already, Mahadevbhai got up earlier than usual. He had intended joining the morning prayers on that day, but was just too late for it. So he spent the time in shaving himself, clipping his moustache and his nails. Mrs. Naidu passed by as he sat in front of a full size mirror (of which there were any number in the Aga Khan Palace) performing these operations. She joked: "What is wrong with Mahadev today? He has suddenly become very particular about his appearance." No one could guess that it was for the last time.

Gandhiji used to go out for a stroll in the garden at about 7-30 every morning. On that day Mahadevbhai also joined us. "For the first time after coming here, I slept well last night and am feeling very energetic," he said. He talked of bringing out a collection of instances of non-violence in literature. Then he started talking of cases of sudden death. Years ago he had told me how his father had died suddenly. He had just become reconciled to his son having taken to a life of renunciation and was thinking of coming to stay with him for a few days. Mahadevbhai had sent him a copy of a book that he had written. He sat in an arm-chair reading the book, happy in the thought that it had been written by his son. Suddenly he put his head back and breathed his last. As I heard the story, a cold shiver ran through my spine. "I hope it won't happen with Mahadevbhai," I said to myself. I had clean forgotten the story but Mahadevbhai's talk that morning reminded me of it.

#### THE DRAMA ENDS

After the walk I started Bapu's massage. The I. G. P. had come and Mahadevbhai, Ba and Miraben had gone to Mrs. Naidu's room to meet him. From the distance we heard their laughter. Suddenly there was a lull and then somebody called me. I thought they wanted me to come and meet the I. G. P. As I was getting ready to go, Ba came in rushing, "Sushila, come quick, Mahadev is having a fit." I ran. There I found him lying in a bed looking white as marble having generalized convulsions. I learnt that as he stood talking, he had suddenly complained of feeling giddy. He was told to lie down and they had called me. I was by his side within a minute. I felt his pulse, it was not there.



I listened to his heart. There were no heart sounds. "Call Bapu," I said, and asked for some heart stimulant. The I. G. P. got for me whatever he could. I pushed in two injections, but to no effect. In the meantime Bapu had arrived. He stood by the bed-side calling out, "Mahadev, Mahadev." But for the first time Mahadev failed to answer him. "If he only opens his eyes and looks at me once, he won't go," said Bapu in anguish. But he had decided to go. He never opened his eyes. In spite of my medical knowledge, I vainly hoped that Bapu's presence might achieve what medicine had failed to do. But the age of miracles, if it ever existed, is over. The convulsions and the groans subsided. It was all over. The Civil Surgeon arrived, shook his head and went away. Ba looked at my face. "How is he? Sushila", she asked in a choked voice. What was I to say? "No more?" she asked and burst into sobs. Bapu came and consoled her. He was stricken with grief, but he had to be brave. "Let us have the prayers and then bathe the body," he said. So we sat down and recited the 18th chapter of the Gita, sang "*Varshnava Jana To*" and then had '*Ramadhun*'. The room where Mahadevbhai had sat in the morning shaving himself was vacated of furniture etc. The body was carried to Bapu's bath room and he bathed it with my help. It was painful to see him doing it with shaking hands. Then he looked round for a moment and said: "Mahadev has died as a prisoner, he must be cremated as one." So we wrapped the body in jail sheets and brought it out. The Superintendent had got a lot of flowers. Miraben arranged them around the body most artistically. She had prepared some sandalwood paste. Bapu put it on Mahadevbhai's forehead and sat down by his side. He and I recited the Gita by turns while preparations were being made for the cremation. I noticed that Mahadevbhai's eye on the side on which Bapu was sitting was half open. It was symbolical of Mahadevbhai's deep love and devotion to Bapu. Even in death he seemed to be gazing at his Master.

#### THE LAST RITES

The authorities had brought a lorry with police and Brahmins. They wanted to take away the body and cremate it by themselves. But Bapu would not have it. "No father can hand over the body of his son to strangers," he told them. "Mahadev was more than a son to me. I would like to perform his last rites myself. But if the Government cannot take me outside, I am prepared to hand it over to friends, but I won't hand it over to the jail officials." Although the Government hands over the bodies of murderers to their relatives and friends after hanging and lets them have a public funeral, it was not prepared to allow such a thing for a rebel however non-violent. They would not hand over the body to friends and relatives. There was a tenseness in the atmosphere. We all held our breaths. What will Bapu's reply be? Bapu sat thinking for a moment. Then he said: "I do not want to make the death of my son into a political issue. If the Government will not allow me to go out and cremate the body nor hand it over to friends, I will have the cremation here." It was a

novel suggestion. Nobody had ever heard of a cremation taking place in the house. The I. G. P. sat upstairs telephoning the Government of Bombay. The Government of Bombay in their turn had to consult the Government of India. At last he came down. The Government had agreed to the cremation taking place in the compound. We heaved a sigh of relief. Mrs. Naidu went downstairs to select the spot.

The I. G. P. had asked if Bapu would like to send a message to Mahadevbhai's people. "Yes, I would like to send a telegram provided it is sent without mutilation," he replied. Then he dictated the telegram to me. He began, "Sorry." Then he stopped. "Why should I be sorry to announce such a noble death? No, scratch out 'Sorry' and write, 'Mahadev died suddenly . . .'" The message was delivered to the I. G. P. with a request to despatch it as an express telegram. As we learnt later on, it was delivered to the addressee by post after several weeks' delay.

At last things were ready for the cremation. Bapu followed the body with a staff in one hand and the pot of fire in the other. The Brahmin chanted some *shlokas* and performed some ceremonies. The body was placed on the pier and Bapu lighted the fire. Soon there was a big blaze. Ba sat at a short distance oblivious of everything else. With folded hands she kept on repeating, "Mahadev, my child, may you be happy wherever you are. Oh! why should Mahadev have gone and not I?" The Superintendent of the Camp, the Superintendent of Yeravda prison and the I. G. P. also sat there watching the earthly remains of that beloved personality being consumed by the flames.

At last we returned to the house. It was past 5 O'clock in the evening. Death had occurred between eight and nine in the morning. "Mahadev has lived up to the 'Do or Die' mantra," said Bapu. "This sacrifice cannot but hasten the day of India's deliverance."

Mrs. Naidu was convinced that it was the worry about Bapu's fast that had killed Mahadevbhai. "If ever a man laid down his life for another it was Mahadev," she said. "Like Jesus Christ he died that Bapu might live. Now Bapu must give up the idea of ever going on a fast." There was no talk of a fast at that time. Things developed in such a way that a fast became inevitable, but when it did come at last, it came in a modified form, so that though Bapu went almost to death's door, he was able to survive it.

The bones and ashes were collected on the third day. A platform about seven feet by three and a half feet and about three feet high was erected on the site. A small enclosure of stones was also made. Bapu visited the *samadhi* morning and evening. Fresh flowers were placed and in the morning the twelfth chapter of Gita was recited every day. "Mahadev's whole life was an uninterrupted song of *bhakti* (devotion)", said Bapu, "and it is only befitting that we should recite *bhakti* yoga at his *samadhi*. From being a disciple, Mahadev has become my teacher. I visit his *samadhi* every day in order to keep the example of his lifelong dedication to service fresh in my mind. Let us all pray to God that we may be able to follow in his footsteps."

S. N.

## MAHADEV DESAI—THE LAST PHASE

In the case of two persons, the late Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi and the late Shri Mahadev Desai, the coming events of the fateful year 1942, cast very long shadows before. From the day she entered the gates of the Aga Khan Palace, Ba had a premonition that she was not going to come out of that place alive, and she never did. In the case of Shri Desai, the shadow was not that of his own approaching end but that of the danger to his Master for whom and in whom he lived and had his being. Ever since Gandhiji had hinted at the possibility of having to undertake a fast in the event of his imprisonment, the thought of it had haunted him (M. D.) like a nightmare. He struggled like a Titan to avert it. He one day asked me to go out for an evening stroll. "There is something that has been oppressing me. I want to discuss it with you," he said. "Ditto," I replied. This was not the first occasion when we had simultaneously felt the need of unburdening our minds to each other on the same subject. We discussed the pros and cons of the subject threadbare and found ourselves in complete agreement. "Now we must place our viewpoint before Bapu. I am going to do it tonight. You too must," he said to me. 'Accordingly two notes were prepared later and handed to Gandhiji 'according to plan'.

### A WARNING SIGNAL

On our way back I chaffed him, "With all your diplomatic skill which has never failed you, can't you find a way out of the present emergency?" "We seem to be up against fate this time," he replied with a sigh. I continued the chaff. We talked about old times. But for once the smile had left his face. All of a sudden, he had an attack of giddiness and sat down by the roadside. "I don't know why, but my mind suddenly went blank," he said to me. The giddiness, however, passed away as quickly as it had come. But when we reached his house, the pulse was very rapid and feeble and the blood pressure extremely low. We did not know then that it was a mild onset of ventricular failure — what in medical books is described as Stokes Adam's syndrome, accentuated by excessive mental strain which was finally to claim him a couple of months later.

In the meantime the prospect of the 'Quit India' struggle continued to fill the air. It was going to be a "Do or Die" struggle, in which no quarter could be expected or asked for. Mahadev Desai was aware of it. He decided to get himself overhauled medically. Had not Gandhiji taught that for a Satyagrahi, to fall ill in jail was a shame? He was anxious to give a good account of himself in prison in the coming struggle for Independence, the biggest and the most momentous in the country's history. He dragged me too along with him to Bombay, although I was most unwilling. "A sacred duty cannot be evaded. Bapu will need us all this time. We must keep ourselves fit," he remonstrated. Without even telling me, he made an appointment for me with a leading pathologist. Himself he went through a series of tests, minus alas! the heart. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was going the next day to

Wardha for the Working Committee meeting and wanted to discuss certain things with him on the way. The heart examination had to be given the go-bye.

### THE LAST JOURNEY

Gandhiji's date of departure for Bombay had been fixed for the 5th of August. Mahadev Desai made thorough preparation for a hazardous Odyssey, cleared his desk and sent away to safe places important documents, diaries, note books etc., the honey distilled during a life time with a diligence exceeding that of the bee in the fable. He took his son with him to Bombay. The latter had resisted all proposals for a university education made by his father's numerous friends, including the late Shri Bhulabhai Desai. The father felt that he had nothing more precious to give to the boy than to initiate him into the historic August struggle. There had been a function in the Talimi Sangh at Sevagram, on the 4th, in which Gandhiji had spoken. Mahadev Desai made the young Narayan write out the Hindustani report of Gandhiji's address on the train and had the great satisfaction to find that the boy had not done it unworthily. He carefully whetted it and afterwards told me that he had awarded 75 per cent marks to Narayan for the performance.

The next three days were full of hectic excitement and ceaseless strain for everybody. A chance encounter with M. A. Mecklai who was an old friend of his, provided an opportunity for a last, eleventh hour, though abortive, peace effort. The correspondence relating to that effort has since been published and is now public property.

### 8TH OF AUGUST AT LAST

We were attending the A. I. C. C. meeting. Suddenly he turned to me. "No one knows what may happen tonight," he said. "All sorts of rumours are in the air. Bapu made a very important speech yesterday and will make another today. Much may depend on accurate reporting of the two speeches. Let us take no chance. You do yesterday's speech just now. I shall see to today's speech when we go home."

But when I saw him later after the A. I. C. C. meeting at about 11-O'clock at night, he was still occupied by visitors. He had been unable to steal even a moment's respite.

"Well, the die is cast. What shall we do now?" I asked.

"Bapu is sure to be arrested. Well, we shall issue forth tomorrow hand-in-hand and do something worthy."

Young Narayan and Kanu Gandhi had encountered him about half an hour ago. "We are no longer going to listen to you now, Kaka," the former said laughing. "Bapu said in the A. I. C. C. today that everybody was hereafter to be his own leader. We are now *azad*."

"But you have already anticipated Bapu and I you," replied Mahadevbhai. "My dear boy, I have no wish to take away your *azadi*."

Little did the boy realize that he was going to be independent of his father in a way nobody suspected — he least of all.

## THEY COME

What followed is best told in his own words as recorded in the pages of his journal found among his posthumous papers:

"9-8-'42. After the morning prayer I said to Bapu: 'There has been a spate of rumours and telephone messages, all to the effect that the arrests will take place tonight. Shri Arvind Pakwasa has further brought the news that barbed wire fence has been put up round the Aga Khan Palace where the detenus will be taken.' Mecklai even told me, 'You will be going to a lovely place. I myself would love to be there. I will go there to visit you.' Bapu said. "After my last night's speech they will never arrest me." But I feel ill at ease. I tried to get news about the Sardar on the telephone. The line was dead. Fear gripped me. I sent Swami Anand to try the telephone from the next bungalow. He quickly returned with the news that the Police Commissioner was coming to make arrests. The Police Superintendent came and made the arrests. There were warrants for Miraben and myself with offer to take Pyarelal and Ba into voluntary detention with Bapu. A special was waiting at the station. The whole of the Working Committee group and the members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee had already been taken into it.

"We were taken down at Chinchwad. The members of the Working Committee were made to get down first. In the course of a conversation with the Maulana and Jawahar a reference came up as to fast. They recognized it as a final step. Jawahar raised the point as to why secrecy was incompatible with *ahimsa*. "You are free to interpret *ahimsa* in your own way," replied Bapu.

"At Chinchwad Station we were taken into a motor car. Others were made to go into a lorry. Sorrow and grief were written large on Bapu's face. It was accentuated by the way in which Mehta was treated. They caught hold of him by his hands and feet and carried him to the lorry where a sergeant pushed him in.

"On reaching the palace I began to give Bapu a massage: "After how many long years are you doing it?" Bapu asked. He slept for one and a half hours during *malish* and again at noon. He then began writing the letter to the Viceroy which he showed to me at night. But my eyes were heavy with sleep. At 9.25 he took silence.

## SIX DAYS IN THE AGA KHAN PALACE

"10-8-'42. Several further corrections were made in that draft. A second letter to Lumley was written about the sergeant and for newspapers. The letter was drafted once, twice, thrice. All of us suggested that the Mehta incident should not be over-emphasized.

"The Civil Surgeon came. Bapu's blood pressure stood at 142/88, weight 104 lbs.

"I suggested that Lumley's letter should be posted next day. It was decided that the other letter should be held over for further consideration.

"The goat did Satyagraha. Bapu said it would not be right to take her milk under the circumstances. Miraben had some difficulty in persuading him.

"11-8-'42. While the letter was being revised, Ba and Sushila arrived. They brought a lot of news. The whole day we talked of the happenings outside. Lumley's letter was posted in the evening. At night Bapu described his experiences with Jones, Dalziel, etc. I had a talk with Col. Shah.

"12-8-'42. After making several further alterations in the Viceroy's letter, I gave it to Sushila to make a fair copy of it. "If Government gives me 7 years, I shall be able to do a lot," said Bapu. I reminded him of what Satyamurti had said: "Bapu, your real work will begin after India has got her Independence."

"13-8-42. I jotted down several more suggestions in the copy of the letter to the Viceroy made by Sushila. Bapu read through it again. Two or three sentences were altered for clarification at Miraben's suggestion. Bapu asked the meaning of 'teleology' in "teleological connection between bourgeois democracy, revolution and industrialism". This led to a lot of discussion on teleology. Finally Bapu said: "In other words, it amounts to arguing in a circle." Then there was a discussion as to whether the preposition 'with' or 'of' should follow 'reek'. He asked Sushila the meaning of 'varicose veins' and the derivation of the word 'varicose'. The two letters were addressed to L. and L. (Lord Lumely and Lord Linlithgow). 'It only needs H. E. before the two Ls (HELL),' remarked Mrs. Naidu.

"Sushila wrote a prescription for Ba. The Superintendent was about to send it to the chemist. I said to Bapu: "He is sending the prescription with Ba's name on top. It is like sending out the news that Ba is here and is ill. Bapu said: "You should warn the Superintendent and ask him to strike off the names if he wants to." The Superintendent was very grateful for the suggestion. He struck off the names and sent the prescription to the chemist.

"I made a toaster out of stray pieces of wire. Bapu asked: "What is the Gujarati equivalent of 'Necessity is the mother of invention'." I suggested: ગરજ એ શોધની બહેન છે.

"14-8-'42. The letter to the Viceroy was posted.

"Today we asked for news about Sardar and Pyarelal. The reply was: 'There is no report about Sardar.' So he must be presumed to be well. He did not know whether Pyarelal was in Poona or not."

## THE JOURNEY'S END

Here the Journal abruptly ends bringing to a close thirty years' sustained and unremitting labour. The life's candle was snuffed out on the morning of the 15th. The only other person whom I have known to be as punctual in keeping a day-to-day and hour-to-hour ledger of his life was the late Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj. The last entry in his diary was made just before he left for his daughter-in-law's house in Wardha never to return.

I was taken to the Aga Khan Palace exactly one month after Mahadev's death. Among his papers, along with the leaves of his journal reproduced above, there was the report of Gandhiji's last public utterance before the Talimi Sangh Teachers' Camp at Sevagram on the 5th. He could

not take it up at Bombay while the A. I. C. C. session was on. So he did it at the first opportunity on reaching the Aga Khan Palace.

Remained Bapu's A.I.C.C. speeches. "Have you done Bapu's A. I. C. C. speech of the 7th?" he had asked me on the morning of the 9th August just before his arrest. "I am only half way through," I had replied. "And you?" I asked referring to the other speech he was to do. "Could not even touch it owing to telephone calls which kept me awake till 2 a. m.," he replied and thrust his notebook containing notes of his speech into my hands as he passed out of Gandhiji's room to meet the police commissioner who had come with warrants of arrest. But he was not the one to leave behind him even the unpaid debt of a "cock I owe to Asclepius." During his six days' detention he had done from memory the skeleton of Gandhiji's two A. I. C. C. speeches of the 7th and 8th August and a better skeleton of a speech I have yet to see.

His association with Gandhiji was to him a probation and discipline in life. As Gandhiji with great penetration observed, what his soul thirsted for was a devotional spirit. "It was in furtherance of that quest he came to me and not finding full satisfaction even with me (shall I say) he turned his back on me in the fulness of youth . . . to seek the realization of his quest in the bosom of his Maker."

"I say that man was made to grow, not stop;  
That help, he needed once, and needs no more,  
Having grown but an inch by, is withdrawn,  
For he hath new needs, and new helps to these.  
This imports solely, man should mount on each  
New height in view.

And in this striving, this converting air  
Into a solid he may grasp and use,  
Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,  
Not God's and not the beasts': God is, they are,  
Man partly is and wholly hopes to be."

(*Death in the Desert*)

Sevagram, 12-8-'46

PYARELAL

### Horse Racing

I have written before regarding the ruination of men and money through horse racing but a very strongly-worded letter from a friend who says that gambling on the race course is not a lesser evil than the drink habit, constrains me to write again on this subject. The writer further says:

"Special trains are run for the races and are full of people who wear Gandhi caps, call themselves Congressmen and go there only to waste their money. Where does this money come from? We now have popular Ministries, but they too are silent and put up with the evil."

Although, in my opinion, gambling at races is not as great an evil as drinking of alcohol, one ought not really to draw comparisons. Less bad does not make gambling a good thing. I do not know all the intricacies of horse racing. All I can say is that if it is within the competence of a popular Government to put an end to the evil, it should certainly do so.

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

## THE LIMIT OF INSANITATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Panchgani is a fine hill resort. The air itself is like medicine. Rajas and Maharajas do not frequent it like they do Mussooree and yet there has been no place where the poor could stay. Now at last if there is going to be a small haven for them, it would only be a tardy reparation. But if the present insanitary conditions continue, Panchgani will cease to exist as a health resort. I believe, the same is true of Mahabaleshwar too. I am of opinion that such conditions are due to our own fault, rather than to that of Government. I have heard doctors say that everyone knows how to observe personal cleanliness up to a point, but our people do not seem to know the A B C of hygiene and sanitation. The truth of this has to be admitted with sorrow. The following is a vivid account of Dr. Dinshah Mehta's observations regarding the lack of proper sanitary arrangements in Panchgani. I give it in the fervent hope that this disgraceful state of affairs will be remedied without undue delay:

"Dr. Savant accompanied me on the 19th July to the place, where the refuse of Panchgani is deposited. It is behind Sydney Point, about half a mile off the main road and one and a half miles from Panchgani Bazar. The main road passes in front of the Parsi Boys' School and because the wind happened to be blowing strongly in that direction, the smell was wafted right up to that spot. Sydney Point itself is a beautiful situation and if there were no nasty odours, the air would be health-giving. But no one goes there nowadays, even though a small motor road has been built. Only the grass blows in the wind. There are two houses just below the Point, but I was told that they remain vacant because of the stench, mosquitoes and flies.

"The garbage of Panchgani is all thrown by the side of the road and was lying there in large open heaps. It would be strange, if it were not full of germs and covered with flies.

"A little further on, I saw nightsoil in trenches. Four of these, each 10'x5'x3' were full. Some were empty. It appears that sweepers are too lazy and careless even to see that the nightsoil is actually thrown into the trenches. Much was lying outside. And I was told that if anyone remonstrates with them about this or any other matter, they go on strike. The Municipality and residents of Panchgani have, therefore, meekly to submit. Local sweepers refuse to allow outside scavengers to enter Panchgani.

"I have not yet been able to rid my nose and eyes of the smell and the nauseating sight. Anyone who goes there to inspect, must train these organs to stand the trial. On return he should take a bath and then go to sleep, in order to rest both mind and stomach or else he will have to send for a doctor!

"In order to improve the dreadful conditions, I submit the following suggestions:



1) All garbage and nightsoil should be properly thrown into trenches and covered over with at least double the quantity of clean earth,

2) or all should be burnt in an incinerator,

3) or septic tanks should be constructed and the overflow of water from these, should be used for the cultivation of a public vegetable garden,

4) or it should be made compulsory for every house-owner to build a septic tank in this domain. Used bath water can be employed for flushing these tanks. Standard plans for the construction of such tanks can be had from military contractors,

5) or a scheme for drainage and a pumping station should be undertaken. But for this, sufficient water is an essential. The water works scheme which the Panchgani Municipality has under consideration, would have first to come into being.

"The last is the most important and best suggestion but it requires both money and time. Meanwhile the least that can be done is to act forthwith on my first and second proposals."

Poona, 1-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## Notes

### South Africa

The heroic struggle of the Indian settlers in South Africa continues with unabated zeal. It promises to be prolonged. The longer the resisters are made to suffer, the greater will be their glory and reward. It is true of all long suffering. What the Government of the Union of South Africa has done so deliberately is not going to be changed suddenly, even for the sufferings of the brave men and women. This is said not to damp the zeal of the fighters but to steel them for greater and longer suffering. Their spokesmen when they were in India were told in plain language that they must not expect the struggle to close quickly. Time runs always in favour of the sufferer, for the simple reason that tyranny becomes more and more exposed as it is continued. In reality it is never long. Sufferers need never lose hope whether their struggle appears to have a longer lease of life or shorter, when the result is a certainty.

### Goa

The Goan authorities are going on merrily with their 'humanizing' activities by gagging the people of Goa. The latest instance is that of their 'court martial' sentencing Shri Braganza Cunha to eight years and deporting him to a far off Portuguese settlement in Africa for the crime of daring to assert his elementary right of civil liberty. Well has the Working Committee passed a resolution in condemnation of the policy of the Goan authorities which stands in striking contrast to the action of the French Governor who has encouraged the people to throw in their lot with the people in British India.

Sevagram, 12-8-'46

M. K. G.

## COMPENSATION FOR MURDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been asked whether the brother or other near relatives of the late Bhai Rajabali should demand compensation in money from Government for his murder. The deceased himself would not have counted such a death as loss. As a matter of fact, it is murders such as this which, if wholly unavenged, will ultimately put an end to murder. The moment any compensation or revenge is sought, the good of the willing sacrifice is wiped out. And how then could the spirit of the deceased rest in peace?

Murder can never be avenged by either murder or taking compensation. The only way to avenge murder is to offer oneself as a willing sacrifice, with no desire for retaliation. Those who believe in this premise will never dream of demanding or taking any compensation for the loss of their dear ones. The principle of taking of life for life will, on the contrary, only lead to an increase of murders. This is apparent to all today. Revenge or compensation may furnish some satisfaction to the individual, but I am quite definite that it can never restore peace to or uplift society.

The question arises as to what the individual should do in a society where revenge is the rule. The answer lies not in precept but in example. And those alone can set the example who have been wronged. Therefore, the final decision must rest with Bhai Rajabali's relatives. My duty lay in pointing them the way of *ahimsa* as I know it.

Sevagram, 9-8-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION

OR

### THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI

(Translation of the original in Gujarati, with an additional Introduction and Commentary)

By Mahadev Desai

With Gandhiji's Foreword

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## KHADI ON TRIAL

Khadi has passed through several phases during its variegated history in the last twentyfive years. From being an antique rarity, it has become the symbol of India's non-violent struggle for independence or, as Pandit Jawaharlal put it, the 'livery of our freedom'. It became the basis of the 'biggest producers' and consumers' co-operative. But that was not enough. If it was fully to play the role envisaged for it, viz. serve as a foundation for a non-violent social order, capable of withstanding all shocks of time and chance, its basis has to be re-examined and transformed. This was done by a series of resolutions adopted by the A. I. S. A. under Gandhiji's direction on his release from detention. The principal change was transference of the emphasis from the commercial to the self-help aspect of Khadi. The essential function of the A. I. S. A. was defined to be educative. Khadi Bhandars, under the new orientation, were to be centres for imparting instruction in the various processes of Khadi production rather than depots for the sale of Khadi for money. The rule of realizing a part of the price of Khadi in yarn was introduced and the proportion was gradually stepped up. By a curious coincidence, simultaneously with these changes, the production of Khadi in the country showed a sharp decline, owing to the operation of a series of causes independently of these changes. Those who had taken to Khadi merely as a livery but never accepted the obligations inherent in it, began to experience an increasing difficulty in obtaining Khadi from the depleted Khadi Bhandars who rightly refused to supply it to those who did not co-operate in its production. To this must be added maladjustment, resulting from the change over during the transitional period and the post-war abnormal conditions. A friend was discussing these difficulties with Gandhiji the other day. He could not see the justification of enforcing rules that would restrict the supply of Khadi at a time, when the demand for it was widespread and daily growing. A vacuum had been created and it was up to the A. I. S. A. with its long experience and widespread organization to step in and fill it. Instead, it has chosen to stultify itself, so that even sincere and life-long wearers of Khadi were finding it difficult to provide themselves with Khadi, unless they span for themselves which in very many cases, their public duties did not allow them to do. Did it not connote the failure of the A. I. S. A.'s new policy?— he asked.

### IS NEW ORIENTATION A FAILURE?

"To appreciate fully the present policy of the A. I. S. A.," explained Gandhiji, "you have to take

in its etiology. In the initial stages the emphasis was on bringing relief to the poor. Incidentally it provided a living link between the classes and the masses, and assumed a political significance. . . We cannot make further headway on those lines. We cannot, for instance, further increase the wages. Khadi won't bear it. So far, it was spun and woven by the masses. Now it must still be by the masses, but for their own use. The new policy of the A. I. S. A. has not failed. The latest figures show that it is steadily though slowly, making headway.

"There are difficulties. Weaving constitutes the bottleneck. We have not established a sufficient hold on the weavers. The fault, again, is mine. If I had from the very beginning, insisted on all, learning weaving along with spinning, things would have been different today. The working capital of the A. I. S. A. now stands at twenty-five lakhs. It has taken twenty-five years to reach that figure. During that period it had distributed over seven crores of rupees as wages among four and a half lakhs of the poor spinners and weavers, principally spread over twenty thousand villages of India. I do not know of another instance of such a huge turn-over on so little capital in such a wide area."

"That is good but by no means unique. The Chinese Indusco did better," remarked the friend.

"That is not a fair comparison," replied Gandhiji. "I studied in detention Nym Wales' book which was recommended to me. Indusco's activities were carried on under abnormal circumstances with the backing of the Chinese National Government. Besides, all its production was war-time production. You need not have gone as far as China for your illustration. The work of the Calicut Mission in South India would have provided a more apt instance. In each case the field was restricted. In the case of Khadi it is trying to serve the whole of India."

"We cannot today attract more artisans by offering better wages. The general level of wages in the country is already so high."

"We do not want to."

"You mean to say you want them to produce for self."

"Yes."

### WHAT HE TOLD MR. CASEY

"How can that be made practicable," asked the friend.

"I explained that to Mr. Casey last year," replied Gandhiji. "I told him that by adopting my scheme, not only could we solve the cloth problem for Bengal, but for the whole of India. The essence of that scheme was that, instead of supplying textiles to the people, they should be taught how to make cloth for themselves and provided the necessary means

—instruments, raw materials etc.—for the same. A reasonable time limit should be fixed after which no textiles would be rationed in the area covered by the scheme. In German East Africa, I am told, cloth shortage during World War No. 1 was actually met by the Negroes being induced to manufacture their own cloth. Whether that is so or not, if India made full use of her spinning and weaving tradition which is universal and the matchless hereditary skill of her artisans, she could not only solve her own difficulty but even help the world to meet the present crisis by releasing her mill production, for countries less favourably placed in the matter of cloth manufacture."

"The fact, however, remains that in spite of there being such an acute cloth scarcity, Khadi has failed to step into the breach," persisted the friend. "It has missed the bus."

"Thanks to Government interference," replied Gandhiji. "They arrested Khadi workers, burnt stocks of Khadi and put Khadi production under every conceivable handicap."

"The vacuum is growing. Production charges have already touched the ceiling and yet the wages that we can offer, are not adequate to attract even the unemployed."

"Where are these unemployed?"

"Well, there are one lakh of I. N. A. men."

"I made an offer to them. It has yet evoked no response. You can take the horse to the trough but you cannot make it drink."

#### NO COMPULSION

"Cannot Government formulate a scheme?"

"It has been done in Madras. It is under examination. Nothing can be imposed from above. Everything has to be worked from below. And those who work them should have faith and conviction and spirit of service. A Government ukase won't do the trick. Governments can assist. As I told Mr. Casey, I am prepared to work out my scheme if it is left to me and the Government accord necessary facilities. That offer still stands."

"The danger," interpolated the friend, "is that, if we stop the supply of textiles to any area, as envisaged in your scheme, it may accentuate the present discontent and even cause an upheaval. There are elements ready to pounce upon and exploit any excuse to foment discontent. Restriction on cloth supply might even be enumerated as an 'atrocities' as prohibition was by a certain section in Bombay. How can we contemplate or invite a disturbance like that? This is not a constructive approach to the question. It smacks of compulsion."

"Where is the question of compulsion?" asked Gandhiji. "As it is, there is not enough cloth to go the round. The stocks of cloth available for distribution being short of the demand, rationing becomes a necessity. The question is only of wise distribution. No stocks may be expected from outside for some time. America and England are making strenuous efforts to increase their cloth production. But it is all needed there. If we nationalize our textile industry and work it on a double shift basis, it would probably solve the problem of cloth shortage, but not of mass poverty. I won't then be able to press the case for Khadi, not because there would be no case but because I won't be able to carry conviction."

#### KHADI AND THE NEW ERA

"That is not my point," rejoined the friend. An element of compulsion there is in all governmental measures. Tariff, protection, excise duties—all these are disguised forms of compulsion. It becomes an evil when it is wrongly or unduly used. If a fundamentally unsound and unstable economic situation is sought to be propped up by governmental compulsion, there is danger that it will crash one day and spread ruin all around. I am wondering, if the organization of Khadi production on the present lines, is not an instance of that type, whether pure theory does not need to be tempered with a measure of practical realism to suit the changed conditions. For instance, the woollen manufactures in Kashmir are not for self-use. They cater for the market for fancy goods outside Kashmir. They are extremely popular. Now, if we introduce machine carding, they can hold their own against all competition. But that would be against the fundamental Khadi principles. I have been thinking whether a compromise cannot be effected. To run cottage industries with man-power exclusively, has not much prospect of survival in this age of machinery. We may try to canalize economic trends, we may not run against them in a head-on collision. If we could run cottage industries with the help of cheap electricity, for instance, they would be able to hold their own without losing their essential character. After all, decentralized production is what we want. We might have projects for the development of cheap hydraulic power as an aid to irrigation schemes. They can be in operation in from six to ten years. It will then be possible to take electricity to every village. Shall we under those circumstances be able to work Khadi on the present lines? Normally speaking, supply should balance demand. But instead of establishing Khadi on a permanent basis, we are crippling it by artificial restrictions with the result that a lot of corruption and dishonesty has crept in. The same yarn is presented again and again at the Khadi Bhandars as a counterfeit token. Apart from its economic aspect, Khadi has come to acquire a cultural and political significance. People are anxious to adopt it as a uniform. Hospitals would like to have their linen preferably in Khadi. I. N. A. people would want to adopt Khadi uniform. But today, thanks to the new policy, Khadi is nowhere to be had. Only hypocrisy and dishonesty seem to flourish."

#### I AM NOT AFRAID

"It is open to all those who cannot or do not want to spin," replied Gandhiji, "to go in for mill cloth, whether Indian or foreign. I am walking with my eyes open. This is not the first time in the history of Khadi that demand has outstripped supply and *vice versa*. Each time heroic measures were adopted and the crisis was overcome. I do not expect a different result this time. Only, we must have faith and patience and the courage to apply the right remedy which is what I am doing at present. If in the process Khadi dies, I must be prepared to take even that risk."

"That is begging the question," rejoined the friend. "It won't go down with the people. We have got to adjust our policy to the popular need."

"I cannot do that. Having discovered the error, I must correct it. That may take time. Therefore, I have suggested the removal of the Khadi clause from the Congress Constitution. When it was sought to be removed unsuccessfully at the Assam Congress, it gave me satisfaction. Now I will encourage and welcome abolition. If it has intrinsic merit, Khadi will survive the Congress abolition. If it has not, it will deserve to go under."

"That, however, would not solve our fundamental problem."

"I am afraid I won't be able to convince you by argument. Time alone will show who was right."

#### DIAGNOSIS AND THE REMEDY

"You said weaving was the bottleneck," resumed the friend. A weaver weaving mill yarn, can today earn as much as Rs.3 a day. The spinner and the weaver of the handspun won't work for lower wages."

"I don't want him to," replied Gandhiji. "That is why I have recommended doubling of handspun yarn. If he depends on the supply of mill yarn, he is doomed. Millowners are not philanthropists to go on providing yarn to the hand-loom weaver when he enters into effective competition with them. But a weaver working on doubling handspun yarn will, in the end, be better off than the mill yarn weaver, for, the former will find steady employment all the year round."

"The very basis of textile industry has been revolutionized," continued the friend. "Now they are preparing synthetic textile fibres from coal, air and water. Felting of cotton fibres with the help of resins is taking the place of weaving. Unless we make sure that our Khadi policy rests on a sound practicable basis and fits into the over-all picture, Khadi is bound to fail."

"It may, but the labour expended on it won't have been wasted," replied Gandhiji.

#### CURE FOR PERPLEXITY

"No good effort is ever wasted", proceeded the friend. "But the latest orientation of your Khadi policy continues to perplex many a sincere Khadi lover and worker. Their perplexity ought to be removed. Some of them even talk of going in for uncertified Khadi."

"The perplexity won't be removed if they have no faith in Khadi," replied Gandhiji.

"So long as there is demand for Khadi, it ought to be fulfilled even if prices of Khadi have to be raised."

"That means that Khadi will become fancy goods. It won't be right to use a vast organization for such a purpose. Our duty is to find out and remedy if there is any fundamental defect in our Khadi policy and if in the process, it is found that Khadi is not basically a sound proposition, it should be given a decent burial. Today Khadi is on its trial. It will successfully emerge from it only by virtue of its inherent strength and if it lacks that strength, all bother about it will be love's labour lost."

"All I know," finally persisted the friend, "is that where there is widespread and genuine demand for a commodity and the supply falls short, it

should be possible to devise ways and means to adjust the economic balance and satisfy the demand in question."

#### A TESTAMENT OF FAITH

Gandhiji replied: "I can only warn you of the danger. There was a time when we used machine-carded slivers for spinning. We might as well have used mill yarn. For, what is a roving but unspun yarn? If we had not broken away from it and had not introduced hand-carding, Khadi would have been defunct by now. The late Sir Gangaram said to me: 'Only give up the spinning wheel, concentrate on the handloom and I am with you.' He did not realize, what we know today, that the use of mill yarn is the principal stranglehold on the handloom industry. In handspun yarn lies its only salvation. If the spinning wheel goes, the handloom is bound to follow suit. Khadi will cease to have any value in my eyes, if it does not usefully employ the millions. Many of the "compromises" that have been suggested are such as to take away from it its essential character. The late Sir Fazalbai prophesied to me when I saw him thirty years ago, that Khadi was ultimately bound to fail. He is gone but Khadi has remained. May be a new era has now opened and Khadi is an anachronism in it. Only, I do not feel so."

Sevagram, 17-8-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### "Remember the Harijan"

A correspondent writes:

"Shri *Ganesh-utsava* started by the late Lokamanya is coming near; most of our ministers and leaders will be invited by various associations to speak on this occasion. I desire to suggest to the speakers that they should accept such invitations, provided that the management would allow 'Harijans' to take part in the function; they should also make it a point to take at least one Harijan with them, when they go to address the congregation."

The above suggestion is apt. If caste Hindus really wish to stamp out untouchability, they should publicly associate Harijans with them, especially on such occasions as the celebration of Hindu festivals.

Sevagram, 16-8-'46

#### Goa

The following telegrams have been received regarding Shri Kakodkar's arrest and imprisonment:

"Purshottam Kakodkar arrested in connection recent Satyagraha movement Goa. In spite being political prisoner imprisoned dingy ill-ventilated cell in company criminals awaiting trials for murder robberies. Food supplied most ordinary insufficient being half normal meal. Expressed willingness to work for his meal. Also pleaded on behalf his other unfortunate companions in cell for better treatment. In respect food authorities turned deaf ear. He is on hunger strike since last three days. Authorities' attitude arrogant offensive."

"Purshottam Kakodkar fifth day hunger strike. Condition precarious. Allowed see persons under guard. Attitude authorities unconcerned."

If the charges attributed to the Goan authorities are true, they reflect great discredit on them. It is to be hoped that the civil resisters of Goa will not be cowed down by any ill-treatment, however grave it may be.

I am not sure about the wisdom of the resorted hunger strike. Let me hope that it will produce the desired effect. In any case, having been undertaken, it must be prosecuted to the end.

Sevagram, 18-8-'46

M. K. G.

## HARIJAN

August 25

1946

### WHAT CAN VIOLENCE DO ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If newspaper reports are to be believed, responsible ministers in Sindh and other equally responsible Leaguers almost all over, are preaching violence in naked language. Nakedness is itself a virtue as distinguished from hypocrisy. But when it is a hymn of obscenity, it is a vice to be shunned, whether it resides in a Leaguer or any other person. Any Muslim who is not in the League is a traitor, says one. The Hindu is a *kafar* deserving the fate of such, says another.

Calcutta has given an ocular demonstration of what direct action is and how it is to be done.

Who is the gainer? Certainly not the Muslim masses nor the sober follower of Islam which itself means sobriety and peace. The very salute '*salam alaikum*' means 'piece be unto you'.

Violence may have its place in life but not that which we have witnessed in Calcutta, assuming of course, that newspaper accounts are to be trusted. Pakistan of whatever hue does not lie through senseless violence. When I write of senseless violence, I naturally assume the possibility of sensible violence, whatever the latter may be. The Calcutta demonstration was not an illustration of sensible violence.

What senseless violence does is to prolong the lease of the life of British or foreign rule. I believe that the authors of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission desire peaceful transfer of power to representative Indian hands. But if *we* need the use of the British gun and bayonet, the British will not go or, if they do, some other foreign power will take their place. We will make a serious mistake, if, everytime the British bayonet is used, we trot out the agent provocateur. No doubt he has been at work. Let us not ride that horse to death.

Calcutta has earned a bad repute of late. It has seen too many wild demonstrations during the past few months. If the evil reputation is sustained for some time longer, it will cease to be the City of Palaces, it will become the city of the dead.

Would that the violence of Calcutta were sterilized and did not become a signal for its spread all over. It depends upon the leaders of the Muslim League of course, but the rest will not be free from responsibility. They can retaliate or refrain. Refraining is easy and simple, if there is the will. Retaliation is complicated. Will it be tooth against tooth or many against one ?

Sevagram, 19-8-'46

### MASS MURDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes :

"The food famine situation in Mysore and Rayalaseema is daily growing more serious. Unless imports pour in sufficient quantities, the local co-operative stores will fail to supply rations—starvation rations as they are, since only 8 oz. of rice is being given to peasants who need 24 oz. to keep them fit—to the peasant masses and I am afraid that we may have to be prepared to face deaths, due to starvation in November and December."

If even half of what he says is true, it is a sad reflection on our capacity to cope with food famine in a vast country like India where there is land lying waste or ill-used and water running rapidly into the sea for want of human ingenuity to dam and store it. The writer says that unless imports "pour in sufficient quantities", meaning undoubtedly that they come from outside India, "mass deaths due to starvation in November and December" are a certainty. I suggest to everyone concerned that if this happens, the Government of the country will be guilty of mass murder.

To look to outside sources for food supply is to invite starvation. Has it ever been made clear that India has no capacity for growing sufficient food between now and November? Need a vast country like India with its teeming millions starve, even if the whole world were to declare a blockade against it?

Sevagram, 16-8-'46

### DISLOYALTY TO KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes :

"On 31st July 1946, at 6 p. m., 13 college students (Khadi wearers) headed by a prominent Congressman, who is also a councillor, came in the Khadi Bhandar. The sale was closed due to shortage of Khadi. Only a few pieces of Khadi were kept in the cupboard upstairs, as it was not possible to satisfy about 1500 Khadi wearers from these few pieces. They at once went up, took thirteen full pieces forcibly, asked the Manager to take money, and also without yarn, and on refusal of accepting money in protest by the Manager, they went away with the cloth.

"Was it not the duty of the Manager to lodge a complaint against them in the police, or what action should he have taken in preventing them from taking away the cloth?"

The Manager should really have resisted the looting, non-violently, even at the risk of losing his life. He is entitled to lodge a complaint against the miscreants, provided that all other avenues of voluntary return of the loot have been explored and have failed.

Rowdyism by students has become a byword. If "a prominent Congressman" encouraged them, it was a matter of shame. The use of looted Khadi betrays woeful ignorance of the elements of Swaraj and makes Khadi such a mockery.

Sevagram, 18-8-'46

## CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND RURAL UPLIFT

Resumption of office by Congress Ministers in the Provinces is by no means an experiment in constitutionalism. The task before them is to realize the content of Independence for the masses which the Congress has envisaged. What should be the end of our economic policy and the nature of social organization that should be built up and what are the obstacles in the present economic and administrative organization in achieving the goal of rural prosperity — these were the questions that the Ministers for Industries from the various Provinces, who met in conference in the Council Hall at Poona on the 31st of July, set themselves to examine.

Gandhiji explained his approach to Village Industries in the course of a thirty minutes address. The conception underlying both the Nai Talim and the Village Industries programme, including Khaddar, was rooted in the same thing viz. concern for the dignity and status of the Village unit as against the big cities and of the individual against the machine. The concern was further augmented by the fact that India lives not in a handful of her big cities but in her 700,000 villages. The problem was of re-establishment of justice between the town and the village. As it was, the balance was heavily tipped in favour of the former to the disadvantage of the latter.

### THE MACHINE AGE

"Ours has been described as the machine age," observed Gandhiji, "because the machine dominates our economy. 'Now, what is a machine?'—one may ask. In a sense, man is the most wonderful machine in creation. It can neither be duplicated nor copied." He had, however, used the word not in its wider sense but in the sense of an appliance that tended to displace human or animal labour instead of supplementing it or merely increasing its efficiency. That was the first differential characteristic of the machine. The second characteristic was that there was no limit to its growth or evolution. That could not be said of human labour. There was a limit beyond which its capacity or mechanical efficiency could not go. Out of this circumstance arose the third characteristic of the machine. It seemed to be possessed of a will or genius of its own. It was antagonistic to man's labour. Thus it tended more to displace man, one machine doing the work of hundred, if not a thousand, who went to swell the army of the unemployed and the under-employed, not because it was desirable but because that was its law. In America it had perhaps reached the extreme limit. He had been opposed to it, said Gandhiji, not from today, but even before 1908 when he was in South Africa surrounded by machines. Their onward march had not only not impressed him but had repelled him. "It then dawned on me that to suppress and exploit the millions, the machine was the device *par excellence*, it had no place in man's economy if, as social units, all men were to be equal. It is my belief that the machine has not added to man's stature and it won't serve the world but disrupt it, unless it is

put in its proper place. Then, I read Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' during a train journey to Durban and it gripped me immediately. I saw clearly that if mankind was to progress and to realize the ideal of equality and brotherhood, it must adopt and act on the principle of 'Unto This Last'; it must take along with it even the dumb, the halt and the lame. Did not Yudhishtira — the Prince of Righteousness, refuse to enter heaven without his faithful dog?"

### MINISTRIES AND THE A.I.V.I.A.

In the machine age these had no place. Under it the fittest alone survived to the exclusion and at the cost of the weak. "That is not my picture, of Independence in which there is room even for the weakest," observed Gandhiji. "That requires that we must utilize all available human labour before we entertain the idea of employing mechanical power."

It was with that background, that he was instrumental in founding the Talimi Sangh and the A.I.V.I.A. The object was to strengthen the Congress which claimed to be essentially the people's organization. The Congress had created these autonomous institutions. The Congress Ministries could requisition the services of these organizations always and without any compunction. They existed and laboured for the villagers who were the backbone of the Congress. But the Ministries were under no obligation. If they had no faith in what these organizations stood for, they should plainly say so through the Working Committee. To play with a thing when they had no heart in it, would be worse than useless. They should take it up, only if they believed with him that it alone held the key to the economic and political salvation of the country. They should not deceive themselves or others.

### THE GOOD EARTH

The base and foundation of village industries was agriculture. "Years ago I read a poem in which the peasant is described as the father of the world. If God is the Provider, the cultivator is His hand. What are we going to do to discharge the debt we owe to him? So long we have only lived on the sweat of his brow. We should have begun with the soil but we could not do so. The fault is partly mine."

There were people, remarked Gandhiji, who said that no basic reform in agriculture was possible, without political power. They dreamt in terms of industrialization of agriculture by large scale application of steam and electricity. He warned them that trading in soil fertility for the sake of quick returns would prove to be a disastrous, short-sighted policy. It would result in virtual depletion of the soil. Good earth called for the sweat of one's brow to yield the bread of life.

People might criticize that approach as being slow and unprogressive. It did not hold out promise of dramatic results. Nevertheless, maintained the speaker, it held the key to the prosperity of both the soil and the inhabitants living on it. Healthy, nourishing food was the *alpha* and *omega* of rural economy. "The bulk of a peasant's family budget goes to feed him and his family. All other things



come afterwards. Let the tiller of the soil be well fed. Let him have a sufficiency of fresh, pure milk and ghee and oil, fish, eggs, and meat if he is a non-vegetarian. What would fine clothes, for instance, avail him, if he is ill nourished and underfed? "The question of drinking-water supply and other things would come next. A consideration of these questions would naturally involve such issues, as the place of plough cattle in the economy of agriculture as against the tractor plough and power irrigation etc. and thus, bit by bit, the whole picture of rural economy would emerge before them. In this picture cities would take their natural place and not appear as unnatural, congested spots or boils on the body politic as they were today. "We stand today in danger of forgetting the use of our hands," concluded Gandhiji. "To forget how to dig the earth and tend the soil is to forget ourselves. To think that your occupation of the Ministerial chair will be vindicated if you serve the cities only, would be to forget that India really resides in her 700,000 village units. What would it profit a man if he gained the world but lost his soul into the bargain?"

Questions were then asked.

#### REMEDIES

*Q.* You have called cities boils or abscesses on the body politic. What should be done with these boils?

*A.* If you ask a doctor he will tell you what to do with a boil. It has to be cured either by lancing or by the application of plasters and poultices. Edward Carpenter called civilization a malady which needed a cure. The growth of big cities is only a symptom of that malady. Being a nature curist, I am naturally in favour of nature's way of cure by a general purification of the system. If the hearts of the city-dwellers remain rooted in the villages, if they become truly village-minded, all other things will automatically follow and the boil will quickly heal.

*Q.* What practical steps can be taken to protect our village crafts from the invasion of foreign and Indian manufactured goods under the present circumstances?

*A.* I can only speak in broad terms. If you have felt in your heart that you have taken office as custodians and representatives of the interests of the masses, everything that you do, your legislation, your executive orders, the instructions that you issue, will breathe concern for the villager. To protect his interests, you do not need the Viceroy's sanction. Supposing you want to protect the hand-spinner and hand-weaver against the competition of mills and solve the problem of cloth shortage for the masses, you will put aside red tape and send for the millowners and tell them that, unless they want you to go out of office, they must make their production policy conform to the requirement of the masses, whose custodian and representative you are. You will tell them not to send mill cloth to certain areas, which are put under hand production or produce a certain range of yarns and textiles which comes within the hand loom weaver's domain. If you are in earnest, your word will go home and they will willingly give their

co-operation as they did recently, when they provided the required textiles for export to Indonesia, in return for Indonesian surplus rice for the relief of the Indian famine. But there must be that inner conviction first, everything else will then be all right. Sevagram, 8-8-'46

PYARELAL

### CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND BASIC EDUCATION

The worst sabotage during the Sec. 93 regime following upon the resignation of the Congress Ministries in seven provinces in 1940 was that of the basic education plans, prohibition and the programme of rural rehabilitation and resuscitation of basic rural crafts that were launched by the Congress Ministries. Naturally, the first concern of the Congress Ministries on resuming office, was to salvage what remained of their experiments and to take up the broken threads where they had left them.

The Education Ministers from the Congress Provinces met at the invitation and under the presidentship of Shri Balasaheb Kher in a conference for the purpose in the Council Hall at Poona on the 29th and 30th July. Education Ministers from all the provinces had been invited. But from two, they could not attend. Gandhiji attended the conference for over one hour on the afternoon of the 29th. Although the basic education experiment had received a set back so far as Governmental and affiliated institutions were concerned, it was continued under the auspices of the Talimi Sangh, who, thanks to Gandhiji's prevision, was fully prepared for the emergency. With the completion of the first seven years, basic education came of age. In his first meeting with the members of the Talimi Sangh in 1944, after his release from detention, Gandhiji explained to them that a stage had been reached, when the scope of basic education should be extended. They would have to take post-basic as well as pre-basic training within their compass. Basic education must become literally education for life. Taking up the thread of the argument from that point, Gandhiji explained to the conference in the course of his address, on what line that extension should take place and what, according to him, the duty of the Ministers was in that respect. He was speaking in answer to the question of Dr. Zakir Hussain, who was anxious that in their overzeal, they should not take a bigger bite than they could chew. An over-ambitious programme which they had not the means to implement, might prove a trap and danger.

#### "IF I WERE A MINISTER"

He knew clearly enough, said Gandhiji, what was to be done but he did not quite know how it could be done. So far they had their course mapped out for them; but now they had to sail on uncharted waters. He knew their difficulties. It was not easy for those who had been brought up in the old tradition, to break away from it at a stroke. If he were in the Ministerial chair, said Gandhiji, he would issue broad instructions that hereafter all educational

activity of the Government should be on basic education lines. Adult education drives had been launched in several provinces. If he had his way, he would conduct them also through a basic craft. In his opinion, cotton spinning and the allied processes were crafts *par excellence* for this purpose. But he would leave the choice of the craft to the people concerned in each case in the certain belief that in the end that craft alone which had the necessary intrinsic merit would survive. It should be the job of the inspectors and other officers of the Education Department, to go among the people and teachers of schools and by persuasion and argument, educate them in the value and utility of the Government's new educational policy. That was their primary job, not to lord it over them. If they had no faith in it or if they were unwilling loyally to work out the new policy, he would give them the choice to resign. But he did not think that it would be necessary, if the Ministers knew their job and put their shoulder to the wheel. Merely issuing orders would not do the trick.

#### REORIENTATION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

What he had said about adult education applied equally to university education. It must be organically related to the Indian scene. It must therefore be an extension and continuation of the basic education course. That was the central point. If they did not see eye to eye with him on that point, he was afraid they would have little use for his advice. If, on the other hand, they agreed with him that the present university education did not fit them for Independence but only enslaved them, they would be as impatient as he was to completely overhaul and scrap that system and remodel it on new lines consonant with the national requirement.

Today the youth educated in our universities either ran after Government jobs or fell into devious ways and sought outlet for their frustration by fomenting unrest. They were not even ashamed to beg or sponge upon others. Such was their sad plight. The aim of university education should be to turn out true servants of the people, who would live and die for the country's freedom. He was therefore of opinion that university education should be co-ordinated and brought into line with basic education, by taking in teachers from the Talimi Sangh.

The Ministers had accepted office as people's representatives. Their writ would not run beyond the four walls of the Council Hall, unless they could carry the people with them. What was taking place in Bombay and Ahmedabad today, was an ominous symptom, if it portended that the Congress had lost its hold over the people. Nai Talim was as yet a tender sapling but it held out big promise. Its growth could not be forced by ministerial ukases, if popular support was lacking. If, therefore, they could not command popular support, his advice to them would be to tender their resignations. They should not be afraid of anarchy. Theirs was only

to do their duty according to their light and leave the rest to God. People would learn the lesson of true Independence even out of that experience. .

He then invited questions. The first question was: "Can basic education be conducted minus the self-support basis?"

"You can certainly try," replied Gandhiji. "But if you ask my advice, I will tell you that in that event, you had better forget basic education altogether. Self-sufficiency is not an *a priori* condition but to me, it is the acid test. This does not mean that basic education will be self-supporting from the very start. But taking the entire period of seven years, covered by the basic education plan, income and expenditure must balance each other. Otherwise, it would mean that even at the end of their training, the basic education students will not be fitted for life. That is the negation of basic education. Nai Talim without the self-support basis would, therefore, be like a lifeless body."

Other questions and answers then followed:

Q. We have accepted the principle of giving education through a basic craft. But the Mussalmans are somehow opposed to the spinning wheel. Your emphasis on spinning is perhaps all right in cotton tracts. But do not you agree that it is unsuited to areas where the cotton crop is not grown? May not some other craft be substituted for it, in such places — agriculture for instance?

A. This is a very old question. Any basic craft to serve as a medium for education must answer the test of universality. As early as 1908, I came to the conclusion that to make India free and to enable her to stand on her own legs, the spinning wheel had to hum in every home. If England can become an exporter of textiles to India and to the whole world, although she does not grow a pod of cotton, I cannot understand why we cannot introduce cotton spinning in our homes, merely because cotton would have to be obtained from a neighbouring province or district. As a matter of fact, there is no part of India where cotton was not at one time grown. Localization of cotton cultivation in 'cotton tracts' is only a recent and anomalous development, forced upon India by cotton manufacturing interests at the expense of the poor tax-payer and cotton spinner of India. Even today tree cotton grows everywhere in India. Such arguments as yours, speak ill of our capacity for taking initiative, for our enterprise and resourcefulness. It would kill all manufactures if transportation of raw materials from another place were to be regarded as an insuperable handicap.

Moreover, to enable a person to clothe himself through his own effort, when the alternative is to go naked, is in itself an education. An intelligent pursuit of the various processes related to cotton spinning has besides, a very high instructional value. In fact, it covers the whole education of man as perhaps no other craft does. We may not today be able to dispel the doubts of the Mussalmans, as they are rooted in a delusion and delusion is a very real thing to its victim, while he is under its spell. But

if our own faith is clear and firm, and we can demonstrate the success of our method, the Mussalmans will themselves come to us and ask to be taught the secret of our success. They do not seem to have realized that the charkha has done more for the poorest Mussalman masses than even the Muslim League or any other Muslim organization. The bulk of the weavers in Bengal are Muslims. Nor should it be forgotten, that Dacca owed its world-wide fame for its *shabnams* to the deftness and skill of Muslim women spinners and Muslim weavers.

The same applies to Maharashtra. The best cure for the delusion is to concentrate on the performance of one's own duty. Truth alone will endure, all the rest will be swept away before the tide of time. I must, therefore, continue to bear testimony to Truth even if I am forsaken by all. Mine may today be a voice in the wilderness, but it will be heard when all other voices are silenced if it is the voice of Truth.

#### THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

"To produce efficient teachers for Nai Talim would take time. What should be done to improve education in the schools in the meantime?" asked Avinashilingam Chettiar speaking in English. Gandhiji chaffing him for it suggested amid general laughter, that if he could not speak in Hindustani, he might whisper what he had to say into his neighbour's ear, who would render it into Hindustani for him.

"If you realize," he proceeded, "that the present system of education cannot bring India Independence but only serves to deepen her slavery, you will refuse to encourage it, irrespective of whether any other takes its place or not. You will do whatever you can, within the four corners of the principles of Nai Talim and be satisfied with that." If people did not want the ministers on those terms, it would be better for the ministers to resign. They could not possibly be party to catering for poison, because they could not provide or because the people did not relish life-giving food.

Q. You say that for Nai Talim we do not need money but men. But to train men we again need institutions and therefore money. How can we get out of this vicious circle?

A. The remedy lies in your own hands. Begin with yourself. There is a good English proverb: 'Charity begins at home.' But if you yourself will sit in an easy chair like a *sahib* and expect others of the "lesser breed" to get ready for the job, you will get nowhere. That is not my way. It has been my practice ever since my childhood, to begin with myself and my immediate environment in howsoever humble a way. Let us in this respect take a leaf out of the book of the British people. A mere handful of them came to and settled in India in the first instance and carved out an empire for themselves which is even more formidable in its cultural than in its political aspect, so much so that, today we are so infatuated with English that we hug it just as a slave hugs its fetters,

even at the cost of the mother-tongue. Think of the faith, single-minded devotion, sacrifice and perseverance, which must have been at the back of it. It only shows that where there is a will, there is a way. Let us be up and doing with the firm resolve not to give up, come what may, and all the difficulties will melt away.

#### THE PLACE OF ENGLISH

Q. What is the place of English in this programme? Should it be made compulsory or taught only as an optional, second language?

A. I must cling to my mother-tongue as to my mother's breast, in spite of its shortcomings. It alone can give me the life-giving milk. I love the English tongue in its own place, but I am its inveterate opponent, if it usurps a place which does not belong to it. English is today admittedly the world language. I would therefore accord it a place as a second, optional language, not in the school but in the university course. That can only be for the select few — not for the millions. Today when we have not the means to introduce even free compulsory primary education, how can we make provision for teaching English? Russia has achieved all her scientific progress without English. It is our mental slavery that makes us feel that we cannot do without English. I can never subscribe to that defeatist creed.

Poona, 3-8-'46

PYARELAL

[The following resolution was passed by the Conference:

"The Conference of Education Ministers and Workers held in Poona on July 30th and 31st, discussed some of the most pressing educational problems before the nation and passed a few resolutions."

The last of these was:

"This Conference is of opinion that the physical well-being of children including adequate diet, medical care — both curative and preventive — and formation of health habits, forms an integral part of national education and necessary steps should be taken to introduce this educational programme in all primary and secondary schools — both basic and non-basic."

Ashadevi who has brought these adds that Ministers cannot implement them unless they are backed by popular support. To this end, she suggests the holding of a small conference of specialists such as educationists, medical men, nutritionists, social workers and workers for or in the villages. P.]

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## ALTERNATIVE TO INDUSTRIALISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes :

"Do you then believe that industrialization of India — to the extent of India producing her own ships, locomotives, aeroplanes, etc. — is necessary? If not, will you kindly suggest the alternative means by which India shall discharge her responsibilities as a free and independent nation?"

"If you believe in the establishment of such industries, who should, in your opinion, exercise control over the management and the profits that will accrue?"

I do not believe that industrialization is necessary in any case for any country. It is much less so for India. Indeed, I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship. All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly.

There may be sensation in living dangerously. We must draw the distinction between living in the face of danger and living dangerously. A man who dares to live alone in a forest infested by wild beasts and wilder men without a gun and with God as his only Help, lives in the face of danger. A man who lives perpetually in mid-air and dives to the earth below to the admiration of a gaping world lives dangerously. One is a purposeful, the other a purposeless life.

Whether such plain living is possible for an isolated nation, however large geographically and numerically in the face of a world, armed to the teeth and in the midst of pomp and circumstance, is a question open to the doubt of a sceptic. The answer is straight and simple. If plain life is worth living, then the attempt is worth making even though, only an individual or a group makes the effort.

At the same time I believe that some key industries are necessary. I do not believe in arm chair or armed socialism. I believe in action according to my belief, without waiting for wholesale conversion. Hence, without having to enumerate key industries, I would have State ownership, where a large number of people have to work together. The ownership of the products of their labour, whether skilled or unskilled, will vest in them through the State. But as I can conceive such a State only based on non-violence, I would not dispossess monied men by force but would invite their co-operation in the process of conversion to State ownership. There are no *pariahs* of society, whether

they are millionaires or paupers. The two are sores of the same disease. And all are men "for a' that".

And I avow this belief in the face of the inhumanities we have witnessed and may still have to witness in India as elsewhere. Let us live in the face of danger.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46

## THE PLACE OF MEDICINE IN NAI TALIM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Being engrossed in her work and being considerate of my time, Ashadevi never takes it unnecessarily. She did, however, come to me for five minutes the day before my departure for Delhi, to ask whether, in my opinion, there was need for teachers in the Talimi Sangh to study medicine and whether she herself should have the same four or five years' course that doctors have.

I at once realized that in spite of utmost trying, it is difficult for one like Ashadevi who has taken her M. A. under the old system of education to break away completely from its influence.

I have no degrees to boast of. And I forgot long ago to attach any value to the little knowledge I acquired in a high school. And I have drunk deep at the fountain of nature cure. So I said to her :

"You say that the first lesson our children have to learn is how to keep fit and how to keep themselves and their surroundings clean in every respect. I say to you that all the medical knowledge you require comes into this. Our education is conceived for the crores of villagers, it is for their benefit. They live close to nature, but even so they do not know the laws of nature. What little they know, they do not carry out. Nai Talim is derived from our knowledge of the piteous condition of the villagers. We cannot, therefore, know much about this Nai Talim from books. What we have hitherto acquired is from the book of nature. In the same way, we have to learn village doctoring from nature too. The essence of nature cure is that we learn the principles of hygiene and sanitation and abide by those laws as well as the laws relating to proper nutrition. Thus does every one become his own doctor. The man who eats to live, who is friends with the five powers, earth, water, ether, sun and air and who is a servant of God, the Creator of all these, ought not to fall ill. If he does, he will remain calm relying on God and die in peace, if need be. If there are any medicinal herbs in the fields of his village he may make use of them. Crores live and die like this without a murmur. They have not so much as heard of a doctor, much less seen one

face to face. Let us become really village-minded. Village children and adults come to us. Let us teach them how to live truly. Doctors aver that 99% of disease springs from insanitation, from eating the wrong food and from under-nourishment. If we can teach this 99% the art of living, we can afford to forget the 1%. They may find a philanthropic doctor like Dr. Sushila Nayyar to look after them. We need not worry about them. Today pure water, good earth, fresh air, are unknown to us. We do not know the inestimable value of ether and the sun. If we make wise use of these five powers and if we eat the proper and balanced diet, we shall have done the work of ages. For acquiring this knowledge, we need neither degrees nor crores of money. What we need are a living faith in God, a zeal for service, an acquaintance with the five powers of nature and a knowledge of dietetics. All this can be acquired without wasting time in schools and colleges."

On the train to Delhi, 26-8-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### CONFUSION ABOUT RAMANAMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes:

"Regarding your suggested cure of malaria by *Ramanama*, my problem is that I do not understand how to rely on a spiritual force for my physical ailments. I am also not sure if I deserve to be cured and if I am justified in praying for my salvation, when there is so much misery amongst my countrymen. The day I understand *Ramanama*, I shall pray for their salvation. Otherwise I would feel more selfish than I do today."

This is from a friend whom I believe to be an earnest seeker of truth. I take public notice of his difficulty, as it is typical of that of many like him.

Spiritual force is like any other force at the service of man. Apart from the fact that it has been used for physical ailments for ages with more or less success, it would be intrinsically wrong not to use it, if it can be successfully used for the cure of physical ailments. For, man is both matter and spirit, each acting on and affecting the other. If you get rid of malaria by taking quinine, without thinking of the millions who do not get it, why should you refuse to use the remedy which is within you, because millions will not use it through their ignorance? May you not be clean and well because millions of others will not be so, ignorantly or may be, even cussedly? If you will not be clean out of false notions of philanthropy, you will deny yourself the duty of serving the very millions by remaining dirty and ill. Surely refusal to be spiritually well or clean is worse than the refusal to be physically clean and well.

Salvation is nothing more and nothing less than being well in every way. Why should you deny it for yourself, if thereby you show the way to others and beyond showing it, actually serve them in addition by reason of your fitness? But you are wholly selfish, when you take penicillin in order to get well, although you have the certain knowledge that the others cannot get it.

The confusion lying behind my correspondent's argument is obvious.

What, however, is true is that the taking of a pill or pills of quinine is much easier than gaining the knowledge of the use of *Ramanama*. It involves much effort as against the mere cost of buying quinine pills. The effort is worth making for the sake of the millions, in whose name and on whose behalf my correspondent will shut *Rama* out of his heart.

Sevagram, 17-8-'46

## Notes

### Goa

The game of hunting lovers of civil liberty is going on merrily in Goa. A small power because of its smallness often acts with impunity where a great power cannot. If the facts are as they have come to me, Shri Purushottam Kakodkar is fasting in his prison and may soon join the majority. As a believer unto death in Satyagraha, neither I nor any Satyagrahi should deplore the death. In such deaths of spotless victims lies the seed of true liberty.

But what of the Portuguese Power which boasts of philanthropy and alliance with the Roman Catholic Church? That Power will have to justify itself before man and God. The blood of the innocents (assuming the innocence of the victims) will cry out from their tombs or their ashes. It is more potent than the voice of the living, however powerful and eloquent.

On the train to Delhi, 26-8-'46

### Cochin

I have read all that has appeared in the *Hindu* of 30th July about the announcement made by the Maharaja of Cochin. It is good as far as it goes. His Highness deserves congratulations for his courage. But good words do not carry us much further, unless they are accompanied by present action. It would certainly be a tremendous advance if the Maharaja were to make the beginning today, irrespective of what Travancore or other States do or do not do. Will Cochin become a part of what is called British Malabar today, the Maharaja keeping for himself no status other than what the free vote of the adult population of Cochin gives him?

Sevagram, 24-8-'46

### Move on

On reading about my persistent darkness, a correspondent sends me the following lines of comfort:

"The path may be clouded

"Move on, for the orbit is fixed for your soul;

"And though it may lead into darkness of night,

"The torch of the Builder shall give it new light."

Savagram, 16-8-'46

### English Notices

"You and Congress Governments advocate immediate discontinuance of English as the medium of instruction in this country. Will you not exert your influence through the *Harijan* to get all sign and direction boards, plates of offices, names of roads, streets, lanes, villages, schools, colleges, hospitals etc. written in the regional language of the district? A change in Government or semi-Government institutions will be a lesson to private shops, stores, saloons etc. to follow suit. Articles in the Company's and other Acts requiring a name-board in English must go."



I believe that nowadays the tendency is towards the use of the regional language on signboards etc. The correspondent is right regarding Government institutions and offices. Now that there are national Governments, the change should be introduced.

If any such rule exists in Company's or other Acts as referred to by the correspondent, it should certainly go.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46. M. K. G.

### Hindustani Prachar Examinations

"The examinations for the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, had been announced to take place on September 15th. But owing to the postal strike, letters were not delivered regularly for nearly a month nor did the centres receive the examination books in time. In the circumstances, the time for examinations has been postponed to November 17th (Sunday). In view of the extra time afforded, it is hoped that advantage will be taken to open more centres and more examinees will be forthcoming. The last day for receiving applications for the examinations at the Wardha office is 30th September."

I endorse the hope that the extra two months gained by the postponement will mean more entrants for the examinations.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46 M. K. G.  
(From *Harijansevak*)

### Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust

In continuation of the list of provincial agents of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, already published in the 'Harijan', Gandhiji as the Chairman of the Trust has appointed the following provincial agents:

1. Delhi: Shrimati Vedkumari
2. Central India: Shrimati Rukmini Devi Sharma
3. Tamil Nad: Dr. Soundaram Ramchandran
4. Nizam's Dominions: Shrimati Gyan Kumari Heda
5. Maharashtra: Shrimati Prema Kantak

Wardha, 6-8-'46 SHYAMLAL

### Errata

1. In *Harijan* of July 28, 1946, in the article 'Inspiring for Gramsevak', on p. 240, column two, line 4, read 1945 for, 1935.

2. Same para, line 25, 'from the railway line' should read 'from the city'.

3. Second para, line 4, 'September 1943' should read 'September 1942'.

4. In *Harijan* of August 11, in the note on Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, on p. 258, the figure of Rs. 2,01,866-2-10 against total expenditure referred to expenditure through the Central Office only. To this must be added the following:

Expenditure through the Provincial Offices  
Rs. 1,35,647-0-7

~~Advances that have nearly been spent~~  
Rs. 80,681-7-10

Grand Total Rs. 4,18,194-11-3

5. In *Harijan* of August 25, 1946, in the article 'What can violence do?', on page 280, para three, last line read 'peace' for 'piece'.

## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What English knowing Indian has not felt the shame and sorrow of his failure to discover an equivalent for an English word in either his mother-tongue or the national language? A Gujarati lad has an English-Gujarati dictionary in such a case to help him; similarly an Urdu or Hindi knowing lad has his dictionary to fall back upon. But for Hindustani, which is neither Persianized Urdu nor Sanskritized Hindi and which is the tongue of the common folk of the North, whether Hindu or Mussalman, a writer has no dictionary to fall back upon. An attempt will be made through a column at least of the *Harijan* each week to furnish for English a Hindustani word or two, spelt in both Nagari and Urdu scripts. An endeavour will be made to give the names of those who will contribute their labour to this fascinating task. This is pioneer work and therefore will, like all pioneer work, have defects. Those who detect them, will confer a favour by drawing the attention to them of the Editor. I would suggest to students that they copy out these words week by week in a note-book and add to or amend the attempt. They will find that the labour will combine recreation with instruction.

Only those English words which are in common use, have been selected from a standard English dictionary. In reading the following, the reader should also know that no claim is made that the equivalents are the best possible or that they are exhaustive. They are a help to the searcher. The plan for this week is that those who are helping me to conduct the *Harijan* have prepared the first list. Kakasaheb and Acharya Shrimannarayan looked at the selection. The first letters of their names "Ka" or 'Shri' have been given in parenthesis after the addition.

Sevagram, 23-8-'46

1. Abandon v. छोड़ देना, तजना, (का०) त्यागना (श्री०) ।  
چھوڑ دینا، تَجنا، (کا) ٹیاگنا (شری)
2. Abase v. जलील करना, घटिया बनाना ।  
ذلیل کرنا، گھٹیا بنانا
3. Abash v. पानी पानी करना, शर्मदा करना, शरमाना, झपना, लजाना ।  
پانی پانی کرنا، شرمندہ کرنا، شرمانا، جھینپنا، لجانا
4. Abate v. घटना, घटाना, नरम पड़ना (का०) ।  
گھटना، گھٹانا (کا) نرم پڑنا (کا)
5. Abbreviate v. छोटा करना ।  
چھوٹا کرنا
6. Abdicate v. تخت छोड़ना, राज-पाट छोड़ना ।  
تخت چھوڑنا، راج-پاٹ چھوڑنا
7. Abdomen n. पेट
8. Abduct v. भगा लेजाना ।  
بھگا لے جانا
9. Abide by v. पक्का रहना (वादे पर), पालन करना (वचन का), पाबन्द रहना ।  
پکا رہنا (وعدہ پر)، پالن کرنا (ک)، پابند رہنا
10. Ability n. लियाकत
11. Able adj. لائق
12. Abnormal adj. غیر معمولی، انریت، अनरीत
13. Abolish v. मिटाना, खुदा देना, रद करना (का०) ।  
مٹانا، اٹھا دینا، رد کرنا (کا)

# HARIJAN

September 1

1946

## IF I WERE THE MINISTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The talks with the Ministers concerned at Poona on 29th to 31st July on village-crafts and basic education have given rise to a lot of correspondence and private discussion. For the guidance of the Provincial Governments and others interested in the question of Khadi which has naturally occasioned the bulk of the correspondence and discussion, I set forth below my thoughts on the subject.

I refer the reader to my note in the *Harijan* of 28th April last. My views, then expressed, remain unaltered. One thing has created a misunderstanding. Some friends have read compulsion in that note. I am sorry for the obscurity. In it I had answered the question as to what representative governments could do if they wished. I had, I hope pardonably, assumed that such governments' notices too could not be interpreted as compulsion. For every act of a *bona fide* representative government would assume consent of the voters represented. The voters would mean the whole populace, whether registered as voters or not. With that background, I wrote that the government should notify to the villagers that mill cloth would not be supplied to the villagers after a certain fixed date, so as to enable them to wear Khadi prepared by themselves.

Whatever the meaning of my article of 28th April last, I want to state that any scheme adopted about Khadi, without the willing co-operation of those concerned, must mean death to Khadi as a means for attaining Swaraj. Then the taunt that Khadi was a return to the darkness and slavery of the Middle Ages would be true. But I have held the contrary view. Whilst Khadi under compulsion was a badge of slavery, Khadi intelligently and voluntarily prepared, primarily for one's own use, was easily the badge of our freedom. Freedom is nothing if it is not all-round self-help. I, for one, would have nothing to do with Khadi, if it were not a free man's privilege as well as duty.

A friendly critic asks whether Khadi thus prepared could also and at the same time be for sale. Yes, if sale is its secondary use; not, if manufacture for sale is its only or even primary use. That we began with sale of Khadi shows temporary necessity as well as our limited vision. Experience is a great teacher. It has taught us many things. Not the least is its primary use. But it is by no means the last. But I must leave this fascinating field of speculation and proceed definitely to answer the question put in the heading.

My first business as the minister in charge of revival of the villages as the centre of all govern-

mental activity, would be to find out from among the Permanent Service honest and incorruptible men capable for the work. I would put the best among them in touch with the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A., creations of the Congress, and bring in a scheme for giving the village-crafts the greatest encouragement. I would stipulate, there should be no compulsion on the villagers, that they must not slave for others and that they should be taught to help themselves and rely upon their own labour and skill for the production of articles of food, cloth and other necessities. The scheme would thus have to be comprehensive. I would instruct my first man, therefore, to see the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and see what it has to say.

Let me assume that the scheme, thus produced, contains a clause saying that the villagers themselves declare that they would not want mill cloth, say, after one year from a fixed date, that they require cotton, wool and necessary implements and instruction, not as a gift but to be paid for on the easiest terms. The scheme provides too, that it will not apply at once to the whole of any province but only to a part to begin with. The scheme further tells one that the A. I. S. A. will guide and assist the working of the scheme.

Being convinced of its soundness, I would give it legal form in consultation with the law department and issue a notification, fully describing the genesis of the scheme. The villagers as well as the millowners and others would have been party to it. The notification will show clearly that it is the people's measure, though bearing the Government stamp. The Government money will be used for the benefit of the poorest villagers, making the largest return possible to the people concerned. It will, therefore, be probably the most profitable investment in which expert assistance will be voluntary and overhead charges the least item. The notification will give in detail, the whole cost to the country and the return to the people.

The only question for me as minister is whether the A. I. S. A. has the conviction and capacity to shoulder the burden of creating and guiding a Khadi scheme to success. If it has, I would put my little barque to sea with all confidence.

On the train to Delhi, 26-8-'46

### NOTICE

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya has been recently opened at Delhi (Kucha Mahajani, Chandni Chowk). Copies of the four weeklies *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati), and *Harijansevak* (both in Nagari and Urdu scripts), of our Gujarati monthly, *Shikshan ane Sahitya*, and our publications will be available there. The subscriptions for weeklies and the monthly will be received there. All sales in Delhi and New Delhi, of *Harijan* and its various editions will henceforth be handled by the branch office.

MANAGER.

## WEEKLY LETTER

I

MAHADEV DESAI DAY

The fourth anniversary of Mahadevbhai's death in prison was jointly observed by the various Sevagram institutions on the 15th of August. Beginning with a *baitalik* in the morning, the students and workers went round the Ashram singing Rabi Babu's songs dear to Mahadevbhai and dispersed after a final chorus in front of his hut. An exhibition of specimens of calligraphy and common spinning occupied the place of honour in the day's programme. His diaries, manuscripts, letters, all in his uniform print-like hand, provided a perfect feast for the eyes. Whether he wrote English, Gujarati, Sanskrit or Persian script, it carried the mark of distinction and elegance. Specimens of handwriting of other celebrities in the Congress and of numerous lesser lights in the Ashram, who had more or less successfully adopted him as their model in that respect, not to mention the students of the Basic School, completed the picture.

Gandhiji swears by little things on which, he has often averred, his life is built. Drawing attention to three aspects of Mahadev's life at the prayer gathering on the evening of the 15th, he remarked: "Friends and admirers of Mahadev Desai have been following the practice of observing his death anniversary by occupying themselves with something dear to him. His was a rich, gifted hand. He had many loves. Among these the spinning wheel held the first place. He spun regularly and beautifully like the artist that he was. No matter how fatigued or overworked he was, he always found time for spinning. It refreshed him.

"Among his many accomplishments, not the least was his peerless handwriting. There he was master. Ramadas Swami in one of his couplets has likened beautiful handwriting to a lustrous pearl. The characters which Mahadev's pen traced were like a pearl without a flaw.

"His third quality which all should emulate and copy was his love of the Indian tongues. He was a linguist. He attained proficiency in Bengali, Marathi and Hindi and he learnt Urdu. In jail he attempted to learn Persian and Arabic under Khwaja Sahib M. A. Majid, who was a fellow prisoner."

Commenting on Rabi Babu's song that had been sung, Gandhiji observed: "The song which you have just heard was one of Mahadev's favourite songs. He has rendered it into Gujarati verse too.

When the heart is hard and parched up, come upon me with a shower of mercy,

When grace is lost from life, come with a burst of song,

When tumultuous work raises its din on all sides shutting me out from beyond, come to me, my Lord of silence, with Thy peace and rest.

When my beggarly heart sits crouched, shut up in a corner, break open the door of my mind, and come with the ceremony of a king.

When desire blinds the mind with delusion and dust, O Thou Holy One, Thou wakeful, come with Thy light and Thy thunder. — Gitanjali

That summed up the innermost yearning of the deceased's soul. May it do yours too. Mahadev's life was an inexhaustible well of virtues which you can all share. The sharing won't diminish its volume. That is the beauty of spiritual treasures. As the Upanishad says:

“पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदं पूर्णात् पूर्णमुदच्यते ।

पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावशिष्यते ॥”

PANDIT NEHRU AT SEVAGRAM

Availing themselves of Pandit Jawaharlal's presence at Wardha in connection with the Working Committee's meeting, the Sevagram group of institutions invited Panditji to meet them in the New Talimi Sangh Hall also known as Rabi Hall at Sevagram Ashram. These included the Khadi Vidyalaya, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, the Go-Seva Sangh and the trainees under the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial scheme. In a luminous little speech Panditji expressed great satisfaction at the pace at which the place had grown since he had visited Sevagram last. A busy hive of constructive activities institutions had sprung up where only a few scattered hamlets stood before. Great tasks awaited the trainees, who had come there for training, on their return to their respective fields of work, he said. It was no small task to raise the level of 40 crores of men, women and children. Papers, remarked Panditji, were full of politics these days. In a way it was natural. But they should remember that political independence only cleared the way for constructive work. It could not take the place of constructive work. "If we succeed in driving out the English and the condition of the country remains unchanged, we shall only have travelled farther to fare worse. Political independence will only remove the obstacles that hinder nation-building. Real work would only then begin. We must remove the poverty and unemployment that afflict our masses and ameliorate their condition in general."

"What is wealth?" asked Panditji and replied, "Not gold and silver." A traveller who lost his way in the desert could not eat or drink gold and silver. He would gladly exchange all the gold and silver in the world for a morsel of food and a drink of water to sustain life. Gold and silver only provide a handy medium for the exchange of useful commodities. A nation's wealth was measured not by the precious metal in its vaults but by the useful commodities it possessed and the capacity to produce them. A nation that had healthy and industrious men and women with the skill and talent to produce useful commodities, was a rich nation, although it did not own an ounce of gold or silver. On the contrary, a nation that lacked these was a poor nation in spite of all the gold and silver it might possess. A person who did not produce but only consumed was a parasite living upon the industry of others and became a burden to society.

"Today on the one side, we have the spectacle of the idle rich who do no work and on the other, the poor toilers who starve because they can get no employment. The numerous arts and crafts of the people which once flourished in this country.

when India was free, have been killed and recurring famines ravage the land which today lies weak and exhausted as a result. That is our present plight. It has to be remedied. Not a single person should be without employment or means of sustenance. All should have equal opportunity for development and growth. All men are not equal in one sense—some are intelligent, others stupid, some weak, others strong. You cannot condemn a person for inefficiency when he has been denied the opportunity to develop efficiency. How can you expect a poor illiterate, half-starved villager to show the same capacity or efficiency as a well-fed person who has had all the opportunities for education and growth. It is not necessary that all men should be equal in every respect but all should have equal opportunity in life. Then alone can there be a fair appraisal of talent."

Capacity to earn money, went on the speaker, was no measure of talent. A money bag which a man made by exploitation at the expense of others was not an asset to the country. But a person who produced something useful, however commonplace, e. g. a table or a chair, added to the wealth of the country and was therefore an asset. It had become a fashion these days to attach exaggerated importance to academic education. It was also true that many of our distinguished public men, present and past, were drawn from the lawyer class. But it was a great mistake to think that Swaraj could be run with the help of academic talent alone. If all took to law, the country would be in a poor way. The country could do without a single lawyer but there would be a serious crisis if all the *bhangis* struck work for a single day. And yet this most useful member of society was dubbed as unclean and an inferior being. "Such is our topsyturvydom. India will need an army of trained workers, artisans, craftsmen, engineers, doctors and teachers to serve her people in the villages. We shall have to train them. That is what is being done here. I regard this work as being of first-class importance. A nation is not made great by a few distinguished personalities on the top but by raising the level of the whole mass of the people. Absence of outstanding personalities does not matter if the foundation is sure and strong. It is therefore of the utmost importance to strengthen the foundation. Gandhiji has done more than anybody else, to raise the level of the masses. But much more needs to be done in that direction. The students of today will be the teachers of tomorrow. If their training is neglected or otherwise defective, the foundation of Swaraj will be weak. The work that is being done here today, therefore, may not be outwardly very exciting or ostentatious but it is vital. It therefore delights me to see so many of you engaged in laying a solid foundation of the Swaraj to come."

#### THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE

When a man returns to his country after an exile of 30 years and more, for no other crime than love of the Motherland, he naturally becomes a legendary figure. In the case of Raja Mahendra Pratap, the legendary character is further strengthened

by his bizarre appearance and still more bizarre personality. After numerous adventures in Afghanistan where he became an Afghan citizen, Germany, Russia and China, he found himself under Gen. Mac Arthur's custody in a war criminals' camp after the occupation of Japan by the American forces. In October last, when his fate hung in the balance, he occupied himself with drafting his plan of 'Universal Unity' which he sent to Gandhiji for publication. "Our Muslim brethren, those Indians who fought in the war, Princes and the English elements in the country can all co-operate in our Congress if we see the new changes in the world in the right perspective," he wrote. The manifesto was signed "M. Peter Pratap, Servant of Mankind, Founder of World Federation!" He himself refused to take part in the world war No. II, nor did he join hands with Netaji Bose or the late Shri Rash Behari Bose. In Japan he insisted on describing himself as a "Stateless subject" and thereby added to the difficulty of those who were trying to help him to return to India. He speaks English, German, Russian, French and Persian, besides several Indian languages. He believes in the unity of all religions and the religion of universal love after his own style. At Sevagram Ashram, when he came to see Gandhiji the other day, he recited at Gandhiji's invitation his cosmopolitan prayer, consisting of extracts from Hindu scriptures, Bible and Koran, in addition to the Buddhist prayer at the evening prayer gathering. At Wardha in Bajajwadi, where he was a guest with the Sardar, he forgot to eat his luncheon in reciting his prayer verses while others dined! A colourful if an eccentric personality, years ago he donated his fortune to finance the Prem Maha Vidyalaya at Brindaban of which he is the founder. His friends and workers of the Vidyalaya will be glad to welcome him back after such a prolonged absence. Sevagram, 19-8-'46

#### II

#### HIS SPIRITUAL LABORATORY

Utopias have a nasty knack of recoiling on the heads of their authors. In Swift's Utopia philosophers, scientists and mathematicians among them, made a mess of things. The scientists devoted all their time to "extracting sunbeams from cucumbers" or "growing grain from chaff", the days and nights of the philosophers were spent in inventing robot permutation and combination word-machines for producing philosophical systems to order, the mathematicians occupied themselves with abstruse mathematical speculations about the courses of the planets and the probable end of the world "till their eyes were fixed with horror"! The net result of it all, however, was that in the whole kingdom of Laputa not a wall stood erect, not a corner of a building but was crooked! Gandhiji is no Utopian. He is determined not to let his Ashram turn into another Laputa. It is no easy task that he has set to himself. "Politics I take easy," he once remarked. "They leave me unperturbed. For, I can cut my way through them by the sharp axe of detachment." But the Ashram sucks him dry. It presents problems that would turn anybody's hair grey. Yet it has a

fatal fascination for him. "I do not know why," he remarked on another occasion, "but whatever institution I touch, I end by converting it into an Ashram—I seem to know nothing else." The explanation is not far to seek. Truth and *ahimsa* with him are no cloistered virtues to be practised in a vacuum. They are meant to be of use to mankind in daily life.

The poet lamented that he found God in the "shining of the stars" and in the "flowering of the fields" but that "in His ways with men and world" he found Him not. As a votary of truth and *ahimsa* Gandhiji holds that he must realize his God of truth and *ahimsa* in his little world of Sevagram Ashram or not at all. It is his spiritual laboratory. He goes further and insists that he must be judged solely by his surroundings. "My truth and *ahimsa* should be deemed to have validity only to the extent that they are reflected in the people around me," he says. Naturally he has to tackle their taxing conundrums.

#### A HARD CASE

On our return to Sevagram Ashram after a few months' absence, one of the workers was found to have got mentally deranged. He was in that state when he first came. This was the second attack. He became uncontrollable and a decision had to be taken. The Civil Surgeon of Wardha was consulted. He said he could not keep him in the Civil Hospital but would look after him in the Jail Hospital. So in his own interest as well as in the interest of the Settlement, he had to be sent to confinement. For Gandhiji it was like drawing out a live tooth but there was no escape. He put his dilemma before the Ashram-people. "He is a fine worker. After his recovery last year, he looked after the garden and kept the hospital accounts. He worked diligently and was happy in his work. Then he got malaria and was given a quinine injection because injection works quicker. He says the injection has gone to his head and is responsible for his mental affection. While I was working in my room this morning, I found him wandering to and fro outside, shouting and gesticulating. I went out to him and walked with him. He was quieted. But the moment I left him, he became uncontrollable again. He gets violent too and listens to no one. So he had to be sent to jail.

"It has naturally hurt me to think that one of our workers should be sent to jail. I may be asked: 'what about your *Ramanama* which you have claimed to be a cure-all?' Even in the face of this failure let me reiterate that my faith remains intact. *Ramanama* can never fail. The failure only means a lack in us. We must seek the cause of failure within us."

#### AHIMSА AND CLEANLINESS

Sanitation and cleanliness being the basic conditions of civilized life, great emphasis is laid upon them in the Ashram. But all sorts come there and some one, probably a raw newcomer, through ignorance or carelessness, wrongly used the latrine. It was brought to Gandhiji's notice. It grieved him. A mistake committed by any one member of society affected

all the others. It was therefore everybody's duty to see that a latrine was always left clean and tidy after use. If proper care was taken, there should be no smell, no fly-breeding. Trench system for the disposal of night-soil had been held to blame for flies. He differed. Trench latrines with proper care should be perfectly safe.

In Bangalore in a hotel, Dr. Fowler used an interesting method. He collected night-soil in a reservoir. The solid and liquid matter was well mixed, then poured on to a mound and covered with dry earth from day to day. No one could guess whether the mound was just dry earth or something else. After due conversion, it was sold as manure, as clean looking as any. If fly-breeding could not be avoided, epidemics and diseases were bound to occur. Yet it was extraordinary to see how complacent our people were about it. The food on which a fly has sat, should be considered unfit for human consumption. It should be thrown away. But theirs was a poor country where the vast majority could not afford to throw away food. Therefore, it was their first duty in terms of *ahimsa*, to prevent fly-breeding at all cost.

The external cleanliness was only a step towards internal cleanliness. Dirt within was much more dangerous than dirt without. "We should be cent per cent clean in our thoughts and actions. Otherwise, man becomes worse than the beast, for, a beast is a useful creature and deserves our respect and regard in its own place. An unclean man is undesirable in decent society."

#### PROBLEMS IN VILLAGE SANITATION

The fact that Sevagram is an unhealthy spot has always worried Gandhiji. It is situated in a hollow. The subsoil water rises almost to the ground level in the rainy season and creates problems in night-soil disposal, drinking water supply and malaria control. The incidence of malaria has grown less of late and health conditions on the whole have improved. Still Sevagram cannot be called a model, healthy village. On the 18th instant Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Secretary of the Advisory Medical Board under the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust scheme and Resident Doctor in charge of health arrangements in Sevagram Ashram and Village, called a meeting of doctor friends who had been kind enough to help her with their suggestions and guidance from time to time. Foremost among them was Dr. Jivraj Mehta who, in spite of his multifarious activities, always manages to find time for Sevagram. He has spanned the services of Dr. B. C. Dasgupta, the Health Officer of Bombay, Dr. Vishwanathan, the Malareologist for Bombay Presidency. Dr. Hassan, the new Public Health Minister of C. P. came with a batch of public Health Officers under him and they all went round the village and inspected its surroundings.

Thanks to the lack of co-ordination between the P.W.D. and the Public Health Department that characterizes our provincial administrations, the District Board has left a chain of straggling burrow



pits on either side of the *pucca* road that they have built between Wardha and Sevagram. With a little foresight and planning, the chain of pits might have been a drainage canal and thus served a double purpose. As it is, burrow pits have become pest-holes. The water in them stagnates and breeds mosquitoes. Then there are a number of *nullahs* near about, leaving pools of stagnant water. The earth is black cotton soil which cracks in the dry sun after the rainy season and the water stagnates in the fissures and breeds mosquitoes.

As anti-malaria measures, the doctors recommended D.D.T. spraying of the houses in the village, leaving the regulation and desilting of *nullahs* to be handled as a land reclamation project by the department concerned.

As regards the disposal of night-soil, they were of the opinion that septic tanks were the only solution if we want to eliminate the *bhangis* as a class. They were strongly opposed to trench latrines except as an emergency measure during festivals and the like. Whatever the possibilities of trench latrines theoretically, in practice, it led to fly-breeding and in a place like Sevagram with high subsoil water, contamination of water was bound to occur. For disposal of refuse and cowdung they suggested composting. As for pure water supply, they suggested that protected wells should be built while other wells whose water supply was not safe, should be filled in.

The proposals were placed before Gandhiji by Dr. Jivraj Mehta. Gandhiji while thanking them all for the trouble they had taken, said, he was afraid, elaborate schemes costing large sums of money would not do. He wanted Sevagram to serve as a model and therefore, he wanted nothing there, which could not be multiplied in the 700,000 villages. If they could do that satisfactorily even in one village, it might solve the problem of the other villages of India. Otherwise progress would be at a snail's pace and ambitious planning in a few villages would only stand out as a monument of costly futility.

The project of land reclamation was therefore for the time being put into cold storage. D. D. T. spraying was already being carried on. Gandhiji suggested that it should be intensified. The Government could use the place as a centre for experimental survey and malaria control. They could build a few septic tanks as an experiment but he felt sure that trenching, properly carried out, must remain the solution in the vast majority of cases. Shri Aryanayakam of the Talimi Sangh had offered to make an experiment to see if trenching could not be done without fly-breeding.

#### UNTO THIS LAST

The doctors left in the evening somewhat nonplussed. Was it not Eugene Debbs who said that so long as there was an unreclaimed criminal, his business was to identify himself with him? A little incident that happened on the morning of the 25th, the day of Gandhiji's departure from Sevagram,

furnished an insight into Gandhiji's mind. An Ashram inmate had come to say good-bye. He wanted to touch his feet. "Why should you want to touch my feet?" said Gandhiji. "Millions cannot do that and what millions cannot afford, we should voluntarily renounce. I go so far as to say that if *ahimsa* cannot be practised by the millions, I have no use for it for myself. But if they did not want to, although they could, I would hold on to it, even if I were all alone. People say that *ahimsa* is only for the saint and the seer. I think otherwise. If what they say is right, it ceases to have any value in my eyes. Similarly, if it were open to me alone to desire and strive to live for 125 years, I would not entertain that desire. But everybody can and should desire to live for 125 years, for the service of God and His creation. Self-interest too demands that. For, what would life be worth in a world, in which I am the sole survivor of all those I have worked with and known?"

Gandhiji had two little functions during the week with the trainees of the Hindustani Prachar School and of the Talimi Sangh respectively. But of these more in my next.

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46

PYARELAL

### WE ARE ALL INDIANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Roman Catholic student from Goa had the sad experience of being told by some of his fellow students in Bombay that he was a Portuguese and therefore a foreigner. When he told them that the Roman Catholics of Goa had castes just like the Hindus, he was not believed. These transitory lapses will take place whilst we are shedding our narrownesses and claiming all to be free Indians, slaves neither of the British, nor of the Portuguese nor any other foreign rule. If the same students were wisely handled, they would be proud to know their friend as an Indian and not as a Goan and be known themselves as Indians, not Bombayites. Everyone's religion is his own concern but his nationality is a corporate thing, carrying with it important and far-reaching consequences. That even among converts, there are castes is a reflection upon Hinduism and should set every Hindu athinking and make him become, with me, a *bhangi*.

Sevagram, 23-8-'46

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 31

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## SALES TAX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received many letters in regard to the Sales Tax Act of the Bombay Presidency. Many arguments advanced against it are, in my opinion, thoughtless. Nevertheless, I placed some of the complaints before the Finance Minister. Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta is a cautious and conscientious Minister. He has sent me a full reply.

It appears that this Act was framed before the popular Government came in. The present Ministry have made some essential changes in it. The letters received by me were full of criticism giving the impression that the present Government was wilful, indifferent to public opinion and the tax was already in vogue. As a matter of fact, not only has the collection of the Sales Tax not begun, but it has been postponed till October 1st and may be delayed still further if need be. Moreover, many articles of necessary use have been exempted, thereby showing that the Government has paid due attention to public objections and inconvenience. I am aware that there are people who hold that there should be no Sales Tax at all. A great deal has been said in favour of this view. But no government can exist if it were to listen to abstract objections. In other words, it is wisdom, in such cases, not to raise basic issues.

The Sales Tax is in vogue in many provinces. The main criterion in judging any tax should be that it does not hit the poor. It should also be seen that the money raised thereby, is used for the public good.

A popular ministry is responsible to the legislatures and cannot do anything without their consent. Every elected member in a popular legislature is responsible to his voters. Therefore, the voter who represents the public should ponder well before embarking on any criticism of the government of his creation. Moreover, one bad habit of the people should be borne in mind. They do not like any tax whatsoever. Where there is good government, the tax-payer gets full return for his money as, for example, the water tax in cities. No tax-payer could get water on his own for the same payment. But even so, and in spite of the fact that the tax is levied by the popular will, tax-payers always resent even paying such taxes. It is, of course, true that one cannot prove the benefit of all taxes as easily as the one I have cited as an example. But as society grows in size and complexity and the field of service also grows, it is difficult to explain to

the individual tax-payer, how he gets his return for any particular tax. This much, however, is clear that taxes as a whole should stand for the general benefit of society. If this were not so, the argument that taxes were levied by popular will would not hold. To the extent that we are still under foreign rule, the Government is not wholly responsible to the people. But in the Provinces today the Governments are popular up to a large extent and we must judge the Sales Tax accordingly.

New Delhi, 29-8-'46 (From Harijanbandhu)

## A SILVER LINING

It is an ill wind that blows no one any good. If a full account of all the kind acts of neighbourliness were to be recounted, it would probably balance the dark deeds of violence perpetrated by the men who had temporarily sunk to the level of beasts recently in Calcutta. For if man has the divine in him, he should inherently be good. The following letter from a Mahommedan is heartening:

"I live in Ballygunje Place. On August 18th my house was threatened but my Hindu friends kept the mob in check. Towards evening, however, the educated Hindus of the locality were losing control. Mine is a family of 35, mostly women and children. It was not possible to remove them with excited hooligans running about. My family and I, therefore, took shelter in the house of a Hindu neighbour while another took charge of my belongings.

"The rowdy element got scent of it and threatened my friend. 'Turn them out, you cannot save them', was their demand. 'I know I cannot save them, but I can die before they are touched,' was the firm reply. Attempts were made by some of my League friends to remove me and my family from this locality but I refused to leave my place of shelter, backed by all the cultured Hindus of Ballygunje Place.

"My brother has two shops in this locality; these were saved by the Hindus while my brother and nephews worked in the local volunteer corps to fight hooligans whoever they might be.

I am convinced that we Muslims and Hindus can live together peacefully unless a clash is engineered."

Such instances of Muslims harbouring their Hindu friends are also on record. If all were to realize that the bond of humanity transcends all barriers of caste, creed and race, we would make life worth living and banish the spectre of fear which today haunts not only individuals and communities, but whole nations and is the root cause of hate.

New Delhi, 30-8-'46

A. K.

## THE ECONOMICS OF KHADI

In the issue of the 27th of June of the *Eastern Economist*, a journal edited by the well known economist Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, there is an article entitled 'Khadi Economy'. After giving figures of various kinds, this article seeks to prove that if the required quota of man power were to be employed in the production of Khadi necessary to clothe India, there would not be enough persons left for the other essential services such as railway, police, education, medicine etc. "As a subsidiary industry for seasonal occupation, such as agriculture, Charkha certainly has a place among the cottage industries. But as an economic policy for the nation it spells pauperism."

The chief points raised in support of the argument are :

(a) India needs 800 crores square yards of cloth on the basis of 20 square yards per capita consumption.

(b) 3-30 crores of workers will be required to spin the necessary yarn.

(c) On the basis that a worker winds, warps and weaves  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards cloth in 8 hours per day, 1.06 crores of weavers will be required.

(d) Ginning will occupy 16 crore, carding etc. about 42 crore, bringing the total man power necessary for only the manufacturing processes of Khadi to roughly 5 crores. In addition, 330 lakhs Charkhas will have to be renewed annually for which lakhs of carpenters will be required. 30 lakhs of workmen will have to be reckoned on for making 5 lakhs of looms. 55 lakhs of bales of 400 lbs cotton will be required. The labour required for producing, collecting and transporting this huge quantity of cotton and for making all the above-mentioned accessories can be safely estimated at at least 7 crores, representing 18% of the total population. If 40 per cent of the population is reckoned as the labouring quota, 16 crores may be taken as a rough figure for India. If Khadi employs seven out of these sixteen, only nine crores are left to grow food, build houses, exploit mines, govern, police and protect the country, provide health and educational facilities etc. Since agriculture alone absorbs more than 11 crores, the production of cloth and food between them, will take up more than the entire working population, what about the other services ?

We will try to answer the above arguments one by one. Let us take weaving first. The writer has stated that 1 crore 6 lakhs of weavers are required. If 'weavers' include all the helpers that a weaver requires, the figure is correct. Even before the war, there were a crore of weavers in India, so that there is not much increase of labour required in this section. Weavers today are not getting enough yarn to fulfil their needs. Khadi production would at once absorb all these unemployed.

The same applies to the argument regarding the production of spinning wheels, looms and other accessories. We have more than the requisite quota of looms and spinning wheels in India today. No new ones need be manufactured immediately. More-

over, a spinning wheel lasts a lifetime. Even if some new Charkhas have to be manufactured to begin with, there will never be any need to produce them by the lakh annually. Only a certain amount of repairing will be required.

The fact is that no special or greater number of artisans is required for the manufacture of wheels, looms etc. The experience of the A. I. S. A. shows that wherever Khadi is being produced and the production is increasing, the very persons who produce and repair agricultural implements produce and repair Khadi implements too. These artisans do not now get full time work. But if wheels and looms were to ply in every village, they would certainly get wholtime occupation.

We will not have to start cotton-growing in order to produce 800 crores square yards of Khadi and, therefore, the question of more labour for producing, collecting and transporting 55 lakhs of bales of cotton does not really arise. India today produces, collects and transports more than 60 lakhs bales of cotton. On the contrary, our plan is for every village to produce enough cotton for its own needs. If this is done, the cost and labour required by big textile millowners and businessmen, middlemen etc. for transport, ginning and pressing factories will all be *ipso facto* eliminated.

There remains the argument of 4 crores persons being required for spinning, carding, ginning etc. But the question of employing labour at the rate of 8 hours per day for this purpose does not come into the picture of Khadi economics. All this work will be done within the orbit of self-sufficiency and as a subsidiary occupation. We want every person to spin at least half an hour daily during his or her leisure hours. On the basis that we have a labouring population of 16 crores, we shall get 8 crores hours of work from them annually. The number of those who do not do outside labour, is 24 crores which includes children, the aged and women. If we remove from this number those who are too old and sick and all children under seven years of age, say 12 crores, we shall still have 12 crores in addition to the 16, who can give at least an hour per day to spinning and carding. Moreover, included in the 16 crores are 11 crores agriculturists who are idle for at least 3 months in the year (giving us on an average 2 hours daily in addition) and who can also help to spin and card. In this way we can easily get 42 crores hours of work from all these persons instead of the 32 we need. The 12 crores mentioned above can, if needed, give us more than one hour daily from their leisure hours, so that we can really produce more than the assumed quota without drawing on any further man power.

It will thus be obvious that no more man power than is already available, will be required for cotton growing to weaving for the whole of India. For spinning, carding and ginning can be done during the leisure hours of the general populace. No diversion of labour from other utility services is, therefore, necessary. In fact labour engaged in ginning, pressing

This diet yields about 2600 calories.

The adult Indian male requires	2600 calories
Female	2100 "
Child 12 & 13 yrs.	2100 "
" 10 & 11 "	1800 "
" 8 & 9 "	1600 "
" 6 & 7 "	1300 "
" 4 & 5 "	1000 "
Pregnant woman	2400 "
Nursing mother	3000 "

But how much do they get in comparison with other countries? The figures reveal a sorry tale :

Country	Calories per head per day
America	3,200
Great Britain	2,600
Germany (after the war)	1,600
Japan (under American occupation)	1,575
'Grim and dangerous level'	1,500
and	
India	960

No wonder the death rate and infant mortality figures are appalling :

Country	1942 Death rate per 1000	Infant mortality per 1000 births
Australia	10.5	39
Canada	9.7	54
America	10.4	40
Germany	12.7 (1940)	68
England	12.2 (1940)	54
Japan	17.6 (1938)	114 (1937)
India	22.0	163

and our expectation of life woefully short :

Country	Expectation of life at birth
	Males      Females
Netherlands	65.70      67.20 (1931-40)
New Zealand	65.46      68.45 (1934-38)
Sweden	64.30      66.92 (1936-40)
America	63.65      68.61
Denmark	63.50      65.80 (1936-40)
Union of S. A.	61.46      66.80 (1940)
Canada	60.90      64.70 (1940-42)
Ireland	59.00      61.0 (1940-42)
England	60.18      64.40 (1937)
Germany	59.86      62.80 (1932-34)
Italy	53.76      56.00 (1930-32)
Japan	46.92      49.63 (1935-36)
India	26.91      26.56 (1931)

"Place any other country under the same condition, with crippled industries, with agriculture subject to a heavy and uncertain Land Tax and with financial arrangements requiring one half of the revenues to be annually remitted out of the country, and the most prosperous nation on earth will soon know the horrors of famine," said R. C. Dutt years ago.

Too long has India groaned under the cruel foreign yoke. Mr. Winston Churchill and those of his ilk who talk pious platitudes about their concern for the minorities of India, should read these figures and pause before they dare to play the role of hypocrites. Not until our people are able to get enough to eat, can all our schemes for proper housing or roads or even education and health be of any real avail. Adequate and proper diet is the first requirement of man and to this end the energy of all Provincial Governments must be diverted forthwith if we are to live.

Poona, 1-8-'46

A. K.

## A LIGHTER INTERLUDE

Gandhiji seldom has time for lighter interludes in his daily programme which, since his recent return to Sevagram after a long absence, has been more than full. But one such came his way yesterday when Shri Aryanayakam brought nine boys of the 7th class to meet him. These had all practically completed their seven years' course in the Sevagram Basic School. They were village lads from Sevagram and the neighbouring villages. Compared to those whom one sees working in the fields and who have never been to school, they were a heartening result of a first endeavour. They were clean, well-groomed, disciplined and well-mannered. Gandhiji cracked a few jokes with them which they entered into with merry laughter. One of them had the temerity to ask Gandhiji what type of boy of fourteen, he expected to be turned out after a seven years' course at a Basic School? Gandhiji seized the opportunity of telling them that if the school had done its duty by them, boys of fourteen should be truthful, pure and healthy. They should be village-minded. Their brains and hands should have been equally developed. There would be no guile in them. Their intelligence would be keen but they would not be worried about earning money. They would be able to turn their hands to any honest task that came their way. They would not want to go into the cities. Having learnt the lessons of co-operation and service in the school, they would infect their surroundings with the same spirit. They would never be beggars or parasites.

Sevagram, 21-8-'46

A. K.

## A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

[For the English quotations below I am indebted to Tryon Edwards' *New Dictionary of Thoughts* (Classic Publishing Company). — V. G. D.]

1

सर्वे मद्यमपेयम् ।

आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र १-५-१७-२१

"One shall not drink any intoxicant."

2

"There is scarcely a crime before me that is not directly or indirectly caused by strong drink."

Judge Coleridge

3

"He that is a drunkard is qualified for all vice."

Quarles

4

"Intemperance makes them engage in gambling."

Cotton

5

"Death wanted to choose his Prime Minister. Several courtiers presented their claims for the office, among these being various diseases and war. But Intemperance said, 'Give way, you pretenders. Am I not your parent?' The grisly monarch at once placed him on his right hand."

Dodsley.

6

"Drunkards kill themselves as much as those who hang or poison or drown themselves."

Sherlock

7

"I consider the temperance cause the foundation of all social and political reform." Cobden

8

एकतः सर्वपापानि मद्यपानं तथैकतः ।

चाणक्य (प्रेच) ३२

"All other sins on one side and drunkenness on the other balance each other."

9

मद्यपानात्परं पापं न भूतं न भविष्यति ।

चाणक्य (प्रेच) १२२

"There never was, nor shall there ever be a sin more heinous than drunkenness."

## PREACHING TO EMPTINESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Downes was a Seventh Day Adventist. He was a quack like me. He was my guest years ago in Durban. One day he said he must preach the simple life to those who cared to listen to him. He succeeded in borrowing a chapel hall for one hour in Mercury Lane and asked me to preside. I warned him that with me as chairman in the very early days of my life in South Africa, probably in 1894, he must not expect an audience. He would not heed the warning. Precisely at the advertised time Downes began his address to an audience of one. I asked him in vain to wait a few minutes for other comers. He would not be party to stealing God's time and unconcerned, he went on with his speech. So far as I remember, a few stragglers, under ten, came in during the speech. I happened to relate this experience to Horace Alexander whilst I was in Delhi. He gave me in return the stranger story of Stephen Grellet a Quaker, preaching to emptiness. I asked him to give me the authentic version for the readers of 'Harijan,' it being a rich experience of living faith in God. I reproduce below the story as sent by Horace Alexander:

"Stephen Grellet was a well-known Quaker preacher of the early nineteenth century. By origin a French emigre (Etienne de Grellet), after a residence in London, he emigrated again to America, and in later life undertook extensive travels in the Ministry on both sides of the Atlantic. The incident here recorded is not found in his own journal, but was vouched for by his daughter and is accepted as authentic by his most recent biographer (W. W. Comfort). But it cannot be exactly dated.

"S. G. 'waiting on the Lord to shew him His will' was directed by the spirit to take a long journey into the backwoods of America and preach to the woodcutters who were hewing timber in those parts. Seeking for direction to know where he should go, he pictured a part of the forest he had visited before, but which had left his mind, and a voice was heard in his own heart, saying distinctly but very gently, so that only he could hear it, 'Go back there and preach to those lonely men.' So he left his wife and home. As he proceeded on his way, a flood of happiness came over his soul. Coming near the place, he both trembled and rejoiced. But he found it 'silent and deserted.' The one big wooden hut that

remained, had evidently not been used for many days. The woodcutters had moved on into the woods, and might not return for weeks. Could he have mistaken the voice? No, he could not believe that. What should he do? He put up a silent prayer. Through the windless silence of the forest came the answer: 'Give your message. It is not yours but mine.' So he strode into the building, went to the end of the room and stood on a form as if there were one or two hundred eager listeners and preached to the empty building with a power he had never known in his life before. He spoke of the Love of God as the greatest thing in the world, of how sin builds a wall between man and God, but the wall is thrown down in Jesus Christ, who longs to come and dwell with man. S. G. thought of the silent woodcutters, rough wild men, and felt love for each one. How much greater, then, must be God's love for them! He prayed aloud for them. Finally, utterly exhausted by his effort, he threw his arms on the boards in front of him and hid his face in his hands. A long time passed. The place was still deserted. He noticed a poor mug, left as if to mock him. In his heart he hated the mug, and compared it with the beautiful utensils in his father's aristocratic house in Limoges in France. Why had he renounced beauty and luxury to follow a voice that led him on fool's errands, to preach to nothing but a cracked mug? He wrestled with this mood, and overcame it. He took the mug, cleansed it carefully at a little stream, drank from it, ate some dry bread from his pocket, and felt himself enfolded in a sustaining life-giving presence. He rode home again like a man in a dream, conscious that he was not alone. Years later he was crossing London Bridge in a crowd of people, wearing his habitual Quaker hat and coat. Suddenly someone seized him and said in a gruff voice: 'There you are. I have found you at last, have I?' S. G. remonstrated: 'Friend, I think that thou art mistaken.' 'No, I am not. When you have sought a man over the face of the globe year after year, you don't make a mistake when you find him at last.' In a loud voice, regardless of the passers-by the man tells his story. He had heard S. G. when he preached to nobody. He had gone back that day to get his lever from the deserted settlement. He had thought S. G. a lunatic, standing on the bench, preaching to emptiness, but had listened through the chinks. 'Your words went through a chink in my heart, though its walls were thicker than those of any shanty.' He was ashamed to be seen, so slunk away back to the camp, and was miserable for weeks. Finally he got hold of a Bible. How the other men laughed! He found the passage about the lost sheep. 'It's share and share alike in the forest. I told the men all about it, just like you. I gave them no peace till everyone was brought home to God. Three went out to preach to other districts. At least 1000 have been brought home to the good shepherd by that sermon of yours which you preached to nobody.'"

Sevagram, 16-8-'46



future citizens of rural India. Again, arranging *asans* everyday in new styles to suit the particular process in hand, provided good lessons in neatness and method.

But perhaps the most important lesson that was sought to be taught was that of co-operation. It is a lesson badly needed for reconstructing our villages and is one that can only be learnt through work. Work in the class-room was so arranged as to give the boys the sense that they would all sink or swim together, and it is surprising, how many opportunities for inculcating the spirit of co-operation can be found in that little world called the class-room where tuition consists in doing corporate work.

Within two months, the boys showed marked improvement in their general behaviour, which was visible to the whole Talimi Sangh community who had doubted the success of the experiment. The boys had become better disciplined and had done their work with great enthusiasm and joy. It was with pride and joy that they finally brought in their pieces of hand-woven Khadi.

We discovered that there was no conflict between the economic and the educational aspects. The close relationship between work and character was firmly established by various graphs, both individual and collective, which were elaborately maintained. The graphs showed steadily ascending curves. The improvement in production may be seen by the following figures for example:

Cotton-Cleaning		Ginning		Spinning	
Date	Average speed per hour	Date	Average speed per hour	Date	Average speed per hour
9-1-'46	6 <i>tolas</i>	9-1-'46	40 <i>tolas</i>	18-2-'46	262 <i>tars</i>
12-1-'46	14 "	11-1-'46	44 "	21-2-'46	306 "
13-1-'46	21 "	12-1-'46	63 "	22-2-'46	316 "
17-1-'46	42 "	16-1-'46	72 "	25-2-'46	328 "
18-1-'46	69 "	21-1-'46	104 "	28-2-'46	340 "
				4-3-'46	345 "
				22-3-'46	365 "

Tar = 4 feet

This increased production in itself would be no demonstration of the success of the education through work but for the increased mental capacity of the pupils observed and narrated in the foregoing paragraphs. The distinction between the workshop and a school-room where tuition is given through work consists in the fact, that in the workshop the apprentice works mechanically and slaves at only a part of the work turned out, no regard being paid to his mental growth. In the school-room every pupil learns all the processes, not mechanically but organically, so that the full capacity of the man in him or her is drawn out at a given stage. Looked at thus, the measure of increase in each pupil's work is the measure of progress in education.

There was time when we were afraid of our schools being called workshops. But we are no longer afraid of the same. Only our schools will be both economically more productive and educationally more instructive. It would be a happy day when we can plant one such 'workshop' in every one of India's villages.

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh,  
Sevagram, 1-7-'46

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

## TWENTY RULES FOR DAIRY FARMS

[The following are points to be kept in mind by dairy farmers as summarized by the United States Department of Agriculture. They may be observed by our cow-keepers with suitable modifications. — V. G. D.]

### THE COW

1. Have the herd examined at least twice a year by a skilled veterinarian. Promptly remove animals suspected of being in bad health. Never add an animal to the herd, until certain it is free from disease, especially tuberculosis.

2. Never allow a cow to be excited by fast driving, abuse, loud talking or unnecessary disturbance; do not expose her to cold or storms more than necessary.

3. Clean the entire body of the cow daily; hair in the region of the udder should be kept short by clipping.

4. Do not allow any strong-flavoured food like garlic, cabbage or turnips to be eaten except immediately after milking. Changes in feed should be made gradually.

5. Provide fresh, pure water in abundance, easy of access, and not too cold.

### THE STABLES

6. Dairy cattle should be kept in a stable, preferably without cellar or storage loft, and where no other animals are housed.

7. The stable should be light (4 square feet of glass per cow) and dry, with at least 500 cubic feet of air space per animal. It should have air inlets and outlets, so arranged as to give good ventilation without drafts of air on cows.

8. The floor should be tight and constructed preferably of cement; walls and ceilings should be tight, clean, free from cobwebs, and whitewashed twice a year. Have as few dust-catching ledges, projections and corners as possible.

9. Allow no dusty, musty or dirty litter, or strong-smelling material in the stable. Haul manure to field daily or store under cover at least 40 feet from stable. Use land plaster daily in gutter and on floor.

### MILK HOUSE

10. Have a light, clean, well-ventilated and screened milk room, located as to be free from dust and odours.

11. Milk utensils should be made of metal, and all joints smoothly soldered. Never allow utensils to become rusty or rough inside. Use them only for handling, storing or delivering milk.

12. To clean dairy utensils, use only pure water. First rinse the utensils in warm water. Then wash inside and out in hot water, in which cleansing material has been dissolved, and rinse again. Sterilize with boiling water or steam. Then keep inverted in pure air and sun, if possible, until wanted for use.

### MILKING AND HANDLING MILK

13. Use no dry, dusty food just previous to milking.

14. The milker should wash his hands immediately before milking and milk with dry hands. He should wear a clean outer garment, kept in a clean place

when not in use. Tobacco should not be used while milking.

15. Wipe the udder and surrounding parts with a clean damp cloth immediately before milking.

16. In milking, be quiet, quick, clean and thorough. Commence milking at the same hour every morning and evening, and milk the cows in the same order.

17. If any part of the milk is bloody, stringy or unnatural in appearance, or if by accident dirt gets into the milk pail, the whole should be rejected.

18. Do not fill cans in the stable. Remove the milk of each cow at once from the stable to the milk room. Strain immediately through cotton flannel or cotton. Cool to 50°F. as soon as strained. Store at 50°F. or lower.

19. Never mix warm milk with that which has been cooled, and do not allow milk to freeze.

20. A person suffering from any disease, or who has been recently exposed to a contagious disease, must remain away from the cows and the milk.\*

## STORY HOUR

[These stories are taken from G. F. Vallance's *Stories that illustrate texts*, Volume I. — V. G. D.]

### I

Plague was raging in London, and Lord Craven was about to leave it for safety. A coach and six stood at the door. The nobleman was stepping into it, when a Negro postilion said to another servant, "I should suppose by my Lord's quitting London to avoid the plague that his God lived in the country and not in town." The Negro's speech struck Craven forcibly, and he said to himself: "My God lives everywhere and can preserve me in town as well as in the country. I will stay even where I am. The postilion has taught me a fine lesson. Lord, pardon my unbelief and distrust of Thy providence, which put me upon running away from Thy hand." So saying he ordered the coach to be put away, continued to live in town and helped sick neighbours, but never caught the infection.

### II

One day when there was an explosion in Lanerch pit, Thomas and Bennet were in a part of the mine some distance from the place of accident, but they knew they must hurry to the shaft and get out. On they went through suffocating passages, but presently, Thomas who was ahead of his friend noticed that he was alone, and Bennet was not following him. He stopped and retraced his steps to find Bennet overpowered by gas. He shook him, raised him and once more started him on the way to the shaft, saying, "Run, man, run for your life." This time he put Bennet in front. By great effort Bennet reached the cage and was taken up. But Thomas who had gone back to save him did not come to the surface, the foul gas overpowered him, and he died in order that his friend might live.

"Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John XV-13).

\* *The Business Encyclopaedia* edited by Henry Marshall (Garden City Publishing Co., Garden City, New York).

## III

A rich and miserly old man visited his rabbi who took him by hand, led him to the window and said,

"Look out there and tell me what you see."

"I see men, women and little children."

The rabbi again took the old man by hand, this time led him to the mirror and said,

"What do you see now?"

"Now I see myself."

Then the rabbi said, "Behold, in the window there is glass, and there is glass in the mirror too. But the glass of the mirror is covered with a little silver, and no sooner is the silver added than you cease to see others and see only yourself."

## REVEALING FIGURES

The following facts and figures taken from a pamphlet entitled 'Food Crisis, 1946,' are of special interest in view of the food shortage:

### "Production of Foodstuffs in India (1945-46)"

Rice	25.8 million tons
Wheat	8.3 " "
Gram	3.0 " "
Millet	7.5 " "
Maize	2.2 " "
Barley	1.7 " "

The above quantity has been found insufficient for the total population of India and the estimated deficit is 6 million tons."

The Punjab, C. P. & Berar, Sind, Orissa and Assam are not exporters of cereals in normal times. The deficit areas are the N. W. F. P., Bihar, U. P., Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the States of Travancore and Cochin, all of which have to import either wheat, rice, millet, or all.

The production vs. requirements of foodstuffs annually is as follows:

Foodstuff	Production million tons	Requirement million tons	Deficit million tons
Cereals	50	60	10
Pulses	7	12	5
Vegetables &			
Fruits	Unassessed	At least double	..
Fish	0.6	9	8.4
Milk	22	35	13
Eggs	2660	146000	143340 (No.)

The following is a table of balanced diet for the maintenance of proper health:

Cereals	14 ozs.
Pulses	3 "
Green leafy vegetable	3 "
Root vegetable	3 "
Other vegetables	3 "
Fruits	3 "
Milk	10 "
Sugar & Jaggery	2 "
Vegetable oil, ghee etc.	2 "
Fish and meat	3 "
Egg	1 only

factories etc. and textile mills to the tune of 10 lakhs will be released for other work.

Finally it may be claimed that the entire economic structure of India can and should be based on Khadi. If it is based on centralized large-scale industry, the villages of India will have no peace, no well-being and no plenty.

That Khadi is neither as beautiful nor as enduring as mill cloth and that it is much more expensive are all arguments that have been dealt with before on several occasions and, therefore, need not be refuted again here.

(From *Harijansevak*) KRISHNADAS GANDHI

### A WAIL FROM GOA

Shri Purushottam Kakodkar in the course of a Hindi letter dated 12-8-'46 to Gandhiji from Panjim Prison, Goa, describes how, while he was talking with a friend on the main road, he was arrested at about 9 p. m. on Friday the 9th August by one Mr. Figardo, a Portuguese Police Official of Madgaon. On the 10th at about 10 o'clock he was brought under armed police escort to the Mamlatdar's *kutchery*, where he was interrogated by the Mamlatdar. In the course of examining him, the Mamlatdar lost his temper, used foul language and threatened "to do him to death." The same evening he was brought to Panjim Prison. According to his narration, food is served there twice a day, at noon and at night. Every time, it consists of rice, literally a handful, with little *dal* splashed on it, and a couple of spoonfuls of vegetables in addition to one or two *papads*. This is called "half ration", *adha khana*. When he drew the attention of a Portuguese Police Official to it, he was told that it was according to the rules and that he had no authority to give more. Even this provision is for 'beggars', not for those who have the means.

Shri Kakodkar proceeds.

"I took this food at midday today, although it was altogether inadequate. I have not committed any offence against society, yet have been made a compulsory guest of the Government. Whom can I ask to send me food from outside? I do not feel justified in sitting here like a drone and eating food provided by the labour of others. I am going to tell the authorities that I am prepared to work and that they must provide me with proper food."

Referring to conditions of jail administration, he says that sometimes, for hours, no watchman appears on the scene. The fault is not the watchman's but of the administration. The result is that prisoners who are locked up in the cells cannot attend to even the morning appointments regularly. For instance, when he gets up at 4-30 a. m. no watchman is anywhere to be seen and so he has to wait till 7 or 7-15 a. m. when alone he can answer the call of nature. Shri Kakodkar adds that he is suffering from piles which have flared up since his arrest owing to starvation, sleeplessness and too much chillies in the food.

New Delhi, 1-9-'46

PYARELAL

#### Errata :

- (1) In *Harijan* of 18-8-46, p. 261, column 1, line 2, read "long discipline" and instead "long discipline".
- (2) Same number, same page, column 2, line 5, delete the word "unaided".

### ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

#### ENGLISH

#### HINDUSTANI

Abominable *adj.* मकरूह, नफरत (घृणा) के काबिल।  
मक्रुह, नफरत (गहरना) के काबिल

Abound *v.* भरपूर होना, मालामाल होना। भरपूर होना, मालामाल होना

Abridge *v.* खुलासा करना, घटाना, संक्षेप करना।  
खुलासा करना, गहना, संक्षेप करना

Abrupt *adj.* अचानक, यकायक।  
अचानक, यकायक

Abscess *n.* फोड़ा।  
फोड़ा

Absence *n.* गैरहाजिरी, अभाव (श्री० का०)।  
गैरहाजिरी, अभाव (श्री० का०) (श्री-का)

Absolute *adj.* पूरा पूरा, पूरन (श्री०)।  
पूरा पूरा, पूरन (श्री०)

Absolve *v.* माफ़ी देना, बरी करना।  
माफ़ी देना, बरी करना

Absorb *v.* चूसना, घुल मिल जाना, सोख लेना, घुल मिलाना।  
चूसना, घुल मिल जाना, सोख लेना, घुल मिलाना (का०) (क)

Abstain *v.* दूर रहना, बचना।  
दूर रहना, बचना

Abstract *v.* निकालना।  
निकालना

Abstract *n.* खुलासा।  
खुलासा

Abstract *adj.* खयाली।  
खयाली

Absurd *adj.* बेतुका, लचर, फ़जूल।  
बेतुका, लचर, फ़जूल

Abundance *n.* रेलपेल, बहुतायत, बहुतायत (का०)।  
रेलपेल, बहुतायत, बहुतायत (का०) (क)

Abuse *v.* बुराभला कहना, गाली देना, दुरुपयोग करना।  
बुराभला कहना, गाली देना, दुरुपयोग करना

Abuse *n.* बुरी रीत, गाली।  
बुरी रीत, गाली

Abyss *n.* खड्ड, गढ़ा, रसातल।  
खड्ड, गढ़ा, रसातल

Accent *n.* लहजा, जोर, भार।  
लहजा, जोर, भार

Accept *v.* मानना, कबूल करना।  
मानना, कबूल करना

Access *n.* पहुँच, रास्ता।  
पहुँच, रास्ता

Accident *n.* वारदात, अकस्मात, घटना (श्री०)।  
वारदात, अकस्मात, घटना (श्री०) (क)

Accidentally *n. adv.* अचानक।  
अचानक

Accommodation *n.* जगह, गुंजायिश।  
जगह, गुंजायिश

Accompany *v.* संग होना या जाना, साथ हो लेना (का०)।  
संग होना या जाना, साथ हो लेना (का०) (क)

Accomplice *n.* साथी (गुनाहमें)।  
साथी (गुनाहमें)

Accomplish *v.* पूरा करना।  
पूरा करना

Accomplished *adj.* निपुण, कमाल, खूबीवाला।  
निपुण, कमाल, खूबीवाला (श्री०) (क)

According to *prep.* मुताबिक, अनुसार (श्री०)।  
मुताबिक, अनुसार (श्री०) (क)

According as *prep.* जैसे।  
जैसे

Account *n.* हिसाब, बयान।  
हिसाब, बयान

On account of *prep.* कारण, वजहसे।  
कारण, वजहसे

Account for *v.* हिसाब देना, जवाब देना, ठिकाने लगाना।  
हिसाब देना, जवाब देना, ठिकाने लगाना

Accumulate *v.* जिकड़ा करना या होना।  
जिकड़ा करना या होना

Accuse *v.* माये थोपना (किसी के), जिलजिम लगाना।  
माये थोपना (किसी के), जिलजिम लगाना

Accustom *v.* आदत डालना।  
आदत डालना

Achieve *v.* पा देना, हासिल करना (का०)।  
पा देना, हासिल करना (का०) (क)

Abide *adj.* बस, बसना।  
बस, बसना

Acknowledge *v.* स्वीकार करना, स्वीकृत करना।  
स्वीकार करना, स्वीकृत करना

# HARIJAN

September 8

1946

## ANTIDOTE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After giving a graphic description of the recent unfortunate and disgraceful happenings in Calcutta, a writer asks: "What is our duty in such circumstances? The Congress gives no clear instructions to the rank and file in such crises. Sermons on non-violence from afar are of little use. To have offered non-violent resistance would have meant allowing all property to be destroyed and every Hindu to be killed."

The Congress Working Committee has given the clearest possible lead in the last sentence of its resolution published in the newspapers. Fratricide will not abate by "intimidation and violence but by mutual understanding, friendly discussion and, if necessary, by agreed arbitration." One does not need to believe in non-violence as a creed to perceive the truth of this practical proposition. If through deliberate courage the Hindus had died to a man, that would have been deliverance of Hinduism and India and purification of Islam in this land.

As it was, a third party had to intervene in order to still mutual savagery. Neither the Muslims nor the Hindus concerned have gained by the intervention. Supposing that the Calcutta virus extends to the whole of India and British gunpowder keeps the two from stabbing one another, the British power or its substitute will be in possession of India for a long time to come. The length will be measured by the period required by the parties coming to sanity. It will come either by an exhausting mutual fight, independent of the foreign element or by one party eschewing violence in spite of heaviest odds. Successful mutual strife is obviously impossible in the present state of general ignorance of the use of modern weapons and their inaccessibility. Non-violence does not require any outside or outward training. It simply requires the will not to kill even in retaliation and the courage to face death without revenge. This is no sermon on *ahimsa* but cold reason and the statement of a universal law. Given the unquenchable faith in the law, no provocation should prove too great for the exercise of forbearance. This I have described as non-violence of the brave.

Unfortunately for us, we are strangers to the non-violence of the brave on a mass scale. Some even doubt the possibility of the exercise of non-violence by groups, much less by masses of people. They restrict its exercise to exceptional individuals. Only, mankind can have no use for it if it is always reserved only for individuals.

Be that as it may, this much is clear that if the people are probably not ready for the exercise of non-violence of the brave, they must be ready for the use of force in self-defence. There should be

no camouflage. Self-defence must be pure and simple. Then too it must never be cowardly or crude. It must, therefore, never be secret. Such is stabbing in the back and evading detection. I am conscious of the fact that we are a people unarmed and untrained in the use of arms. Opinions will differ as to whether it is good that we are in that position. There can be no denying the fact that no one needs training in the use of arms in self-defence. What is wanted for the purpose is strong arms and stronger will.

Doing injury to another is obviously violence but harbouring injury to another and yet unwillingness from cowardice to defend oneself or one's neighbour is also violence and probably worse than the first.

What then are the leaders to do? What are the new Ministers to do? They must ever seek to attain communal harmony — never under threats, ever for its own sake. I regard a Muslim or any Non-Hindu as my blood brother, not in order to please him but because he is born of the same mother Hind as I am. He does not cease to be my brother because he may hate or disown me. I must woo him even, it may be, in spite of himself. The new Ministers must resolve never to use British troops, no matter what their hue is, not even the police trained by them. They are not our enemies. But they have been hitherto used not to help the people but to keep them under the foreign yoke. They should now, as they can, be used for constructive purposes. The military are specially qualified for such work. They are trained and expected to bring into being canvas cities in a moment. They know what it is to procure and keep clean water and make perfect sanitary arrangements. No doubt, they know how to kill and be killed in the act. The public know this part of their work only too well. But it is by no means the most substantial part of their work. It is the background which should be prized, advertised and followed. The animal part of it is unhuman, the other part is essentially human and clean. Let us copy it and humanize the troops if we can. The attempt is worth making. It can only be made by those who are not deceived by the glamour that hangs round them and the awe they inspire. This is possible only when we have the courage to face death without revenge or retaliation in mind or deed.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

### For Readers

The 'Question Box' has become a regular feature of the *Harijan*. It tries to resolve the doubts of questioners as far as possible. But the post often contains questions which have been answered in one form or the other on more than one occasion. Readers should study the contents of 'Question Box' carefully.

Then there are letters asking for medical advice for sick people. The desire is there to answer such questions. But the fulfilment must take time. It is difficult too to satisfy incomplete postal inquiries. Ailing correspondents should wait awhile.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

M. K. G.

## GOA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"With reference to Mr. Gandhi's short commentary on Goa in the *Harijan* of the 18th instant, where he gives the so-called "contrast" between French and Portuguese authorities, we have to state the following for your knowledge and publicity purposes:

"There is nothing more out of place as a comparison between French India and Portuguese India. The objects, administrative methods and the goal are absolutely dissimilar in their essence. The recent integration (1816) of the French possessions in India in the French Colonial Empire and its setbacks, have nothing in common with Portuguese India which for more than 400 years, has been benefited by the Portuguese administration, completely identifying its destinies with the Motherland.

"If the inhabitants of French India wish to identify their destinies with Free India (what has yet to be ascertained), the same does not happen in Portuguese India where the totality of the inhabitants wish to continue under the beneficial action of Portuguese administration which has been the cause of its material and moral progress to the point of Goa, being the pride of the Portuguese colonizing effort and part and parcel of the Motherland.

"These being the facts based on historical data, we trust you will publish the relevant corrections in your paper."

This letter to the Editor of the *Harijan* from the Head of the Government Information Bureau, Nova Goa, makes sorry reading. It is an example of the truth of the proverb, "Comparisons are odious." Surely there is not much to choose between French and Portuguese imperialism. The hands of imperialism are always dyed red. The sooner imperialistic powers shed their imperialism like Ashoka the Good, the better it will be for the groaning world. One may be pardoned for giving credit to France, where credit is deserved as it is in the case of French India, assuming, of course, the truth of the newspaper version of the statement of the Governor of French India. Moreover, it is ridiculous for the Head of the Government Information Bureau to write of Portugal as the motherland of the Indians of Goa. Their mother country is as much India as mine. Goa is outside British India but it is within geographical India as a whole. And there is very little, if anything, in common between the Portuguese and the Indians of Goa.

I have read also the contradiction of my statement about Shri Purushottam Kakodkar. I must adhere to it in spite of the contradiction of the Portuguese authorities in Goa. Here is what his wife says in her letter dated 24-8-'46:

"Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, Secretary of the Goa National Congress, was arrested while talking to a friend on 9-8-'46 by the Portuguese authorities. On the 10th he was removed to Panjim (Nova Goa). On the 11th and 12th, he was kept on half rations. When he learnt that the authorities were deliberately

underfeeding him, he went on hunger strike on the 13th and was still fasting on the 20th.

"The Portuguese Government is undeterred in its policy and up till now (24-8-'46) no attention has been paid to the written request sent in by Shri Kakodkar for adequate food supply to himself and other prisoners."

I ask the Portuguese authorities whether they would allow a representative from the *Harijan* to meet Prisoner Kakodkar and ascertain facts for himself?

New Delhi, 29-8-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

THE LURID GLARE

"When the Ashram was first started in Kocharab we set before us certain ideals. Same ideals are before us today. What is our duty in terms of these ideals in the face of the conflagration that is raging in the country today? Let us be humble and confess that we have not got the strength today to meet all the expectations that the people entertain of us. But we are sincerely striving for it. If we had fully realized the principles for which we stand, we should have rushed into the blaze and offered the purest sacrifice which might have conceivably quenched the flames."—With these words Gandhiji took leave of the Ashram inmates at the final evening prayer gathering on the 24th. He was referring to the lurid happenings in Calcutta and elsewhere. He then proceeded to give his definition of a 'pure sacrifice'. It was not the thoughtless annihilation of the moth in the flame. Sacrifice to be effective must be backed by the uttermost external and internal purity. There is nothing that such sacrifice cannot achieve. Without the requisite purity, sacrifice is no better than a desperate self-annihilation devoid of any merit. Sacrifice must, further, be willing and it should be made in faith and hope, without a trace of hatred or ill will in the heart.

"Although we have fallen short of our ideal," he went on to say, "we have never been found wanting in honest endeavour. The art of jail-going we have learnt with the rest. But jail-going is only the beginning, not the end of Satyagraha. The acme of Satyagraha for us would be to lay down our lives for the defence of India's just cause. Let us then pray to God to give us the requisite purity and fearlessness in the true sense of the term, to make our sacrifice worthy of the altar. Then alone shall we be worthy of the name of the Ashram."

## TEACHERS OF TOMORROW

In a previous issue was given Shri Mahadev Desai's summary of an address delivered to the trainees of the Basic Teachers' Camp at Sevagram by Gandhiji on the day previous to his departure for the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay in August '42. He again did the same on the 23rd August in anticipation of his departure for New Delhi, at the instance of Shri Aryanayakam. There were 79 of them from the various Congress Provinces sent by the Provincial Governments, 30 being sent on behalf of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust. The function was



held in the Talimi Sangh Hall, just where it was held four years ago. Shrimati Ashadevi who is the life and soul of the institution no less than her husband Aryanayakam, has by her artist touch introduced a whiff of Shantiniketan into her environment. A finished Sanskrit scholar, she is a fine singer too. But her most valuable contribution is, perhaps, the motherly love which she has infused into her work and with which she nourishes her little pupils of the basic school. She had got the Talimi Sangh Hall decorated in a simple but artistic manner befitting its surroundings. Beautiful designs in white had been drawn on the floor and for light there were rows of earthen lamps which filled the place with their mild, subdued glow that soothed the tired eyes and nerves after a strenuous day. The proceedings began with a prayer. After the pupil teachers had been introduced to Gandhiji he briefly addressed them. The main theme of his address was the educative value of useful, manual work. "One of the complaints that has been made by one of you," he remarked, "is that too much emphasis is laid here on manual work. I am a firm believer in the educative value of manual work. Our present educational system is meant for strengthening and perpetuating the imperialist power in India. Those of you who have been brought up under it have naturally developed a taste for it and so find labour irksome. No one in Government schools or colleges bothers to teach the students, how to clean the roads or latrines. Here, cleanliness and sanitation form the very *alpha* and *omega* of your training. Scavenging is a fine art you should take pains to learn. Persistent questioning and healthy inquisitiveness are the first requisite for acquiring learning of any kind. Inquisitiveness should be tempered by humility and respectful regard for the teacher. It must not degenerate into impudence. The latter is the enemy of the receptivity of mind. There can be no knowledge without humility and the will to learn.

"Useful manual labour, intelligently performed is the means *par excellence* for developing the intellect. One may develop a sharp intellect otherwise too. But then it will not be a balanced growth but an unbalanced, distorted abortion. It might easily make of one a rogue and a rascal. A balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body, mind and soul. That is why we give to manual labour the central place in our curriculum of training here. An intellect that is developed through the medium of socially useful labour will be an instrument for service and will not easily be led astray or fall into devious paths. The latter can well be a scourge. If you grasp that essential point, the money spent by your respective governments in sending you here for training will have been well-spent."

#### THE DAY

On the 2nd of September, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues put on the crown of thorns as a matter of supreme duty. For Gandhiji it was a day of deep heart-searching. In the early hours of the morning, while most slept, he set down to

draft a note for Pandit Jawaharlal as to the duty of the members of the new Government in this supreme hour. The substance of it he amplified later in the evening.

Hailing the auspicious day for which India had so long waited as a red letter day in India's history, in his address at the evening prayer, he described it as only a step towards full Independence which was yet to come. He congratulated and thanked the British Government for having resolved an age-old issue between Britain and India by peaceful settlement. Whatever it might have done in the past, this was no time for cavilling at old wrongs or reviving bitter memories.

A friend had asked him, proceeded Gandhiji, as to when the Viceregal Palace would be turned into a hospital for the poor as was promised by him in the presence of the British Ministers and Rulers of Indian States at the Second Round Table Conference in London. He had not forgotten that promise, he remarked. He stood by it still. Only the time for it was not yet. They could not today ask the Viceroy to vacate his Palace, while he still held office. Power had not yet been completely transferred into their hands. The Viceroy was still there with the army. Sooner, rather than later, complete power would be in their hands, if Pandit Nehru, their uncrowned king and first Prime Minister and his colleagues fully and worthily did their part. The Viceroy would then himself vacate his Palace and, to be sure, it would be turned into a hospital for the poor including the Harijans who were the poorest of the poor.

#### NO TIME FOR JUBILATION

It was not a day for rejoicing or jubilation, he reminded them. Their Ministers had reluctantly agreed to accept responsibility for the Interim Government without the Muslim League which was undeniably a powerful organization of the Muslims. The league had refused to come in. The Muslims were their brothers. Both Hindus and Muslims were sons of India. Our mortal mother who gives us birth is entitled to our reverence and worship. Such worship purifies the soul. How much more worthy of our common allegiance and reverence must be our Motherland then, the Imperishable Mother on whose breast we are borne and will die, he asked? "All those who are born in this country and claim her as their Motherland, whether they be Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian, Jain or Sikh are equally her children and are, therefore, brothers, united together with a bond stronger than that of blood."

Today the Mussalmans, continued Gandhiji, looked askance at the Hindus. Rightly, or wrongly, the League had come to believe that the Hindus had bypassed and deceived it and was therefore angry. The Mussalmans were observing the day as a day of mourning. They did not cease to be their brothers on that account. One could not return one's brother's anger with anger. Whilst, therefore, they could not join the Mussulmans in their mourning, it was up to them, the Hindus, to try to come as close to them as possible and spare

lacking in one or more. All were inferior in air power, whereas air superiority was a *sine qua non* to success. It likewise soon became apparent that no contestant could gain and hold vital objectives, unless possessed of tanks, in numbers almost limitless. France boasted thousands, but mostly of the world war vintage. Unable to steel itself to the financial sacrifice incident to their replacement with others of modern design, France puttered along with what it had.\* Britain was almost equally lacking in the foresight necessary to the junking of obsolete equipment, or to the adequate production of new and better types. Though making a magnificent gesture at rearmament, it remained a gesture only. Came the day of judgment, and the Swastika floated over Paris."

So much with regard to quality. As to numbers, he says :

"What miraculous properties were to be found in the munitions of 1940 as against those of 1939 — of 1914-18? None. In weapons themselves there was little new or startling. It was in their mass employment that the revolutionary appeared. In contrast with the homoeopathic pills in which formerly administered, force was now applied in heroic doses. An objective against which in 1918 an infantry attack would have been implemented by perhaps a score of tanks and as many aeroplanes, to succeed or fail after hours of bloody stalemate, with unnumbered casualties on both sides, was in 1940 overwhelmed in a matter of minutes by literally hundreds of bombing planes, followed by as many tanks, almost without loss to the attacker."

It should not surprise us that France was "unable to steel itself to the financial sacrifice, incident to their replacement with others of modern design," and that it "puttered along with what it had", when we bear in mind the figures that each type of armament would cost to make.\*\* Moreover it had already spent huge amounts on the Maginot Line, and reposed a faith in it that proved pathetic. The result was, Calvin Goddard goes on to say :

"Germany gave short shrift to the modest fleets of Holland (200 ships), Belgium (400), and France (1200). And, as an example of what could happen, those who defied German will, Germany razed in two short hours (12 noon to 2 p. m., May 14, 1940), in a succession assaults by massed flights of bombers, no less than 26,000 buildings in the city of Rotterdam, a metropolis of 600,000,

\* " 'France,' it has been said, 'was prepared in 1914 for the war of 1871, and in 1937, France is perfectly prepared — for the war of 1914' " — John Gunther (1937).

\*\* "Just before the war started, according to the Federal Reserve bulletin for December, 1941 Britain's gold and dollar resources aggregated \$4,483,000,000. Today (i. e. after two years of the war) there is only \$547,000,000 available in this country (U. S. A.) with which the British Government can meet the many disbursements, not included under Lend-Lease.—Keith Hutchinson in *The Nation* dated March 7, 1942. Britain, which was till then, a creditor country, became a debtor country.

this after the Dutch Commander had made the official signal of surrender." \*

This, however, pales into insignificance before the destruction of Berlin and other German cities on which thousands of tons of bombs were dropped by American bombers night after night, and the destruction of Hiroshima by a single atom bomb. And yet the atom bomb is not the last word in destructive warfare. It was said by Napoleon that the essential conditions of winning a war were : "First, money; second, money; and third, money." The truth of this remark is amply borne out by the events of the recent world war.‡

Baroda, 12-6-'46

C. S.

## WORK AS EDUCATION

"Work is or can be a very powerful educational factor."

— *The Christian Newsletter* of August 8, 1945 under the caption *War and the School*.

This is what Gandhiji has always been saying. By now a majority of those who have cared to think over the problem have no hesitation in admitting that education through work, meaning correlating knowledge to work, is the best way of imparting it. But perhaps few will be prepared to find that work itself without a word of correlated knowledge, is education, and education of the highest order. We had a chance of trying this out, in the Sevagram Basic School, with the seventh grade boys. The stress and storm through which the country passed after 9th August, 1942, the fact that the present batch was the first undergoing training under the basic scheme and constantly changing teachers, had left the boys in an almost wild state. It should be remembered that the experiment was confined to the cotton processes required in spinning and weaving. As the material was raw, its effects under efficient and scientific supervision were bound to be more pronounced. Again fortunately we were in a hurry to find out the standard reached by these students in the various processes, from the cleaning of the cotton to the manufacture of cloth, so that we might be able to plan for their Post-Basic Studies. So practically for nearly five hours daily, the boys were doing pure craft-work, under what are called factory conditions, i. e. keyed up to produce their maximum. The word 'factory' need not shock anyone in that, educationally the experiment proved a success.

Economically the result may be summed up as follows :

\*Speaking of the Nankai University at Tientsin (China), Haldore Hanson says : "Rockefeller had invested \$250,000 in its irreplaceable libraries and research institutes . . . All afternoon the planes shuttled back and forth. By nightfall the U. S. \$2,000,000 University had been reduced to shattered stonework, resembling some ancient Babylonian city. What 5,000 years did to Babylon, the Japanese army accomplished in five hours." (Op. Cit., p. 64).

‡ Most military officers agree that, if Napoleon should return to Europe today with the finest of his troops, he would be defeated by any second rate power, say Hungary or Rumania. Present-day armies have pushed Napoleon's style of warfare back to the kindergarten," — Haldore Hanson : Op. Cit., p. 160.

Student	Measurements of cloth produced	Punjam	Hours taken from the cleaning of cotton to the manu- facture of cloth	Rate of income per hour
Madhu	8 yds. $\times$ 32"	13	138	0-0-11
Ganpat	8 yds. $\times$ 32"	13	123	0-1-1
Bakaram	8½ yds. $\times$ 36"	13	117	0-1-2
Gopal	8½ yds. $\times$ 27"	9	127	0-0-9
Hari	8 yds. $\times$ 32"	13	135	0-1-0
Atmaram	8 yds. $\times$ 32"	10½	115	0-0-11
Vaman	8½ yds. $\times$ 27"	9	102	0-0-11

N. B:— 1. In calculating the time taken, there has been a departure from the usual practice. If three boys, say, have done sizing, then the time taken to do it has been trebled when calculating man-hours. Usually the time taken by those who help in the process is not taken into account.

2. From the price of the cloth produced calculated at the A. I. S. A. rates, the price of cotton was deducted. The rest was all regarded as the income of the children.

These figures need no comment. In a country where the per capita income is only a few annas a day, a child of fourteen earning 1 anna (or nearly 1 anna) per hour is certainly revolutionary. Thus, spinning can and should become a subsidiary industry in periods of enforced idleness.

So far about the economic aspect. This result would have been of no value, if it did not mean also education, i. e., improvement of the mind. The educational results were more surprising. We were afraid lest by making them work for five or six hours a day, without correlating any recognized form of knowledge, we might just be 'slave-driving' the children. Really speaking, however, there should have been no such fear. Our experience amply bore out that the 'insignificant' processes of cotton cleaning, ginning, carding, spinning, etc. were full of immense educational possibilities.

Punctuality and a sense of time were the first things stressed, and they were enforced with the utmost vigilance. The time-piece was always in front of the boys, and they were taught to have the eye always fixed on this indicator of fleeting time. An accurate record was kept of the time when the work was begun, when it was stopped, when it was interrupted. Its relation to speed, etc. was noted. It was found how lazy we were apt to become when we had no record of time in minutes or even seconds. The boys themselves again and again saw the advantage of, always keeping it in front of them. One of them said one day as he was happily and swiftly plying his wheel: "It is the first time that we have learnt the value of time." Those who know the village life and our want of time sense, would not be surprised by the remark.

Again, it was found that unless one was alert and worked with full concentration, production declined considerably. As talking during work was stopped, the production curve immediately went up. But simple concentration is not enough. One has to be constantly on the alert for any defect in the tools used or in the manner of carrying out the process which must be immediately remedied. Lazily allowing the ginning machine to creak on through absence of oiling or some cotton seeds having been

caught between the rollers, may straightway reduce production by half. Again, one has constantly to be thinking how best to prevent waste and promote cleanliness of work. Take the simplest process, that of cotton cleaning. The first day the average speed of the class was 6 *tolas* per hour, because the boys lazily and 'happily' talked on during their work. Talking during the lesson hour is prohibited everywhere. This was lesson time. Talking was stopped and the output went up. We had to think out what extraneous matter or dirt should be removed from good cotton before carding and what would automatically be removed by carding, how to hold the cotton pod so that its fibres do not get pressed together, which would make both ginning and carding very difficult later, how to pull out extraneous matter and raw fibres, so that the largest number are pulled out at one and the same time, and without bringing along with them good fibres, how to place uncleaned cotton, cleaned cotton and waste cotton, so that the minimum time is taken to pick up uncleaned cotton, pull out the extraneous matter and drop both the refuse and cleaned cotton in their respective places in the quickest manner. And to do all this in a way, so that the whole place looks clean. In this way, this insignificant process, so far entrusted to ignorant female labourers for a pittance, was able to teach the boys to do some hard thinking, inculcate on them a sense and value of time, resourcefulness, cleanliness, economy, art of arrangement and, last but not least, an eye for detail. "These are small things," said Gandhiji once. "But big things evolve from small things. An eye for detail is absolutely essential, and it is our duty as educationists to develop it in the children."

The other processes provided equally good opportunities for inculcating the above-mentioned qualities on the children. They had, however, also their own especial contribution to make. Carding provides an excellent lesson in rhythm and muscle co-ordination, especially when done by the Bihar method. Moreover, those who have an experience of carding know what a lesson in discipline it is to teach a boy as he comes out of the carding class, a very sheep of a boy, all covered over with cotton fibres, to clean himself of cotton fibre before entering another class-room. Spinning develops sensitiveness of fingers and co-ordination of the two hands; and the eye. Weaving requires alertness, speed and, very often, infinite patience.

The Educational value of the other activities during these days were also fully exploited. Take cleaning, for instance. The boy who was deputed to clean the room, was given half an hour every day. He had not only to clean the class-room with its walls, its corners, its roof etc. but also to understand that the surroundings of which it was a part, must also be cleaned, and the work was examined with as much care and minuteness as a scientific experiment. In this way our habits of cleaning our own house and throwing the refuse in front of our neighbours, was sought to be remedied, and a sense of neighbourliness sought to be developed in these

## HINDUSTANI V. URDU AND HINDI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bombay Government circular of 16-8-'39 reads :

"It has been observed that the word *Hindustani* is being used indifferently for Hindi or Hindustani. Please note that Hindustani is different and distinct from both *Hindi* and *Urdu*, and when a reference to that language is to be made, it should be made as *Hindustani* only."

On 9th October 1940 a press note was issued :

"In September 1938 the Government of Bombay announced their decision to introduce the study of Hindustani in the schools of the Province. Steps were accordingly taken to implement that decision and the language is being taught in the primary schools, secondary schools and in the training institutions. In actual practice the teaching of the language in the schools has raised certain difficulties which have to be considered. The chief of them are lack of literature in the language, as it has yet to develop and the absence of suitable text books for use in schools. The Hindustani text books now in use, have been found to be defective, both in regard to the language used in them which is said to contain too many words of Hindi origin and in regard to the subject matter of the lessons included in them, some of which are stated to be unsuitable for Muslim pupils. Besides, both Urdu and Hindustani have so much of a common vocabulary, that it has been suggested that it is unnecessary to insist on the teaching of Hindustani in Urdu schools. The Government having carefully considered the whole question have now directed that though there is no serious objection to the teaching of Hindustani in other institutions, Urdu educational institutions in the Province, i. e. the primary and secondary schools and training institutions, where the medium of instruction is Urdu, should be exempted from the inclusion of such teaching in the curriculum."

Another circular issued in 1941 exempts Hindi schools from the teaching of Hindustani, thus leaving Hindu schools where the medium is other than Hindi or Urdu for teaching Hindustani. What is the present Government of the Province, which is based on popular will, to do?

The answer is contained in the admission that the present Provincial Government is based on popular will. If the Hindi schools wish to have Hindustani, the national language, taught in the primary and secondary schools, it should be taught. Naturally the question has to be decided by the parents of the children, learning in these schools. If they do not want it and an attempt is made to impose it by force, the claim for being a popular Government cannot be sustained. I should certainly advise the parents to want their children to be taught it. It should never be forgotten that Hindustani is essentially a cross between Hindi and Urdu and written in both the scripts. If the parents want either only Hindi or Urdu and only one script, they cannot impose it on an unbelieving or

unwilling Government. Either party has freedom of action.

The question whether Hindustani is or can be a national form of speech is irrelevant at this stage. The argument has, moreover, been examined often enough in previous issues of the *Harijan*.

Sevagram, 25-8-'46

## NOT BY FORCE BUT BY FRIENDLINESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. S. Wolff writes from Palestine :

"I rejoiced very much, when I found in the Jerusalem newspaper *Palestine Post*, last Monday, the kind, peaceful words you had published in your *Harijan* just before the last most terrible outrage on 'King David' Hotel caused more than 150 casualties. Of course, I do very well understand your requirement towards my countrymen, that 'adversity would teach them lessons of peace', but, alas! most of the people do not understand this way. On the contrary, adversity inspires them to additional outrage of hate and anger and blind revenge on anyone in their reach, whether he is actually guilty or innocent in their terrible disaster and suffering.

"The state of these poor (indeed very poor!) resembles the desperate state of a man who neither believes nor hopes anything any longer and 'fights for life or death' because he 'has nothing more to lose' (as they themselves use to express it) and therefore, prefer to perform all that can be performed in order, at least, to die like 'heroes', not like 'coward nothing-doers'. Of course, they do not believe and can never be made to believe in your sublime weapon of holiness and Satyagraha although, as I once wrote you (on the 26th December, 1938), this is in full agreement with the views of our holy ancestors, and they ought to accept it even from the point of view of their own tradition, and I am quite sure, you do understand it. I remember that several years ago, you told or wrote (it was published here in one of the Hebrew newspapers) in a similar way, that we Jews have, it is true, absolutely no right to impose ourselves over Palestine, but if we nevertheless have the intrinsic desire to come to the land of our ancestors out of aspiration to fulfil here the holy principles of our great Prophets, we should do it only by trying to conquer the hearts of our neighbours and the whole of mankind through love, not by trying to impose ourselves over Palestine by the help of naked force."

Sevagram, 21-8-'46

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## ARMAMENTS — AT WHAT COST ?

### I

Referring, in 1937, to the cost of rearmament on which many nations had launched before the war and in anticipation of it, John Gunther, in his *Inside Europe* gave the following figures of the cost of some of the pieces of armament:

"Bullets do not cost much. But if you shoot one million rounds an hour at £6 per thousand, the figures mount up. A rifle does not cost much — perhaps £5. But equip an army of one million men, and you have spent £5,000,000. A machine gun costs about £128. The French have about forty thousand of them. A 37 mm. field-gun costs about £200, and each shell about £3. The famous French 75's come to about £1,600 each. They are expensive and intricate, with fuses built like watches. Their shells cost £5 each, and in a single bombardment, some millions may be fired. A big tank, complete, costs about £16,000. A bombing plane may diminish your budget £20,000. A modern cruiser costs £2,200,000, an aircraft carrier £3,800,000, and a big battleship almost £6,000,000."\*

And he went on to say:

"The world according to the League of Nations, spent £835,360,000 on armament in 1934. In one year mind you. This sum is too astronomical for ready comprehension. . . This figure more than doubled itself in two years. In 1937 the world bill for arms was at least £2,000,000,000, believe it or not."

This was before the war. Since the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, the figures kept mounting up at such a speed that men lost count of them. To take but two instances, Britain was reported, at the end of 1941, to be spending on the war over £13 million per day. "The British Government is spending £48000,000 a day," wrote *Time* on January 5, 1942; and in U. S. A., according to the same authority, the Government spending, in December 1941, "reached a level of \$72,000,000 each business day." The first United States budget for war expenses for the fiscal year 1943 (beginning July 1, 1942) was for \$58,927,992,300, and the actual war expenses in the preceding year were \$52,786,186,000, which was equivalent to \$3,295 per hour, and was more than one-half of the estimated national income. President Roosevelt, in presenting the budget before the Congress said on January 6, 1942: "War costs money. So far we have hardly even begun to pay for it." Referring to the taxation that these expenses would require, *Time* made a cryptic remark, "The U. S. was going to have to pay through the nose" (Jan. 19, 1942).†

\* The Singapore naval base "had cost the British Empire \$400,000,000 and 19 years." Yet, at the time of the Japanese invasion, it was found that "it was useless, and so it had been evacuated before the first Japanese troops were sighted." The battleship *Normandie* (renamed the *Lafayette* after its capture by the U. S. A.), which was burnt in an accidental fire in an American harbour, was "a ship into which the French had poured \$60,000,000 and some 2,500,000 man-days of labour." — *Time*, Feb. 16, 1942.

† "The President this week signed the most whopping appropriations bill of all time in any nation: a \$26,495,265,474

### II

Arms and ammunition, tanks and aeroplanes are destroyed, every day in modern warfare, at a rate which is incomprehensible. New models and designs are invented at such a feverish speed that armaments become obsolete before they are long in use. For it is not enough to manufacture them at a rapid rate or in large numbers: they must also be superior in destructive capacity to the enemy's armaments. As an American authority on aerial warfare (S. Paul Johnstone) said, "Military design progress follows a zigzag course — one side or the other obtaining a temporary advantage, shortly followed by improvement of design by the other side."

Of this race for the improvements in designs, an American military authority said four years ago:

"Man does not live by bread alone, nor do armies win by munitions. That nation which would impose its will upon another, or resist such imposition, must possess munitions not only in stupendous quantity, but of excellent quality, latest design, and operated by corps upon corps of super-specialists."†

Yet quality by itself does not suffice. Numbers are also as important. Said another American writer, Keith Ayling, in an article on 'The Truth about Air Power', in *Harper's Magazine* for February 1942: "Number is the keynote of air superiority. Produce the finest bomber in the world, and it is merely useful when you have a thousand of the type. At ten thousand it becomes efficient, at twenty thousand it is the super machine the designer intended." (Twenty thousand of only one type, in warfare where several types have to be put in action at a time!)

Calvin Goddard, the authority cited above, agrees in this opinion about the paramount need of large numbers in addition to the most up-to-date designs, and he gives a revealing account of how the Allies, in spite of their stupendous preparations, spread over a number of years, suffered from a woeful lack of both in the various types of armaments:

"In the fall of 1939, and throughout 1940, the German military machine met these requirements, while every object of its rude attentions proved

appropriation bill to pay for the addition of 25,000 planes to the Navy's sky force and to enlarge the two-ocean Navy." "In January (1942), the month when Donald Nelson's new War Production Board was set up, the Government cleared \$11,652,000,000 in defence contracts — as much as in the four preceding months. . . . The Government actually spent \$2,276,000,000 on arms — nearly \$300,000,000 more than in December. To meet present production goals, by the end of the year, the Government must be spending more than \$5,000,000,000 a month." — *Time*, Feb. 16, 1942.

"(In America) the sudden urgent demand for an unlimited number of planes has started a process of expansion which will increase factory floor space threefold, the number of workers fivefold, and multiply fabulously the monthly production figures." — Alden Stevens in *The Nation* (New York) Oct. 18, 1941.

"To train an army flier for three years in the United States Army, including salaries, equipment, and instructors, is said to cost \$100,000 per man." — Haldore Hanson: *Human Endeavour* (1939) p. 158.

† *Encyclopaedia Britannica* — Book of the year 1941



them provocation by abstaining from jubilation, rejoicing and other exuberant manifestations, such as feasting, illuminations etc. Exuberant manifestations were hardly in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion. The proper way of observing solemn occasions as enjoined by Islam, Christianity and Hinduism alike was by fasting, rather than feasting. They should utilize the occasion to turn the search-light inward and try to find out if they had really done their Muslim brothers any injustice. If there was any, it should be openly admitted and remedied.

At the same time he would respectfully tell the League, added the speaker, that it was neither logical nor right to regard both the British and the Hindus as their enemies and to threaten them with direct action. It could not ride two horses at the same time. If it non-cooperated with the British, it should imply co-operation among themselves. Why then should they non-cooperate with their own brothers? The Congress could never ally itself with Britain against the Muslims. It had today accepted responsibility for the Interim Government for the sole purpose of attaining freedom for all alike, including the Muslim League, not for any particular section or community. If a Minister joined the Cabinet to serve a sectional interest to the detriment of the rest or with a desire to injure any particular section, he was unfit to be a Minister. It was wrong for the Mussalmans to regard the Hindus as their enemies and seek to forget that they had lived together as good neighbours for centuries, were born in the same land, were nourished by the same soil and were destined to be returned as dust to the same soil. He would go so far as to say that the League attitude was un-Islamic. The remedy for injustice, if there was any, was to reason together or refer the dispute to arbitration, in the last resort, if mutual discussion failed.

#### REDEEM OLD PLEDGES

What was the first duty of the Ministers, he next asked and replied that their first act should be to remember the Salt Satyagraha and remove the Salt Tax. It was on that issue that the country had given such a noble fight in 1930. It was the Dandi March that had electrified the whole country and brought women to the fore. It symbolized the Congress pledge to win freedom for the toiling masses. India's womanhood reached the high watermark during the Salt Satyagraha and extorted the admiration of the whole world. It was now time to redeem that pledge and make the poor man's salt as free as water and air. It was not the quantum of taxation but the fact of salt being free or not that made all the difference to the poor. Removal of the Salt Tax would take the message of Swaraj into the huts of the poorest without distinction of Hindu or Muslim, caste or outcaste and serve as an earnest of early termination of all oppression under which the masses have been groaning.

The second task before the Ministers was early realization of communal unity. That could not be

done by a Government notification. The Ministers would have to live for it and die for it. If he had his way, remarked Gandhiji, he would declare that hereafter the military would not be used for the preservation of internal peace. Personally he would like to see even the use of the police banned for that purpose. People must find other means to prevent the communities from flying at each other's throat. If the worst came to the worst, they must have the guts to fight it out among themselves without external aid. He ventured to say that so long as they needed the help of British arms for their security, their slavery would continue.

Then there was the total eradication of untouchability. As early as 1920-21, the Congress had declared untouchability to be a blot on Hinduism. They were pledged to remove it root and branch. The conditions of life in the sweepers' quarters in all the big cities of India was a shame. Before this, he used to appeal to the Viceroy to improve them. Now it was the responsibility of the Interim Government and they could call the Ministers to account for it.

Lastly there was the pledge of Khadi to be redeemed to provide clothing to the poor villagers. The Congress by a resolution in 1920 had resolved that all of India's inhabitants must be clothed in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth to the exclusion of all other. The Congress was still pledged to it. They had not yet carried out that resolution. Instead, people grumbled that they could not produce yarn which was required for the purchase of Khadi under the new A. I. S. A. regulations. Wherefrom was the Khadi to come if people did not spin? asked the speaker. They could not get yarn spun for wages owing to an abnormal inflation of wages all around. They must spin for themselves. There was no other way. It was the solemn duty of the members of the Interim Government to redeem the pledge about Khadi and to see that nothing but Khaddar was used in their homes or in their offices. As for yarn required to purchase Khadi, he made them a sporting offer. The new A. I. S. A. rules allowed them to present yarn spun by friends for the purchase of Khadi but not yarn spun for wages. As their friend, he would, out of yarn presented to him by the people, undertake to provide them with all the yarn that they might require for the purchase of Khadi. There was no doubt a dearth of Khadi in the Khadi Bhandars; but he would try his best to carry out their orders. He, however, warned them that it might be only coarse Khadi for the present and they would have to be satisfied with that. He could not guarantee to provide them with fine Andhra Khadi. For that, they must wait till India was completely independent.

Gandhiji hoped fervently that the Interim Government would give the right lead and put India on the road to truth and purity and real Swaraj. In that endeavour he hoped, it would have the loyal co-operation of all Indians.

New Delhi, 3-9-'46

PYARELAL

## SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan who, but for the recent murderous assault on him, would have joined the Interim Government yesterday wrote on August 6th to me an interesting letter from which I quote as follows :

"My study of the Indian community while I was in South Africa, convinced me that but for your heroic work in the Union, the Indian race in that country would not have survived as a self-respecting community. You built up, cell by cell, the power of resistance in a highly gifted race and your work in that country is the inspiration of the Indian race in South Africa at the present time.

"My sole aim in South Africa was to lay the foundation of Indian unity in Natal. I do not think I succeeded completely in my aim but I am inclined to think that the heroic struggle which our race is carrying on at the present time, would have been impossible but for the dissolution of the Natal Indian Association and A. I. Kaje's Natal Indian Congress and the revival of the Natal Indian Congress, which you had founded in 1894. This was accomplished on August 29th 1943 and since that time, there has been only one political organization of Indians in Natal."

"The South African situation is complicated and owing to conventions of diplomacy, my lips are sealed. My despatches from South Africa which give a complete picture of the political situation for three years and are very exhaustive, cannot be published owing to conventions of international intercourse. . . .

"I came to the conclusion that no redress of our grievances in South Africa is possible unless we are masters in our own homeland and India is free."

In reply to my letter acknowledging receipt of the above, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan further writes :

"You will be glad to hear that since my return from South Africa, I have been busy preparing my speeches in South Africa and have added a section in my book, shortly to be published, on the history of the Indian community in South Africa. In this I have made bold to give a brief account of your work there and followed with the greatest interest your march to Volkhurst etc. . . .

"For more than three years — 1942-45, I wrote lengthy despatches to the Government of India on the South African problem and in April 1943 I warned them against General Smuts' policy and told them to take the strongest measures against the Union Government in connection with the Pegging Act. . . . Strong measures have been taken now, but I am afraid, it is too late. If the Congress forms a National Government soon and the new member in charge of the Department, decides to publish these despatches, particularly from April

1943 onwards, they will clear up numerous points for the next session of U. N. O. I am bound to say that the convention is that such despatches are not published unless and until there is rupture of relations between two countries. I offer no opinion as to whether they should be published at all. This is a matter which the new Government should decide."

New Delhi, 3-9-'46

### Why Go Abroad ?

An Indian doctor went to America in order to learn Neuro-surgery, so that he might return and serve his people here. He has with difficulty secured a seat in the Columbia University and is working as a house surgeon.

He writes to ask me to influence students not to go abroad for the following reasons :

"(a) The amount our poor country spends on sending and training ten students abroad could be better utilized by securing the services of a first rate professor who could train 40 students as well as equip a laboratory.

"(b) Students who come here acquire basic knowledge in research but do not know how to equip a laboratory on their return home.

"(c) They have no chance of continued work.

"(d) If we have experts brought out, our laboratories will also get perfected."

I have never been an advocate of our students going abroad. My experience tells me that such, on return, find themselves to be square pegs in round holes. That experience is the richest and contributes most to growth which springs from the soil. But today the craze for going abroad has gripped students. May the extract quoted serve as a warning !

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## CONGRESS MINISTERS AND NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Shankarrao Dev writes:

"Many people do not understand why those who call themselves Satyagrahis, resort to the use of the military and the police, the moment they become Ministers of Government. The people feel that this is a breach of both the creed and the policy of *ahimsa*. This popular belief seems to be consistent with reason. The inconsistency between belief and action of the Congress Ministers and the exploitation of the same by their opponents, both Congress and non-Congress, makes it hard for our workers to stand up to the criticism.

"Generally speaking, Congress *ahimsa* has been the *ahimsa* of the weak. It was bound to be so in the present development of the country and this fact is well-known to you. You claim that there is a special fire in the *ahimsa* of the strong. At the same time you accepted leadership of the weak, in order to make them strong through the use of *ahimsa*. And, in spite of their weakness, governmental power has today come into their hands. It is impossible for them today to put down disturbances without the use of the police and the military, and if they tried to do so, they would not only not succeed, but they would not get the co-operation of the people either.

"I did once ask you, whether a Satyagrahi should take high office if it came his way and if he did, how should he promote non-violence? I hold that the person who has made non-violence his creed, should not take office and he will never be happy there. But there can be no such difficulty for those who have accepted *ahimsa* only as a policy. Many Congressmen have accepted office and you have permitted them to do so. The question arises as to whether you can expect those who believe in *ahimsa*, to act up to it, at least in their personal capacity, during disturbances. Further, having acquired strength through non-violence, how should it be used, in order to bring in a State, where there is need for the least government? If you cannot lighten our path towards the desired goal, Satyagraha will not be considered a full-fledged weapon."

From my point of view the answer is easy. I have been saying for some time, that the words "truth and non-violence" should be removed from the Congress constitution. But whether they are actually removed or not, let us assume that they

are and then we shall be able to come to an independent judgement on the rightness or wrongness of any action. I am convinced that so long as we have to rely on the use of the military and even the police for preserving internal order, we shall continue to remain the slaves of either Britain or some other foreign power. It matters little then, whether the Government is in the hands of Congress- or non-Congressmen. Let us assume that Congress Ministers are not pledged to non-violence. Let us further assume that Hindus, Mussalmans and others want military and police protection. If they do, they will continue to receive it. Those Ministers who are wedded to non-violence, must resign, since they would object to the use of the military and the police. The significance of it all is that so long as our people have not the wisdom to come to a mutual understanding, so long will goondaism continue and we shall not be able to generate the true strength of *ahimsa* within us.

Now as to how this non-violent strength can be created. I gave the answer to this question in the *Harijan* of August 4th, in replying to a letter from Ahmedabad. So long as we have not cultivated the strength to die with courage and love in our hearts, we cannot hope to develop the *ahimsa* of the strong.

There remains the question as to whether in an ideal society, there should be any or no government. I do not think, we need worry ourselves about this at the moment. If we continue to work for such a society, it will slowly come into being to an extent, such that the people can benefit by it. Euclid's line is one without breadth but no one has so far been able to draw it and never will. All the same it is only by keeping the ideal line in mind that we have made progress in geometry. What is true here is true of every ideal.

It must be remembered that nowhere in the world, does a State without government exist. If at all it could ever come into being, it would be in India; for, ours is the only country where the attempt has, at any rate, been made. We have not yet been able to show that bravery to the degree which is necessary and for the attainment of which there is only one way. Those who have faith in the latter, have to demonstrate it. In order to do so, the fear of death has to be completely shed, just as we have shed the fear of prisons.

New Delhi, 6-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## Notes

### The Lowly Cow

A knowledgeable sister writes :

"Q. 1. With the exception of those cows or buffaloes that are in calf, cannot all others, whether in milk or not, be used to plough the land? This would be of immense help to the farmer but the general public is averse to the idea. What is your opinion?"

"Q. 2. There is a great dearth of pasture land in our country. It is difficult for the farmer to provide fodder even for useful cattle. Are you then in favour of the slaughter of all such animals as cannot be made use of or do you think, this slaughter should be forbidden by law?"

A. 1. The first question was put to me as long ago as 1915. I felt then as now, that if the cows referred to, were used for purposes of ploughing the land, it would not hurt them. On the contrary, it would make them strong and increase their yield of milk. But this benefit could only come about, provided the cow was treated as a friend and not cruelly, as cattle in our land so often are. This friendly treatment should of course be insisted on for animals from whom we take service. Every living being has to work within his or its limitations. Such work uplifts, never lowers either man or beast.

A. 2. The second question also has long since been answered by me. Cow slaughter can never be stopped by law. Knowledge, education, and the spirit of kindness towards her alone, can put an end to it. It will not be possible to save those animals that are a burden on the land or perhaps even man if he is a burden. New Delhi, 4-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### Khaddar

Readers of the *Harijan* may well say that in the present atmosphere of mad frenzy, any talk of Khadi is meaningless, because many Khadi-loving persons live in cities and so far, the trouble is, by the grace of God, confined to cities. As a matter of fact, all city-dwellers are by no means party to the senseless strife, and those who truly love Khadi, must always be actuated by thoughts of peace. We have either to make Khadi universal among the masses or give up all dreams of non-violent Swaraj. Therefore, all who love and believe in peace, however fiercely the storm of communal strife may rage around them, will forget neither the spinning wheel nor Khadi. They may omit their meals but not the Charkha.

The request given below on behalf of the Charkha Sangh is thus quite proper. Such requests have been made by other Khadi-loving organizations too. Those who look upon Khadi in the above light, will act on the resolution passed by the A. I. S. A. as referred to below :

"1. The Trustees of the Charkha Sangh hereby appeal to all Khadi Bhandars and all Khadi lovers to try their utmost to secure 78,000 ordinary co-operators for the coming Seventy-eighth Khadi Jayanti, of which number, at least half shall be self-sufficient.

"2. By an ordinary co-operator is meant one who is a habitual Khadi-wearer and will donate

at least 6 hanks of self-spun yarn annually to the Charkha Sangh.

"3. By 'self-sufficient' is meant one who, unless prevented by illness or other sufficient and unavoidable cause, regularly produces, whether spun by himself or through his family members or friends, at least 7½ hanks yarn, per month or 5 hanks, if he has done his own ginning, carding and slivering.

"4. The Charkha Sangh has also passed a resolution to the effect that in all Khadi producing centres, at least one square yard per person, according to the population, must be used by the people in the area. This much at least must be accomplished." New Delhi, 4-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### The Devadasi System

A correspondent writes :

"It is a well known fact that you are trying your best to uplift the Harijan community and even spending your most precious time in the Harijan Colony. But may I assure you that there are thousands of Devadasi girls of the Harijan community residing in Poona and Bombay and are leading a life of public prostitution. Why should this be so? Is it because these girls belong to low caste community and are induced to lose their moral character that they are neglected by the public and put to the shameful life of prostitution?"

"May I be justified in stating that this is a most important and urgent problem. Is it not possible to stop this illegal practice in the Bombay Province as in Madras and Madras by the Madras Government under the ruling of Section 366 A, 366 B, 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code, page No. 574?"

I have, on more than one occasion, written about the shame attached to the Devadasi system, whether in temples or in other places. "Prostitutes" is commonly supposed to apply to women of lewd character. But the men who indulge in vice are just as much, if not more, prostitutes than the women who, in many instances, have to sell their bodies for the sake of earning a livelihood. The evil practice should be declared illegal. But the law can only help up to a point. The evil exists clandestinely in every country in spite of the law. Vigorous public opinion can help the law as it also hinders. New Delhi, 2-9-'46

### Untouchability and the Flush System

Q. Do you consider that the adoption of the flush system is one way of eradicating untouchability? If so, you would not presumably oppose its introduction on the basis of your dislike of machinery.

A. Where there is ample supply of water and modern sanitation, can be introduced without any hardship on the poor, I have no objection to it. In fact, it should be welcomed as a means of improving the health of the city concerned. At the moment, it can only be introduced in towns. My opposition to machinery is much misunderstood. I am not opposed to machinery as such. I am opposed to machinery which displaces labour and leaves it idle. Whether the flush system will remove the curse of untouchability, is open to grave doubt. This latter

has to go from our hearts. It will not disappear through such means as has been suggested. Not until we all become *bhangis* and realize the dignity of the labour of scavenging and latrine-cleaning, will untouchability really be exorcized.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

### **Harijans and Wells**

Shri Hardev Sahay writes:

"Last evening (4-9-'46) in your address to the prayer gathering, you drew the attention of the public to the disability attached to Harijans in the matter of drawing water from public wells. After 25 years of incessant effort on their behalf, we have not yet succeeded in removing this disability. No one knows of their sufferings more than you.

"It is my humble opinion that now that Congress Governments are in power, they should forthwith proclaim their policy towards the Harijans and remove all such of their disabilities as they can by law. In this connection I should like to draw your attention to conditions in the Punjab. Leave aside the question of drawing water from wells, Harijans are not even permitted to obtain land for sinking a well for themselves. I would beg of you to appeal to the Punjab Government to provide wells for Harijans at State expense, wherever there are no facilities of drawing water or at least provide them with land for sinking wells for themselves. There are ever so many villages in the Punjab where, even if the Harijans are willing to spend their own money, they are not given the requisite land.

"There are a few places where the Government has started making wells for the Harijans; but they are wholly insufficient. It is surely the duty of the State to see that a proper supply of drinking water is available to all its citizens."

The writer is perfectly right in what he says. It is the duty of the Government to provide wells for the Harijans. It is not enough only to give the land; the Government should be responsible for sinking the wells.

New Delhi, 6-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

### **An Australian Experiment**

Sometimes back a case was reported of effluent from a paper mill polluting the flow of a river in Orissa to the detriment of villages on its banks who drew their water supply from it. It presented a tough problem for the paper mill to tackle. A recent issue of the Australian Agricultural Newsletter describes an experiment, showing the value of mill-sludge as fertilizer. It says:

"A 250 acre dairy farm in Tasmania, Australia, has had its carrying capacity increased from 45 to 200 cows by sludge pumped from paper mills and then dispersed by irrigation channels. The sludge was previously spoiling water for landholders further down the stream.

"The sludge is residue after straw has been 'cooked' for eight hours, and looks like black liquid mud. It is diverted into eight miles of intricate channels, and dispersed for soil building. In 1937, it was directed over a useless stony outcrop which today is completely covered and carrying deep grass."

"The only weed," adds the bulletin, "the sludge has not exterminated from the property is artichoke thistle. In 13 years only four cases of sick stock have been noticed."

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

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### **Independence Celebrations**

An Indian friend from Egypt writes:

"On the radio and from newspapers, we have heard the news that India is soon to get her Independence and that the event is to be celebrated all over the country. The Indian community here would like to join in the celebrations. But as we do not care to do so, unless you are wholly satisfied that the country really is independent, we will await hearing from you."

In reply, Gandhiji has written as follows:

"I have received your letter. You have done right to wait. What is there to celebrate until and unless we are really independent? The most that can be said today is that the door to Swaraj has been opened. But it would be wholly foolish to be content with this. Today Hindus and Muslims are fighting with each other in our cities. In these circumstances, Indians abroad can best help us on the road to freedom by standing for unity. You who live in Egypt, can make a valuable contribution in this matter."

New Delhi, 8-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

### **QUESTION BOX**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### **NATURE CURE A PANACEA**

**Q.** It has been said that 'Nature Cure' can be applied to every disease. If so, can it cure short or long-sightedness, cataract and other eye diseases? Can one avoid spectacles? Can hernia, tonsils etc. which need the surgeon's knife be cured by Nature Cure?

**A.** I know that the claim attributed to Nature Cure has been made by its exponents. I do not count myself among them. This much, however, can be safely claimed. Disease springs from a wilful or ignorant breach of the laws of nature. It follows, therefore, that timely return to those laws should mean restoration. A person who has tried nature beyond endurance, must either suffer the punishment inflicted by nature or in order to avoid it, seek the assistance of the physician or the surgeon as the case may be. Every submission to merited punishment strengthens the mind of man, every avoidance saps it.

#### **ENFORCED MARRIAGE**

**Q.** A sister writes:

What is an unwilling girl to do when her parents insist either upon her marriage or leaving the parental home? Where is she to go, if she has not been educated enough to earn her own living? Whose protection is she to seek?

**A.** The question makes sad reading. It is wholly wrong of parents to force marriage on their daughters. It is also wrong to keep their daughters unfit for earning their living. No parent has a right to turn a daughter out on to the streets for refusal



to marry. Let us hope that such cruel specimens are rare. To the girl concerned, my advice would be not to look on any labour with her hands, down to scavenging, as beneath her dignity. Women may not look for protection to men. They must rely on their own strength and purity of character and on God as did Draupadi of old.

New Delhi, 6-9-'46

## HARIJAN

September 15

1946

### WHAT TO DO?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend sends the following questions :

Q. 1. You have all along held and expressed the view that persons should observe strict non-violence even when attacked by hooligans or others. Does this hold good when women are attacked or outraged? If people are unable to follow your lead regarding non-violence, would you advise them to die as cowards or resist aggression with violence?

Q. 2. Should you not unequivocally condemn the dual role that the Muslim League is playing today? While, on the one hand, its leaders are openly preaching violence and *jihad* against Hindus, the same men continue, on the other hand, to hold office as Ministers, having a controlling hand on all the threads of administration, including police and justice.

Q. 3. Is there no constituted authority in India which can put a stop to this grave anomaly which is unprecedented in history?

Q. 4. Do you realize that if the present happenings are allowed to continue, civil war will become inevitable? How would you advise your countrymen to face such a catastrophe, if it comes?

A. 1. In a society of my imagination, outrage posited by the questioner cannot take place. But in the society in the midst of which we are living, such outrages do take place. My answer is unequivocal. A non-violent man or woman will and should die without retaliation, anger or malice, in self-defence or in defending the honour of his womenfolk. This is the highest form of bravery.

If an individual or a group of people are unable or unwilling to follow this great law of life, which is mis-called my lead, retaliation or resistance unto death is the second best, though a long way off from the first. Cowardice is impotence worse than violence. The coward desires revenge but being afraid to die, he looks to others, may be the Government of the day, to do the work of defence for him. A coward is less than man. He does not deserve to be a member of a society of men and women. Lastly, let me add that if women had followed or would now follow my advice, every woman would protect herself without caring or waiting for aid from her brother or sister.

A. 2. Of course, the dual role adverted to is unequivocally bad. It is a sad chapter in our national life. My condemnation is of universal application. Fortunately it is so bad that it cannot last long.

A. 3. The only constituted authority is the British. We are all puppets in their hands. But it would be wrong and foolish to blame that authority. It acts according to its nature. That authority does not compel us to be puppets. We voluntarily run into their camp. It is, therefore, open to any and every one of us to refuse to play the British game.

Let us also admit frankly that the British authority is struggling to quit India. It does not know how. It honestly wants to leave India but wants before leaving, to undo the wrong it has been doing for so long. Being in the position of 'the toad under the harrow', I must know where it hurts. I have been telling the authority, if it will undo the wrong quickly, to leave India to her fate. But those who compose the British service cannot realize this obvious fact. They flatter themselves with the belief that they know India better than we do ourselves. Having successfully kept us under subjection for over a century, they claim the right to constitute themselves judges of our destiny. We may not grumble, if we are to come into our own through the way of peace. Satyagraha is never vindictive. It believes not in destruction but in conversion. Its failures are due to the weaknesses of the Satyagrahi, not to any defect in the law itself. The British authority having decided to quit, (whatever the reason), will show growing defects and weaknesses. Parties will find that it is more and more a broken reed. And, when parties quarrel as Hindus and Muslims do, let one or the other or both realize that, if India is to be an independent nation, one or both must deliberately cease to look to British authority for protection.

A. 4. This brings me to the last question. We are not yet in the midst of civil war. But we are nearing it. At present we are playing at it. War is a respectable term for goondaism practised on a mass or national scale. If the British are wise, they will keep clear of it. Appearances are to the contrary. Even the English members in the provincial Assemblies refuse to see that they were given seats by the Act of 1935, not because it was right but in order that they might protect British interest and keep Hindus and Muslims apart. But they do not see this. It is a small matter. Nevertheless it is a straw showing the way the wind is blowing. Lovers and makers of Swaraj must not be dismayed by these omens. My advice is Satyagraha first and Satyagraha last. There is no other or better road to freedom. Whoever wants to drink the ozone of freedom must steel himself against seeking military or police aid. He or they must ever rely upon their own strong arms or what is infinitely better, their strong mind and will which are independent of arms, their own or other.

New Delhi, 9-9-'46

## PROHIBITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following extracts from Rev. E. Gordon's writing provoke thoughts on total prohibition :

"With famine facing the country, we cannot very well quarrel with sincere efforts for combating the menace, but why prohibition of foodstuffs such as, pastries, ice cream etc. which have real food value, and why talk of prohibition or severe reduction of supply of sugar to aerated water and other mineral water manufacturers and yet keep absolutely silent about the prohibition or severe reduction of cereals and sugar to the distilleries and breweries? Is the drinking of alcoholic liquors any less of a luxury than the eating of pies, pastries and cakes? Can even the most astute and ardent lovers of alcoholic beverages argue that these drinks are so essential to life that no reduction can be made in the amount of cereals and sugar required to make whisky, beer etc.?"

"Granted that there is a certain amount of food value in beer, is it equal in value to the barley that could be used in making bread or cakes?"

"The President of the United States has ordered a drastic cut in the quota of wheat to be issued to distilleries in the U. S. A. How can we from India plead with America to send us large quantities of grain to save millions from death by starvation, when no published statements assure us that grains, whether imported or grown in this country, will be used for intoxicating drinks?"

"We give our whole-hearted approval to the Congress Ministry of Madras in their desire to introduce prohibition as soon as possible. Notwithstanding all that anti-prohibitionists say about the failure of prohibition in the United States, if they would honestly look at the other side of the picture, they would find that the drinking is far worse now than it was then and the amount of spiritous liquors is increasing year by year. Other things being equal, we sincerely believe that under prohibition, India will forge ahead much quicker and more rapidly than she could without prohibition. Honestly tried and courageously and indefatigably enforced, she will prove to the world the extent to which liquor has dragged and is dragging down the nations of the world."

The Reverend gentleman is right. India has the capacity and the opportunity to lead the world in the matter of prohibition. Can she forego the revenue derived from this degrading traffic? She must, if she is to live. I have a hideous tale from South Africa, related to me by Satyagrahi Cachalia Junior, a worthy son of his deceased father who was a hero of the first Satyagraha campaign in that country. He tells me that a thoughtless agitation has brought to the Indian community, the freedom to drink, with the result that it is sapping their moral strength. I know what this deadly freedom means. On this issue there is no difference of opinion between Indians, Mussalmans and, shall I say, others in India, save the liquor interest.

I have no doubt that the loss of revenue which drains the moral and material means of the poor drinkers, will be more than balanced by the gain accruing to them from prohibition. Moreover, the military burden in defence of which the argument for the maintenance of the excise revenue has so far been used, cannot hold water in the New India, where that burden will no longer exist. The excise revenue must, therefore, be sacrificed without delay and without hesitation. No thought of the loss of this revenue, should interfere with the progress of this much-needed reform. Whether the happy conjunction between the Congress and the League takes place or not, the Congress Provinces should dare to do the right.

The positive side of prohibition must run side by side with the negative. The positive consists in providing the drinker with counter-attractions giving him health and innocent amusement.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

## REGARDING HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"The great and encouraging work that is being done on behalf of Hindustani is of real benefit to the country and a help towards attainment of freedom. The country that has no national language has no right to exist. But that is our unfortunate position today. And yet our leaders are not paying due attention towards this matter. In spite of your efforts, Congress workers do not put your advice into practice. You are aware that in our Congress Committee meetings as also in our legislatures, most people, including even those whose mother tongue is either Hindi or Urdu, prefer to speak in English. Is it not possible to make it compulsory for Congressmen to speak and carry on work whether in meetings or legislatures in Hindustani, just as it is made incumbent on them to wear Khadi? Of course, some latitude will have to be given to those who are wholly unacquainted with Hindustani, but even they should be given a definite time limit within which to learn the national language. My experience is that responsible Congressmen who know Hindustani prefer to speak in English. This must be stopped if we want the change to be universal. Today Congressmen are taking high office. There too they should try to carry on their work in the mother tongue."

The correspondent is quite right. The lure for English has not left us. And until it goes, our own languages will remain paupers. Would that the people's Governments everywhere would do their work either in the national or provincial languages! But to attain this, they must have language experts in their offices and the public must be encouraged to write in their provincial or the national language. We shall not only be saved much expense by adopting our own languages but it will also make things much easier for the general public.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

## HARIJAN WORK IN KISTNA DISTRICT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri G. Ramachandra Rao writes a letter giving an account of his Harijan work. The following is a precis of it :

"We have taken up the problem of the use of public wells by Harijans. Section 126A of the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920 provides for the use, by persons of whatever caste or creed, of wells, tanks, reservoirs, water-ways etc. maintained by a *Panchayat*. It even imposes a fine of Rs. 100 on anyone who obstructs its operation. But the law is honoured in the breach where the Harijans are concerned. It is pathetic to see the latter often waiting in long queues for hours at a time in front of a public well for some generous non-Harijan to fill their pots with water. We chose Kankipadu village where a public well is maintained by the local *Panchayat* and explained to the leaders, not only the implications of the law but also their moral obligations. The response, after about three weeks of propaganda, being heartening, we called a public meeting where, owing to overwhelming support for the proposition, it was announced that in future Harijans would be allowed to use the well in question without molestation.

"The next morning, however, the Harijans themselves were found to be too timid to take advantage of the decision. It was a sad commentary on their mentality and we had to work hard to bring them to the well. As soon as they began drawing water, a reaction set in among the caste Hindus, the vast majority of whom, even at personal inconvenience, refrained from coming to the well. A few, however, remained staunch to their resolve and gradually the opposition was worn down. I had also to appeal to the Deputy Inspector of Local Board to explain to the people the implications of section 126A.

"This experience has encouraged us to take up similar work in other villages too, where Harijans have no facilities for obtaining water. I am of opinion that for the removal of such disabilities, moral persuasion and legal provision should go hand in hand. Absence of one renders the other inefficient. The existing Government acts dealing with social disabilities are vague and weak. This defect must be remedied and the Government of Madras, who have set aside one crore of rupees for Harijan work, might well utilize a certain sum for publicity of the provisions of the relevant laws already on the statute book. Execution of the law is as important as its passing."

Professor Rao deserves hearty congratulations for his assiduous work on behalf of the oppressed Harijans. His effort ought to be supported by the public.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

### LAND WITHOUT SUFFERING

Gandhiji echoed the sentiment of the whole country when he remarked the other day after the evening prayer, that they had a right to hope that now their country would become the land where there was no sorrow and no suffering as described in the song which they had sung so often at the prayer. That consummation would not be brought about merely by their Ministers wearing the crown of thorns. That land, as the poet had sung, was within us. It was within the power of every one to raise him or herself above the sphere of sorrow and suffering by fulfilling certain conditions and if many people did that in India, we should realize the dream of a society in which there is no sorrow and suffering. But today alas! the people were filled with fear and anger. Brother quarrelled with brother and returned anger for anger and blow for blow. What could their Ministers do? Were they expected to send the military and the police to protect them? The whole atmosphere was rotten. Offices and staff had been multiplied a hundredfold. No wonder, bribery and corruption were rampant.

If they did not purify themselves within and without, they would make government impossible for their Ministers and displace the very men whom they had put in power.

Again how could their country become the land without sorrow and regrets while their *bhangi* brethren continued to be oppressed. It pained him to hear and read of the persecution of Harijans in villages. If there was an epidemic, they were beaten. They could not draw water from wells. They lived in hovels. This state of affairs may not exist in the country of our dreams. All human beings are one in the sight of God and they must look upon Harijans as no less members of the great human family than they themselves were.

It pained him to hear too that bribery and corruption were rampant among the *bhangis* themselves. They should not demean themselves by giving bribes to corrupt officials or their own foremen and *jamadars* etc. They should not look upon themselves as beggars at anyone's door. They must demand justice and fight for it, but with clean hands. And with their own Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others as Ministers, they need have no fear that justice would not be meted out to them.

### ALL EYES ON MINISTERS

Soon after the new Ministers took office, Gandhiji received a note in which some English friends had expressed the fear that the lovely gardens of the houses, formerly occupied by the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, would now suffer neglect. There would be no flowers, grass would be allowed to grow anyhow where there were velvety lawns and the compound would be untidy. Carpets, chairs and other furniture would probably be ruined by oil or grease stains, the lavatories would be dirty etc. Gandhiji said that having lived in England and South Africa and known Englishmen well, he could be witness to the

fact that cultured English people do understand and observe the laws of sanitation and hygiene. English officials were living in palaces as kings. They kept a huge staff of servants to keep their houses and surroundings clean. The people's leaders had gone to the Interim Government as their servants. They were of the people and one with them. There was no need for them to depend on a large staff of servants. They would be untrue to their calling, if they did. But they could and should keep their houses and surroundings spotlessly clean by self-help. The women of their household would be their caretakers with themselves and Gandhiji knew that not one of the leaders would hesitate to clean their own lavatories. A doctor lady had told him years ago, that while the Viceroy's House was a palace and spotlessly clean, the quarters of his staff of Harijans etc. were a very different show. The people's leaders would make no such difference. One of Jawaharlalji's personal staff—a Harijan—had been an M.L.A. They treated their servants as members of the family. Gandhiji would not be happy, unless the Ministers of the nation maintained the highest standards in every department of life and he was sure, they would not disappoint the nation.

#### A FOOLISH WASTE OF MONEY

One of the new Ministers was describing to Gandhiji the other day how Pandit Jawaharlal had to wade through a pile of 500 to 800 wires every day and an equal number was probably being received by the Viceroy. Characterizing the practice as a foolish waste of money as well as of the Viceroy's and their Ministers' precious time, in one of his prayer addresses, he described how at one time, people used to send wires to the King, little realizing that as a constitutional monarch, he was bound by the advice of his ministers.

Time was when the Viceroy was all-powerful and could do everything. But now he had of his own free will, relegated his powers to the Cabinet of which, like the King of England, he was the constitutional head. The King of England could not do anything without the consent of his ministers. The people of England had even beheaded one monarch because he went against their will. Gandhiji hoped that the people's ministers here would never do anything of the kind because they had in their possession the matchless weapon of Satyagraha, should occasion ever arise for its use. In any case, the people who sent these wires, should realize that apart from burdening the recipients and the telegraph offices, they were also wasting the people's money. The well-to-do imagined it was their money, but it really belonged to the starving masses whom they exploited.

#### BOMBAY'S SHAME

Gandhiji then turned with a heavy heart to the continued strife in Bombay. He did not know who killed whom. But it was tragic that some people even rejoiced that Hindus were now strong enough to kill in return those, who tried to kill them. He would far rather that Hindus died

without retaliation, for, that was the only way to quench the fire of hatred. But today they had neither that valour nor that non-violence or love in their hearts. Demand for more and more military and police protection was pouring in from all sides. To quarrel among ourselves was bad enough. But far worse was to call in troops whom the British had trained and whose oath of allegiance was to the British King. He did not want the people to ask the Government anywhere for military and police protection. They must generate their own strength and not rely on anyone else. If they insisted on being provided with military and police help, the Ministers should resign rather than comply with a request that would strangle Independence at its very inception. Instead, they and their leaders should be willing to go into the fray themselves and lay down their lives for the sake of Hindu and Muslim honour. As for the military, they should be harnessed to all kinds of constructive work at which they were adepts. Let them grow more food for the starving millions and do all kinds of other work that was waiting to be done.

#### DELHI MUNICIPALITY

Some members of the Delhi Municipality and businessmen had come and complained, said Gandhiji, that in Delhi it was the Chief Commissioner's and Deputy Commissioner's *raj*. He had told them in reply that the remedy lay in their own hands. They should go to the Municipality for service only, with no personal end to serve. He was afraid, they would not be able to stand that test. They had many sins of omission and commission to answer for. As elected representatives in the Municipality, they were responsible for the Harijan hovels and the dirt and squalor of Delhi. Businessmen and contractors exploited the poor. If communal strife occurs in Delhi, it is the citizens who are responsible. The day for the Commissioner's *raj* is over. It must now be the people's *raj*, but the people must be alive to their responsibilities.

#### COMMUNAL STRIFE

Gandhiji brought his discourse to an end by expressing sorrow at the Qaid-e-Azam's recent utterances. He was the leader of a powerful organization and it behoved him to weigh every word he spoke. If he did, it would redound to his credit, it would be for the good of Islam, for the benefit of Hinduism too and for the welfare of India as a whole. But, said Gandhiji, each one was responsible for his own correct action and correct action on the part of everyone would make the Qaid-e-Azam act aright too.

The rising tide of communal hatred, passion and violence and as a result, false propaganda in the country made Gandhiji open out his heart to his audience on the day following. It had hurt him to hear some of the recent pronouncements of the Qaid-e-Azam and his lieutenants. They go on saying that they will take what they want by force. He wondered where this was going to lead the ship of State. Congressmen may have the reins of power come into their hands but this has only increased

their duties and responsibilities a hundredfold. While Congress was in the wilderness, they were arrested, beaten and punished, even killed; but that is past history for the time being at any rate. If Congress had resorted to violence, they would have fallen. The only true suffering is that which does not retaliate and it alone can bear fruit. Moreover, the 40 crores of India, i. e. Village India did not think in terms of violence. They were slaves. The violence today was in the hearts of a handful of towns people. Gandhiji said that as a villager, he became one with the ocean of Indian humanity and Congress has taken office for the sake of this suffering humanity. He had espoused the Hindu-Muslim cause, long before he joined the Congress. Even as a boy at school he had many Muslim friends. He went to South Africa in charge of a case for Muslim friends of his brother. He went to South Africa to earn his living but he soon put service first. He became a coolie barrister in order to serve his labourer friends there and he really served Hindus through Muslims whose employee he was. Hindu-Muslim unity was part of his very being. The memory of those days, Gandhiji said, was full of fragrance for him. Even today, although alas! communal differences have raised their head there too, all were fighting as one man for Indian rights. He recalled stalwart Muslims who had joined the Satyagraha movement, especially Sheth Cachalia now gone, who said he would rather die than remain a slave. He, therefore, wondered and was hurt when the Qaid-e-Azam and his disciples called Hindus their enemies. He was not a Muslim but he claimed that Islam did not teach enmity to any man. If he was as he believed, a true Hindu, he was equally a good Christian and a good Sikh and a good Jain. No religion teaches man to kill fellow man because he holds different opinions or is of another religion, and yet this was what was being done. No one can look upon another as his enemy unless he first becomes his own enemy. The Muslim League leaders talked of forcing the Congress and the Hindus and even the British to yield to their demands. This surely was not the right way. He recalled with pride the days of the Khilafat and related the incident when the Ali Brothers wept tears of joy. Gandhiji was addressing a meeting of Hindus and said to them, 'If you want to save the cow, you must save the Khilafat, die for it if need be.' This brought tears of joy to the eyes of the Ali Brothers. What a sad change was there today! He longed for those days when Muslims and Hindus never did anything without consulting each other. What could he do to bring that state of affairs back again, was the question that was worrying him all the time. He made bold to say that for any Hindu or Mussalman to regard the other community as 'enemy' was not only disloyal but stupid too. He appealed to Englishmen too not to imagine that

they could keep them apart. If they did, they were disloyal to both India and Britain. Hindus and Muslims were all one of the same soil, blood-brothers who ate the same food, drank the same water and talked the same language. They have to live together. The Qaid-e-Azam says, all minorities will be safe in Pakistan. There is already Muslim *raj* in the Punjab and Bengal and Sindh. But does it augur well for future peace if things happen in these provinces as threatened? Does the Muslim League imagine they are going to keep Islam alive through the sword? If so, they are much mistaken. The very word Islam means peace. And Gandhiji maintained that no religion worthy of the name, could exist except on terms of peace.

#### GIVE THEM TIME

He was being asked, said Gandhiji in his message, which was read out at the evening prayer gathering yesterday (Monday), as to when the Salt Tax was going to be removed. Why had it not been removed so far? The question denoted impatience. The Cabinet had only been in office eight days. Its Finance Member had not yet taken charge of his office and for this question, his arrival must be awaited. The Cabinet could do nothing without due deliberation. If anyone had the right to show impatience, it should be he, for, he was the originator of the idea of the anti-Salt Tax campaign. He also knew how best it could be abolished with the least loss of revenue. But he knew too that people must not be impatient and they might not worry the Cabinet into doing things in haste. They were people's representatives, working according to the people's wishes. They must have faith that the Salt Tax would go and he who had faith, could afford to be patient. There were many other things that the Cabinet had to do for the people as quickly as possible. If they continue to give them support, the Ministers would surely, in good time, do all that should be done.

New Delhi, 10-9-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## PROUD OR INSANE ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Who would not like to know Gujarat as proud ? It is permissible affectionately to call her insane. As I write these lines in sorrow, the picture that comes before my mind is not of proud but of insane Gujarat.

Shri Parikshitlal is a servant of the Harijans. He aspires in that capacity to serve Gujarat but is baffled by the madness that has seized her people. One hears of living Harijans but in Parikshitlal's story, Harijans dead are also untouchables. On the cremation ground, at any rate, there should be no distinctions between man and man. Once the dead body is reduced to ashes, all uncleanness vanishes. In spite of this, must Harijans be excluded from the common cremation ground ? After much difficulty the *Mahajans* of Navsari were persuaded to permit the body of an old Harijan to be cremated on the common ground. As a matter of fact, there was neither room for favour on one side nor for rejoicing on the other. But one has, at times, to be thankful for small mercies. It is well that the agitation in this case bore fruit.

The other instance is an unmixed tragedy. I do not propose to give the name of the village where it took place. The despicable part of it is that even if an epidemic breaks out among the cattle, it is the poor Harijans who are held responsible. The so-called caste Hindus will not take the trouble even to see the obvious cause of the disease. Grass grows in abundance during the rainy season. It is infested with all kinds of insects. The starved cattle go mad at the sight of green grass and devour it, insects and all. Is it any wonder that they fall ill and die ? The cause of the epidemic is obvious. The cattle of the Harijans suffer no less and yet the latter are held responsible for the calamity. They are subjected to maltreatment in the shape of abuse and assault from the caste Hindus. This, in brief, is the gist of a woeful tale, described in a letter before me. How I wish that my words could reach the ears of the villagers concerned !

Now that reformers are at the helm of government, much of the terrible ignorance of the villagers could be dispelled, if only the officials would make the effort. If the *Mahajans* shed their superstition and the Government and Harijan workers do their duty and the Harijans are roused from their slumbers, it will be possible to deliver Gujarat from this dreadful evil.

New Delhi, 13-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## UNCERTIFIED KHADI v. MILL CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Gujarati friend asks :

" Ever so many national organizations insist that not only should their staff be dressed in Khadi, but that even books should be Khadi-bound. Since certified Khadi can only be had from the recognized *bhandars* on payment of a certain quota of yarn, they naturally resort to uncertified Khadi. Is this right ? Is not mill cloth preferable to uncertified Khadi ? Is not insistence on Khadi that results in buying it from uncertified shops really a false pretence ? "

When, among other things, there is a dearth of Khadi, it is improper to insist on its use for purposes of bookbinding etc. When there was an abundance of Khadi, it was I who recommended its use for all such purposes. The entire Congress Camp in Ahmedabad in 1921, was bedecked in Khadi. Today it would be madness to attempt such a thing. Time and circumstances alter methods.

But I do not understand the writer's plea for mill cloth as opposed to uncertified Khadi. What is uncertified Khadi ? Is it not hand-spun and hand-woven cloth though uncertified ? That there may be fraud about it, is another matter. The Charkha Sangh cannot guarantee cent per cent purity in even certified Khadi. Nothing in this world is proof against deceit, has been true throughout the ages. Drawbacks in uncertified Khadi are well known. In it there is no fixity of wages to the spinners and the weavers. Those who sell it, make what profits they like. Often do persons set up shops, merely to spite the Charkha Sangh *bhandars*. Nevertheless, where there is no fraud, all cloth which is hand-spun and hand-woven must be called Khadi. What a person spins and has woven into cloth for himself, is not certified in the legal sense and yet it is Khadi in the highest and purest sense of the term. It would be a crime on that person's part, to use mill cloth instead of the cloth made from the labour of his own hands.

The upshot is that exclusion of mill cloth must be maintained. Uncertified Khadi should be avoided as far as possible, but where certified Khadi is not available, and the choice lies between mill cloth and uncertified home-spun, preference should be given to the latter, assuming of course that it is pure Khadi. You may condemn, if you like, as uncertified, cloth made out of the labour of one's own hands; but the fact remains that it is a purer production than certified Khadi. And, if all span enough to have cloth woven for their requirements, what need would there then be for the Charkha Sangh ?

Heaven and earth would then ring with cries of victory to the Charkha Sangh.

New Delhi, 12-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## THE MOTHER OF KHADDAR

A retired economic botanist (for cotton and *rabi* cereals) to the U. P. Government in a letter to Gandhiji writes:

"In the past you have frequently emphasized the use of Khaddar for the general public, both in the villages and the cities. The Government Agricultural Departments in their zeal for the export of fine quality cotton and the supply of cotton bales to the local spinning mills instead of improving the local *desi* strains through the new Plant Breeding methods have adopted a line of discarding or relegating to the background our country cotton strains and replacing them with foreign American varieties as is found all over the Punjab. American cotton types are undoubtedly producers of better staples, fit for superior cloth of higher counts through mill manufacture. But our old *desi* strains have certain advantages of hardiness and acclimatization, viz. fitness for providing thatchings for roofs in the villages, in addition to providing raw material for local spinning of yarn and weaving of cloth on ordinary handlooms.

"By improving the *desi* varieties of cotton through modern scientific methods, it is possible to raise their spinning worth from 6 and 8 counts to about 22s."

The writer, who has been connected with the cotton breeding work in one of the provinces of Upper India, has been successfully evolving through cross fertilization methods in one of the Government Cotton Research Stations, a cotton strain with a quality of fibre fit for spinning from 18 to 22 counts. The fine quality cottons, he points out, mostly give a lower ginning percentage, i. e. the proportion of lint to seed; while short staple cottons give a higher ginning figure. He has been able to combine the better spinning quality of 22s with a pretty high ginning figure of 38 per cent of lint.

The friend goes on to remark:

"In the light of my almost 35 years of continuous and uninterrupted association with the cotton plant in India, supplemented by observations made personally in Egypt and the United States, I feel convinced that if proper efforts are made by devoting full attention to the study and improvement of the indigenous cotton strains, there are definite possibilities of getting unexpected and brighter results."

He has sent a sample of C520 which is a newly improved *desi* Bengal variety. On being turned into slivers by *tunai*, it has easily given yarn up to 40 counts.

The suggestion made by the writer is worthy of consideration by the Provincial Governments. The struggle between handicrafts and industrial production is not merely one between two sets of

technical processes but between two dissimilar and competing systems of economy which, in many cases, are mutually exclusive. In the past economics favourable to handicrafts have too often been sacrificed to the requirements of mass production. The development of huge cotton tracts by the expenditure of millions of pounds, to provide long staple cotton to Indian and foreign textile industry, is an instance in point.

It is a well-known fact that the staple that is best suited for mill-spinning is not needed for hand-spinning. Hand-spinning can produce better results with the so-called lower grades of cotton. The fact was established through a series of interesting tests made at the time of the Paris Exhibition of 1864. The curious may turn to the pages of Forbes Watson for a detailed account of those tests. A hardy, improved, indigenous variety of cotton of fair staple and high ginning percentage and yield that can be grown individually for local consumption is the mother of Khaddar. It is the prime necessity for its success.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

PYARELAL

## SUGGESTIONS FOR JAILS

A friend who was at one time superintendent of a jail makes the following suggestions which are worth consideration for meeting the present food and cloth shortage :

1. Utilizing every bit of land in all jails, Borstal institutions, mental hospitals, reformatories etc. for cultivation of more tubers, e. g. potatoes, yams, carrots, radishes etc., which are rich in calcium, minerals and vitamins and could be substituted for rice or wheat at one meal.

2. Preventing waste in cooked food by providing a longer interval between the morning and evening meals and even restricting the prisoners to two meals in consultation with them.

3. Discontinuing the use of the best prisoners for the personal service of jail officials.

4. Paying more attention to and supervising more carefully the cultivation of eatables and cotton in order to reduce the quantity of food and cloth, purchased in the market.

5. Having ideal dairies in every jail and stopping jail officials from keeping cows. These officials may be permitted to purchase milk from jail dairies.

6. Securing co-operation, non-existent today, of departments of agriculture and livestock industries and veterinary in order to co-ordinate work.

7. Making use of the acres of arable lands attached to some jails for emergency use.

8. Introducing the compost system and stopping waste of manure from dairies.

9. Growing fodder for animals on the premises and acquiring grazing lands for each institution, the present misuse and abuse in the jail department at all stages to be stopped.

## LEPROSY AND CONTAMINATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. R. G. Cochrane, Principal of the Missionary Medical College for Women in Vellore writes:

"My good friend Mr. Jagadisan has brought to my attention a paragraph in the *Hindu* of Madras of August, the 26th. It reads: 'Bihar is going to have a separate jail for the leper prisoners, it is learnt, to save other prisoners from contamination. Arrangements are being made in the first instance, it is understood, to segregate about 100 such prisoners at Govindpur in the District of Manbhum. I was so pained by the news that I could not resist the urge to write to you, for, you have been a consistent champion of those who suffer from leprosy and indeed, of all persons in society who are undeservedly stigmatized. I feel that I should write to you and say that it will be a great pity if the Bihar Government were to build a separate jail for prisoners with leprosy. It is a gratuitous measure whose only effect will be the strengthening of the public's prejudice against leprosy. On examination, it is likely to be found that 80% at least of the prisoners with leprosy are non-infective, and, therefore, there is absolutely no reason, why these should be separated from the other prisoners. With regard to the prisoners who suffer from infective leprosy, the main precautions are that the prisoner should not come into contact with healthy persons, during night and should avoid, direct, close contact during the day. As leprosy is a mildly contagious disease, even its infective types, a prisoner with infective leprosy could be more easily dealt with than prisoners with other infective diseases. And yet, if the report is true, the Bihar Government is going to act on the fear of 'contamination'. The very use of this word indicates a mediaeval attitude to leprosy. It is a great pity that statements are being continually published to suggest that leprosy patients are contaminated in some way or other.

"We in Madras, enthusiastically supported by Mr. Jagadisan, are doing all we can to protest against the discrimination of the patient suffering from leprosy on the grounds of social stigma. It is no more of a disgrace to get leprosy than to get measles, and not until the general public realize that it is not a rapidly spreading plague, as it is commonly believed to be, shall we make any advance in the control of leprosy. I am very grateful to hear from Mr. Jagadisan that you have now put leprosy work as an integral part of the Nation's Constructive Programme. Your remark that the leprosy patient is as much a part of society as the tallest of us, moves me deeply. May I hope that India's leaders will follow your footsteps and do the right thing by the leprosy patient?"

It is to be hoped that the information about Bihar is not true and that, if it is, this letter of his will dissipate the fear of leprosy. "Superstitions die hard." In this land of faith and superstitions, both flourish abundantly. Hence, they often intermingle and the contamination of superstitions—a multitude—seems to have overlaid faith so much

so that, it is hard to distinguish between the two. But my faith which burns too bright for the army of superstitions to touch it, tells me that leprosy is no contamination. We must learn the laws governing infectious and contagious diseases and obey them.

Dr. Cochrane is, I believe, a medical philanthropist. He knows a great deal about leprosy and lepers. I fancy that the National Governments will not be wrong in accepting his judgment that, of all the diseases of the kind, leprosy is the least among them. In its virulent form, it deprives a patient of his limbs and defies ordinary medical treatment. What nature does is yet unknown. But the ordinary man does not need to bother about this difficult matter. Enough if he realizes that a leper is as much his brother as any other, and he is on no account to be shunned. New Delhi, 11-9-'46

## COLLECTIVE PRAYER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You believe in mass prayer. Is congregational worship as practised today, a true prayer? In my opinion, it is a degrading thing and therefore dangerous. Jesus said: "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, but enter into thine inner chamber and having shut thy door pray to the Father which is in secret." Most people in a crowd are inattentive and unable to concentrate. Prayer then becomes hypocrisy. The *yogi* is aware of this. Should not the masses, therefore, be taught self-examination which is the true prayer?

A. I hold that congregational worship held by me, is true prayer for a collection of men. The convener is a believer and no hypocrite. If he were one, the prayer would be tainted at the source. The men and women who attend do not go to any orthodox prayer house from which they might have to gain an earthly end. The bulk of them have no contact with the convener. Hence it is presumed, they do not come for show. They join in because they believe that they somehow or other, acquire merit by having common prayer. That most or some persons are inattentive or unable to concentrate, is very true. That merely shows that they are beginners. Neither inattention nor inability to concentrate are any proof of hypocrisy or falsity. It would be, if they pretended to be attentive when they were not. On the contrary, many have often asked me what they should do, when they are unable to concentrate.

The saying of Jesus quoted in the question, is wholly inapplicable. Jesus was referring to individual prayer and to hypocrisy underlying it. There is nothing in the verse quoted, against collective prayer. I have remarked often enough that without individual prayer, collective prayer is not of much use. I hold that individual prayer is a prelude to collective, as the latter, when it is effective, must lead to the individual. In other words, when a man has got to the stage of heart prayer, he prays always, whether in the secret or in the multitude.

I do not know what the questioner's *yogi* does or does not. I know that the masses when they are in tune with the Infinite, naturally resort to self-examination. All real prayer must have that end.

New Delhi, 14-9-'46

# HARIJAN

September 22

1946

## CHARKHA JAYANTI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What is known as Charkha Jayanti is not Gandhi Jayanti even though the date always coincides with the day of my birth. The reason for this is clear. In ancient times the Charkha had nothing to do with Independence. If anything, it had a background of slavery. Poor women used perforce to have to spin in order to get even a piece of dry bread. They used to get such *cowrie* shells as the government of the day chose to throw at them. I remember in my childhood, watching the then Thakore Saheb of Rajkot, literally throw money to the poor on a particular day. I used to enjoy the fun which it was to me. I can picture in my imagination, how in olden times the poor spinners would have a few shells thrown at them which they would pick up greedily.

In 1908, in South Africa, I conceived the idea that if poverty-stricken India were to be freed from the alien yoke, India must learn to look upon the spinning wheel and hand-spun yarn as the symbol, not of slavery but of freedom. It should also mean butter to bread. It took very little to bring home this truth to Shri Narandas Gandhi and he has, therefore, understood the true significance of Charkha Jayanti. My birthday, so far as I know, was never celebrated before the date got connected with Charkha Jayanti. In South Africa where I had become fairly known, no one ever took any notice of it. It was here that it was joined with Charkha Jayanti. The English day of my birthday has also been included. Therefore, the Jayanti week this year, is being celebrated from 22-9-'46 to 2-10-'46. Narandas Gandhi has played the chief role in this and, as I write these lines, the days of celebration come to mind. In my opinion, however, the real celebration will come only when the music of the wheel which is the symbol of Independence and non-violence will be heard in every home. If a few or even a crore of poor women spin in order to earn a pittance, what can the celebration mean to them and what achievement can that be? This can well happen even under a despotic rule and is today visible, wherever capital holds sway. Millionaires are sustained by the charity, they dole out to the poor, may be even in the form of wages.

The celebration will only be truly worth-while when the rich and the poor alike understand that all are equal in the eyes of God, that each one, in his own place, must earn his bread by labour, and that the independence of all will be protected, not by guns and ammunition but by the bullets, in the shape of cones of hand-spun yarn, i. e. not by violence but by non-violence.

If we consider the atmosphere in the world today, this may sound ludicrous. But if we look within, this is the truth and the eternal truth. For the moment, it is Narandas Gandhi and other devotees of the Charkha, who are trying to demonstrate it through their faith. Let all understand and celebrate the Jayanti in the same spirit as fires these devoted workers.

New Delhi, 14-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## STOP IT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Hindi journalist writes to ask me that since a trilingual dictionary, such as is appearing in the *Harijan* is already on the market, where is the need of the latter? If the dictionary referred to answers the purpose, I agree that the *Harijan* effort is not worth-while. If such a dictionary is in existence, I shall be sorry and surprised that none of my co-workers was aware of the fact. Now I am trying to get hold of the book in question and if it answers my purpose, I shall certainly own the mistake and end the unnecessary labour.

Another friend, writing in English, has drawn my attention to the same dictionary and in addition, he complains that my Hindustani is in reality Urdu and, therefore, I am daily becoming more and more unpopular in the Hindi-loving world. The same criticism assails me from the Urdu world. They say that while I call my language Hindustani, I do nothing but displace Urdu words by Sanskritized Hindi ones. I welcome both criticisms. My Hindustani is neither Urdu nor Hindi. It is sought to be a proper mixture of the two. But the river that I desire to flow from the meeting of the waters of Hindi and Urdu is today, I admit, invisible. Scholars tell me that it flowed at one time but that, it has now disappeared. Be that as it may, the aim of propaganda for Hindustani is that the two languages, whose grammar is one but whose words are derived from different sources, should not remain apart, but should so mingle as to become one river. Success of this attempt depends on the labours of the Hindustani Prachar workers. If there is soundness in their effort, it will not have gone in vain. Ultimate success always rests in the hands of God. And, if we realize that He is the Doer as also the Destroyer, why should we worry?

This work has not been undertaken with a view to gaining popularity with the people. True service seeks no praise nor is it frightened by criticism. That is no service which swells with pride at applause or withers under criticism. A true servant finds his reward in single-eyed service. I would, therefore appeal to my critics to help rather than find fault with me in this good work, so that the blending of the two streams may further enrich and enlighten this great land. It will not offend God if, in addition to calling Him 'Ishwar,' I name him 'Khuda' or 'Allah' and, at the same time, increase my knowledge of Him.

New Delhi, 13-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

Acknowledgment *n.* रसीद, पहुँच । رسید, پہنچ  
 Acquaint *v.* खबर देना । خبر دینا  
 Acquaintance *n.* जान-पहचान, जानकारी । جانکاری, جان پہچان  
 Acquire *v.* हासिल करना, पाना । حاصل کرنا, پانا  
 Acquit *v.* बरी करना । بری کرنا  
 Acquit oneself *v.* अदा करना (फर्ज या काम) । ادا کرنا (فرض یا کام)

Act *n.* कानून, काम । قانون, کام  
 Act *v.* करना, नाटक करना । کرنا, ناکھ کرنا  
 Act upon *v.* पर चलना (सलाह वगैरा) । پر چلنا (صلاح وغیرہ)  
 Acting *adj.* कामचलाऊ (का०) । کام چلاؤ (کا०)  
 Active *adj.* फुर्तीला । फुरतीला  
 Activity *n.* हलचल (श्री०), कामकाज (श्री०), प्रवृत्ति (का०) । هلچل (شری), کام کاج (شری), پرورتنی (کا)  
 Actor *n.* नाटकी, अदाकार । नाटکی, ادا کار  
 Actual *adj.* असली । اصلی  
 Add *v.* जोड़ना, बढ़ाना । جوڑنا, بڑھانا  
 Addict *n.* आदी (का०) । عادی (کا)  
 Addition *n.* जोड़, जमा । جمع, جوڑ  
 Address *v.* बोलना, पता लिखना, तक्रार करना (श्री०), भाषण देना (श्री०) । بولنا, پتہ لکھنا, تقریر کرنا (شری), بھاشن دینا (شری)  
 Address *n.* पता । پتہ  
 Aberration *n.* ठिठक जाना । ٹھٹھک جانا  
 Aback, to be taken *v.* भौचक हो जाना । بھوچک ہو جانا  
 Abet *v.* सहारा देना, झुकसाना (गुनाहमें) । سہارا دینا, واکسانا (گناہ میں)  
 Abeyance *n.* रुक गया हुआ, कम हो गया हुआ, विराम । رُک گیا ہوا, کم ہو گیا ہوا, ویرام  
 Abhor *v.* नफरत करना, घिन करना, घृणा करना । نفرت کرنا, گھین کرنا, گھृणा کرنا  
 Abiding *adj.* टिकनेवाला, रहनेवाला । ٹیکنے والا, رہنے والا  
 Ab initio *adv.* शुरू से शुरू سے  
 Abject *adj.* गिरा हुआ, जलील । گرا ہوا, ذلیل  
 Abjure *v.* छोड़ना, अनिकार करना (से), तोबा करना । چھوڑना, انکار کرنا (سے), توبہ کرنا

Ablative *n.* पंचमी । پنجمی  
 Ablaze *adj.* चमकता हुआ, भड़कता हुआ । چمکتا ہوا, بھڑکتا ہوا  
 Abloom *adj.* खिला हुआ । کھلا ہوا  
 Aboard *adv.* जहाज पर । جہاز پر  
 Abode *n.* घर, रहनेकी जगह । گھر, رہنے کی جگہ  
 Aborigine *n.* आदिवासी । آدی واسی  
 Abortion *n.* गर्भपात, हमल मिरना, अधूरा रह जाना । گریہات, حمل گرنا, ادھورا رہ جانا  
 Above *adv.* ऊपर, ऊँचा । اوپر, اونچا  
 Above board *adj.* बेलग, साफ़ । بے لاگ, صاف  
 Abrasion *n.* रगड़ । رگڑ  
 Abreast *adv.* साथ-साथ । ساتھ ساتھ  
 Abroad *adv.* परदेसमें, मैदानमें । پردیس میں, میدان میں  
 Abrogate *v.* झुठा देना, हटा देना । اٹھا دینا, ہٹا دینا  
 Abscond *v.* भागना, फरार होना, रूपोश होना । بھاگنا, فرار ہونا, روپوش ہونا

Absconder *n.* फरारी । فراری  
 Abstemious *adj.* संयमी, परहेजगार । سنجی, پرہیزگار  
 Abstruse *adj.* मुश्किल (समझनेमें) । مشکل (سمجھنے میں)  
 Abut *v.* छूना, मिला हुआ होना । چھونا, ملا ہوا ہونا  
 Academy *n.* विहार, तालीमगाह । وھار, تعلیم گاہ  
 Accede to *v.* राजी होना । راضی ہونا  
 Accelerate *v.* गति बढ़ाना, जल्दी करना । گتی بڑھانا, جلدی کرنا  
 Accession *n.* गद्दी पाना । گدی پانا  
 Accessary *n.* साथी (गुनाहमें), मददगार । साथی (گناہ میں), مددگار

Adduce *v.* पेश करना, सामने लाना । پیش کرنا, سامنے لانا  
 Adept *n.* निपुण, माहिर । نپن, ماہر  
 Adequate *adj.* काफी, पूरा । کافی, پورا  
 Adhere *v.* चिपकना, पक्का रहना । چپکنا, پکا رہنا  
 Adherent *n.* हानी, माननेवाला । حامی, ماننے والا  
 Adhesion *n.* चिपकाव, लगाव । چپکاو, لگاؤ  
 Adieu *n.* नमस्कार, खुदा हाफिज, बिदा । نمسکار, خدا حافظ, وداع  
 Adjacent *adj.* मिला हुआ, लगा हुआ, पासका । ملا ہوا, لگا ہوا, پاس کا

Adjective *n.* विशेषण, सिकत । ویشین, صفت  
 Adjoin *v.* मिलाना, पास होना, मिला हुआ होना । ملانا, پاس, ملا ہوا ہونا  
 Adjourn *v.* स्थगित करना, मुलतवी करना । استھگت کرنا, ملتوی کرنا  
 Adjudge *v.* फैसला करना, राय देना, हुकम देना । فیصلہ کرنا, رائے دینا, حکم دینا  
 Adjudicate *v.* हुकम सुनाना, फैसला करना । حکم سنانا, فیصلہ کرنا  
 Adjust *v.* ठीक करना । ٹھیک کرنا  
 Administer *v.* अन्तिजाम करना, बन्दोबस्त करना, अदा करना, अन्तظام करना, बन्दोबस्त करना, अदा करना, देना । شاسن, انتظام  
 Administration *n.* शासन, अन्तिजाम । شاسن, انتظام  
 Admiral *n.* अमीरलबहर, दरियायी बेड़ेका सरदार, नौकेका अमीरलبحر, دریائی بیڑے کا سردار, नौकेका सेनापति ।  
 Admiralty *n.* दरियायी बेड़ेका दफ्तर, नौकाखाना । دریائی بیڑے کا دفتر, نوکا خانہ  
 Admire *v.* सराहना, पसन्द करना, बखानना । سراہنا, پسند کرنا, بکھانا  
 Admirable *adj.* काबिल तारीफ, प्रशंसनीय । قابل تعریف, پرشہنہ

Admiration *n.* सराहना, तारीफ । سراہنا, تعریف  
 Admit *v.* मान लेना, कबूलना, आने देना, दाखिल करना । مان لینا, قبول نا, آنے دینا, داخل کرنا  
 Admissible *adj.* माननेके लायक, दाखिलके लायक । ماننے کے लायक, داخلے کے लायक

Admission *n.* दाखिल, मंजूरी । داخلہ, منظوری  
 Admitted *adj.* माना हुआ । مانا ہوا  
 Admittedly *adv.* बेशक, निःसन्देह । بے شک, نہ سندیہ  
 Admonish *v.* डाँटना, समझाना, कान खींचना, होशियार करना । ڈانٹنا, سمجھانا, کان کھینچنا, ہوشیار کرنا  
 Adolescence *n.* किशोरावस्था, नौजवानी । کیشوراوستھا, نوجوانی  
 Adopt *v.* गोद लेना, अपनाना, ले लेना । گود لینا, اپنانا, لے لینا  
 Adoption *n.* मंजूरी, स्वीकृति । منظوری, سوکرتی  
 Adore *v.* पूजना । پوجنا  
 Adoration *n.* पूजा, भक्ति । پوجا, بھکتی



Adorn *v.* सिंगार करना, शोभा देना, सजाना । स्कार करना, शोभा देना, सजाना  
 Adrift *adj.* बहता हुआ, बेआसरा । असा ।  
 Adrift, to cut *v.* लंगर तोड़ देना, बहा देना । लंगर तोड़ देना, बहा देना  
 Adulation *n.* चापलूसी, खुशामद । खुशामद  
 Adult *n.* जवान, प्रौढ़, बाल्य । بالغ  
 Adulterate *v.* मिलावट करना । मिलावट करना  
 Adultery *n.* व्यभिचार, जिना । जना  
 Advance *v.* आगे बढ़ना, पेश कदमी करना, आगे रखना ।  
 आगे बढ़ना, पेश कदमी करना, आगे रखना  
 Advancement *n.* प्रगति, तरक्की । तرق  
 Advance, in *adv.* पहले से । पहले से  
 Advantage *n.* लाभ, फायदा । लाभ  
 Advent *n.* आना, आमद । आना  
 Adventure *v.* जोखिम झुठाना, पराक्रम करना, जान पर खेलना ।  
 जोखिम झुठाना, पराक्रम करना, जान पर खेलना  
 Adventure *n.* जोखिम, पराक्रम । पराक्रम  
 Adventurer *n.* मनचला, साहसी । साहसी  
 Adverb *n.* क्रियाविशेषण, जरफ़ । जरफ़  
 Adversary *n.* विरोधी, दुश्मन । दुश्मन  
 Adverse *adj.* विरुद्ध, बरखिलाफ़ । बरखिलाफ़  
 Adversity *n.* मुसीबत, दुःख, विपदा । मुसीबत  
 Advert *v.* ध्यान देना, ध्यान दिलाना । ध्यान देना  
 Advertise *v.* प्रचार करना, मशहूर करना, अिस्तहार देना ।  
 प्रचार करना, मशहूर करना, अिस्तहार देना  
 Advertisement *n.* अिस्तहार, जाहिरखबर । जाहिरखबर  
 Advice *n.* सलाह, खबर । सलाह  
 Advise *v.* जताना, सलाह देना, नसीहत देना । सलाह देना  
 नसीहत देना  
 Advisable *adj.* अचित, मुनासिब । मुनासिब  
 Advisedly *adv.* सोच-समझकर । सोच-समझकर  
 Advocacy *n.* वकालत । वकालत  
 Advocate *v.* वकालत करना, समर्थन करना, सिफारिश करना ।  
 वकालत करना, समर्थन करना, सिफारिश करना  
 Advocate *n.* वकील । वकील  
 Adze *n.* बसूला । बसूला  
 Aegis *n.* आश्रय, साया । साया  
 Aeon *n.* जुग, युग । युग  
 Aerate *v.* हवा भरना । हवा भरना  
 Aerial *adj.* हवायी । हवायी  
 Aerodrome *n.* हवायी अड्डा । हवायी अड्डा  
 Aeronaut *n.* हवाबाज । हवाबाज  
 Aeroplane *n.* हवायी जहाज, विमान । विमान  
 Aesthetics *n.* हुस्नशानसी, जमालियात (खूबसूरती के कानून),  
 हुस्नशानसी, जमालियात (खूबसूरती के कानून),  
 सौंदर्यविज्ञान । सौंदर्यविज्ञान  
 Aetiology *n.* मूल कारण, जिलत या सबब । मूल कारण  
 मूल कारण, जिलत या सबब  
 Afar, from *adv.* दूर से । दूर से  
 Affable *adj.* मिलनसार । मिलनसार  
 Affair *n.* काम, बात, मुआमला, झगड़ा । काम  
 Affect *v.* असर डालना या करना, दिखावा करना । असर डालना  
 असर डालना या करना, दिखावा करना

Affection *n.* बनावट, देखाव । देखाव  
 Affection *n.* प्यार, प्रेम, सुहृद्वत्, रोग । प्यार  
 Affiance *n.* मैंगनी । मैंगनी  
 Affidavit *n.* हलफ़ी बयान । हलफ़ी बयान  
 Affiliate *v.* मिलाना, शामिल करना, अपनाना । मिलाना  
 Affinity *n.* मीलान, नजदीकी, ताल्लुक, कश्श । मीलान  
 ताल्लुक, कश्श  
 Affirm *v.* दावेसे कहना, वचन देना, अिकरार करना । दावेसे कहना  
 दावेसे कहना, वचन देना, अिकरार करना  
 Affirmative *n.* अिकरारी, हाँ । हाँ  
 Affix *v.* लगाना, जोड़ना, नत्थी करना । लगाना  
 Afflict *v.* दुःख देना, सताना, तकलीफ़ देना । दुःख देना  
 तकलीफ़ देना  
 Affliction *n.* विपदा, दुःख, मुसीबत, बीमारी, रोग । विपदा  
 मुसीबत, बीमारी, रोग  
 Affluent *adj.* बहता हुआ, मालदार, धनिक । बहता हुआ  
 Afford *v.* गुंजाबिश रखना, ताकत रखना, शक्ति रखना, तौफ़ीक़  
 गुंजाबिश रखना, ताकत रखना, शक्ति रखना, तौफ़ीक़  
 रखना  
 Afforest *v.* जंगल बनाना । जंगल बनाना  
 Affray *n.* दंगा, मारपीट । दंगा  
 Affright *v. & n.* डराना, डर, भय । डर  
 Affront *n.* अपमान, बेअिज्जती, हतक । अपमान  
 Afield *adv.* मैदानमें, खेतमें । मैदानमें  
 Afire *adj.* जलता हुआ । जलता हुआ  
 Aflame *adj.* भड़कता हुआ । भड़कता हुआ  
 Afloat *adj.* तैरता हुआ, बहता हुआ । तैरता हुआ  
 Afoot *adj.* पैदल, चालू । पैदल  
 Aforesaid *adj.* पूर्वोक्त, पहले कहा गया । पूर्वोक्त  
 Aforetime *adv.* पिछले ज़मानेमें । पिछले ज़मानेमें  
 Afraid *adj.* डरा हुआ । डरा हुआ  
 Afraid, I am मुझे शक है, सन्देह है या डर है । मुझे शक है  
 सन्देह है या डर है  
 Afresh *adv.* फिरसे, नये सिरेसे । फिरसे  
 After *adv.* पीछे, बादमें । पीछे  
 After all अन्तमें, आखिरकार । अन्तमें  
 Aftermath *n.* पछेती खेती (अिसलिअे - नतीजा, फल) । पछेती  
 पछेती (अिसलिअे - नतीजा, फल)  
 Afterthought *n.* बादका खयाल, अित्तर बुद्धि । बादका  
 बादका खयाल, अित्तर बुद्धि  
 Afternoon *n.* तीसरा पहर । तीसरा पहर  
 Afterwards *adv.* बादको । बादको  
 Again *adv.* फिर, फिरसे । फिर  
 Again and Again बार-बार । बार-बार  
 Again, now and कभी-कभी । कभी  
 Against *prep.* विरुद्ध, खिलाफ़, सामने, मुकाबलेमें, लिअे । विरुद्ध  
 विरुद्ध, खिलाफ़, सामने, मुकाबलेमें, लिअे  
 Agape *adj.* हैरान, भौचक । हैरान  
 Agate *n.* अक्कीक, संग सुलेमानी (अेक रत्न) । अक्कीक  
 अक्कीक, संग सुलेमानी (अेक रत्न)  
 Age *n.* जुग (युग), जमाना, अुम्र, आयु । जुग  
 जुग (युग), जमाना, अुम्र, आयु  
 Aged *adj.* बूढ़ा; — बरसका । बूढ़ा  
 Ageless *adj.* सदा जवान । सदा जवान

Agency *n.* जरिया, साधन, मुख्तारी। ذخیره, سادھن, مختاری  
 Agenda *n.* ब्योरा (कामका), अजेण्डा। ایجنڈا, (کامکا)  
 Agent *n.* करनेवाला, करता, मुख्तार, गुमास्ता, मुनीम। کرنے والا  
 कर्ता, مختार, गमाश्ते, منیم  
 Agglomerate *v.* अिकट्ठा करना, ढेर होजाना। اکٹھا کرنا,  
 ڈھیر हो जाना  
 Agglutinate *v.* चिपकाना, जोड़ना (जैसे, गोंदसे)। چپکانا, जोڑना  
 (جیسے, گوند سے)  
 Aggrandize *v.* दरजा बढ़ाना, शक्ति या ताकत बढ़ाना, ज़्यादा  
 करना। درجہ بڑھانا, शक्ति या طاقت بڑھाना, زیادہ کرنا  
 Aggravate *v.* ज़्यादा खराब करना, भड़काना। زیادہ خراب  
 کرنا, بھڑکانا  
 Aggravation *n.* अतिथि, زیادتی, नाराजगी। اतिثیہ, زیادتی,  
 ناراضگی  
 Aggregate *v.* अिकट्ठा होना, ढेर होना। اکٹھا होना, ڈھیر होना  
 Aggregate *adj.* कुल, सब। کل, سب  
 Aggression *n.* चढ़ाओ, हमला। حملہ, چڑھائی  
 Aggressive *adj.* हमला-आवर, जंगल। حملہ آور, جنگجو  
 Aggrieve *v.* दुःख देना, सताना, जुल्म करना। دکھ دینا, ستانا,  
 ظلم کرنا  
 Aghast *adj.* हक्का-बक्का, सहमा हुआ। हका बکا, सہما ہوا  
 Agile *adj.* फुर्तीला, चुस्त, तेज। تیز, پھرتیلا, چست  
 Agility *n.* फुर्ती, चुस्ती, तेजी। پھرتی, چستی, تیزی  
 Agitate *v.* हलचल करना, हिलाना; आन्दोलन करना, बेचैन  
 हलचल करना, हलाना, आंदोलन करना, बेचैन  
 करना, अुभारना, घबराना। اُچھلچل کرنا, ہلانا, آندولن کرنا,  
 بیچین کرنا, اُہارنا, گھبراننا  
 Agitation *n.* आन्दोलन, बेचैनी, हरकत, हलचल, घबराहट।  
 आंदولن, बेचینی, حرکت, ہلچل, گھبراہٹ  
 Aglow *adj.* चमकीला, जलता। چمکیلا, جلتا  
 Agnate *n.* हमनस्ल, अेकवंशीय, गोत्री (गोती)। ہم نسل,  
 ایک ونسی, (گوتی) گوتری  
 Agnostic *n.* जड़वादी, नास्तिक। ناستک, جڑوا دی  
 Ago *adv.* पहले। پہلے  
 Agog *adj.* चंचल, सरगमी, आतुर। سرگرم, آتُر  
 Agoing *adj.* चालू, जारी। چالو, جاری  
 Agony *n.* सख्त दर्द, वेदना। سخت درد, ویدنا  
 Agrarian *adj.* किसानी, ज़राअती। کسان, زراعتی  
 Agree *v.* अेकराय होना, सहमत होना, अितफाक करना; मान  
 ایک رائے होना, मिल जाना, समझौता करना, राजी होना।  
 सहमत होना, اتفاق کرنا, मान لینا, مل जाना, سمجھوتہ کرنا, راضی होना  
 Agreeable *adj.* सुहावना, दिलपसन्द, सुवाफिक।  
 دِلپسند, موافق  
 Agreement *n.* मेल, समझौता, रचामन्दी। میل, سمجھوتہ,  
 رضامندی  
 Agriculture *n.* खेती, किसानी। کھیتی, کسان  
 Aground *adj.* अटका हुआ, फँसा हुआ (रितमें), जमीन पर  
 अटका हुआ, फँसा हुआ (रیت میں), زمین پر جڑھا हुआ  
 Ague *n.* कैपकैपी, कम्पन, जाड़ा, जुड़ी। कैपکैپی,  
 کمپن, جاڑا, جوڑی  
 Ahead *adv.* आगे, सामने। آگے, سامنے  
 Ahead, to go *v.* आगे बढ़ना, आगे जाना। آگے  
 बढ़ना, آگے जाना  
 Aheap *adj.* ढेर का ढेर। ڈھیر کا ڈھیر  
 Ahungered *adj.* भूखा। بھوکا  
 Aid *v.* मदद देना, सहारा देना, सहायता देना। مدد دینا,  
 دینا, سہارا دینا

Ailing *adj.* बीमार, पीड़ित, दुःखी। دکھی, بیمار, پیڑت  
 Aim *n.* निशाना, अिरादा, मतलब, मकसद, ध्येय। نیشانہ, ارادہ,  
 مطلب, مقصد, دھیے  
 Aimless *adj.* बेतुका, बेमकसद। بے تہکا, بے مقصد  
 Air *n.* हवा, पवन; राग, गीत; गीत, हवा, پون, राگ  
 Airs *n.* ढंग, अदा, हावभाव। ڈھنگ, ادا, ہاؤ بیہاؤ  
 Air bed *n.* हवागद्दा। هوا گدّا  
 Aircraft *n.* हवाओी जहाज। هوائی جہاز  
 Air cushion *n.* हवा तकिया। هوائی تکیہ  
 Air gun *n.* हवाओी बन्दूक। هوائی بندوق  
 Airing *n.* हवा खाना, हवा लगाना। هوا کھانا, هوا لگانا  
 Airless *adj.* बेहवा, दमघुट। بے هوا, دم گھٹ  
 Airman *n.* हवाबाज। هوا باز  
 Air raid *n.* हवाओी हमला। هوائی حملہ  
 Airtight *adj.* हवाबन्द। هوا بند  
 Airway *n.* हवाओी रास्ता। هوائی راستہ  
 Aisle *n.* बगलका रास्ता (गिरजेमें)। بگل کا راستہ (گرچہ میں)  
 Ajar *adj.* अघखुला। ادھ کھلا  
 Akin *n.* सगा, रिश्तेदार। سگا, رشتہ دار  
 Alabaster *n.* संग जराहत (अेक किस्मकी संग मरमर जैसी  
 سنگ جراحت (ایک قسم کی سنگ مرمر جیسی کھڑیا)  
 Alack, Alas *int.* हाय! अकसोस! هائے, افسوس  
 Alarm *v.* होशियार करना, घबरा देना। هوشیار کرنا, گھبرا دینا  
 Alarm *n.* खतरेका बिगुल, खतरेका घण्टा; डर, भय। خطرے का  
 बگل, خطرے का گھنٹہ, ڈर, भय  
 Albeit *conj.* यद्यपि, अगरचे। یدی, اگرچہ  
 Albino *n.* श्वेत जीव, भूरे रंगका आदमी। شویت جیو, بھورے  
 رنگ کا آدمی  
 Album *n.* अल्बम। اَلِیم  
 Albumen *n.* (अण्डेकी) सफेदी। سفیدی (انڈے کی)  
 Alchemy *n.* कीमिया। کیمیا  
 Alcohol *n.* रूह शराब, शराबका सत, अल्कहल। روح شراب,  
 شراب का सत, الکحل  
 Alcoholic *adj.* शराबी। شرابی  
 Alcove *n.* ताकचा, कुंज। تاکچہ, کُنج  
 Alder *n.* बेद या मूजे जातिका दरख्त। بيد یا مورج ذات کا درخت  
 Ale *n.* जौकी शराब। جو کی شراب  
 Alert *adj.* चौकन्ना, होशियार; सचेत। چوکنّا, هوشیار, سچیت  
 Al fresco *adj.* खुले मैदानमें; (ताजे पलस्तर पर बनी हुआ तसवीर,  
 क्हाले मैदान में (ताजे पलस्तर पर बनी हुयी) दीवारी तसवीर)  
 तसवीर, दीवारी तसवीर  
 Algebra *n.* जन्न-व-मुकाबिला, बीजगणित। جبر و مقابله, بیج گنت  
 Alias *n.* सुपनाम, लकब, अल्यास, उर्फ। اِبنام, لقب, الیاس, عرف  
 Alibi *n.* गैरहाजिरीका छुड़ा। غیرحاضری کا عذر  
 Alien *n.* विदेशी, परदेसी, गैर, अजनबी। بدیسی, پر دیسی, غیر,  
 اجنبی  
 Alienate *v.* दे देना, अलग करना; दुश्मन बनाना, खो देना।  
 دے دینا, الگ کرنا, دشمن بنانا, کھो دینا  
 Alight *v.* अतरना, नीचे आना। اترنا, نیچے آنا  
 Alight *adj.* जलता हुआ, रोशन। جلتا ہوا, روشن  
 Align *v.* कतार बाँधना, सीधमें करना। قطار باندھنا, سیدھ میں کرنا  
 Alike *adj.* अेक-सा, अेकतरहका, मिलता हुआ। ایک سا, ایک  
 طرح کا, ملتا ہوا  
 Aliment *n.* भोजन, खुराक, खाना। بھوجن, خوراک, کھانا  
 Alive *adj.* जीता, जिन्दा, जीता-जागता। جیتا, زندہ, جیتا جاگتا

Alive, to be to *v.* چेतन ہونا، سبب رکھنا، جاننا۔  
 چیتن ہونا، خبر رکھنا، جاننا  
 Alkali *n.* क्षार، अल्कली، खार। کھار، الکلی، کھار  
 All सब, सारा। سب, سارا  
 All along *adv.* हमेशासे, बराबर, लगातार। ہمیشہ سے, برابر, لگاتار  
 All around *adv.* चारों तरफ, चारों ओर। چاروں طرف, چاروں اور  
 All and sundry *adj.* सबके सब। सब के सब  
 All at once *adv.* अकाएक, अकदमसे, एक साथ। ایکایک, ایکدم سے, ایک ساتھ  
 All but *adv.* करीब-करीब। قریب قریب  
 All fours, to go on हाथ-पैर पर चलना। हाथ पाؤں پر چلنا  
 All in all *adj.* सब कुछ। सब کچھ  
 All of a sudden *adv.* अकाएक, अचानक। ایکایک, اچانک  
 All over *adv.* सारेमें, सब कहीं, सब जगह। सारے میں, سب کहीं, سب جگہ  
 All over, to be *v.* हो चुकना, खतम हो जाना। हो چکنا, ختم ہو جانا  
 All right *adv.* बहुत अच्छा, ठीक, अच्छा। بہت اچھا, ٹھیک, اچھا  
 All too soon *adv.* वक्तसे पहले। وقت سے پہلے  
 All the better *adv.* और भी अच्छा। اور بھی اچھا  
 All the same *adv.* एक-सा, एक ही बात। ایک سا, ایک ہی بات  
 All there *adv.* होशमें, होशियार। هوش میں, هوشیار  
 Allay *v.* शान्त करना, झुतारना, हलका करना, धीमा करना। شانت کرنا, اتارنا, ہلکا کرنا, دھیا کرنا  
 Allegation *n.* बयान, अिलजाम। بیان, الزام  
 Allege *v.* कहना, बयान करना। کہنا, بیان کرنا  
 Allegiance *n.* वफादारी, ताबेदारी, राजभक्ति। وفاداری, تابع داری, راج بھکتی  
 Allegoric *adj.* रूपकमय, मिसाली। روپک مے, مثال  
 Alleviate *v.* कम करना, आराम देना। کم کرنا, آرام دینا  
 Alley *n.* गली, पथका रास्ता, (खासकर बागमें)। گلی, پتھکا, (خاص کر باغ میں)  
 Alliance *n.* सम्बन्ध, रिश्ता, नाता, अित्तहाद। سمبندھ, رشتہ, ناتا, اتحاد  
 Alligator *n.* मगरमच्छ, घड़ियाल। مگر مچھ, گھڑیاں  
 Allocate *v.* मुक़रर करना, बाँटना। مقرر کرنا, بانٹنا  
 Allopathy *n.* डॉक्टर (यूरोपकी चिकित्साप्रणाली)। ڈاکٹری (یورپ کی چیکیتسا پرناالی)  
 Allopath *n.* डॉक्टर। ڈاکٹر  
 Allot *v.* बाँटना, बाँटवारा करना, हिस्सा देना। بانٹنا, بٹوارہ کرنا, حصہ دینا  
 Allow *v.* मानना, अिजाजत देना, होने देना, गुंजाअिश् देना या ماننا, اجازت देना, होने देना, گنجائش देना یا رکھنا  
 Allowance *n.* भत्ता। بھتا  
 Alloy *n.* खोटा मिलाना, मिलाना (खासकर धातुओंका)। کھوٹ, ملانا, ملانا (خاص کر دھاتوں کا)  
 Allude *v.* अिशारा करना, हवाला देना, झिक्र करना। اشارہ کرنا, حوالہ دینا, ذکر کرنا  
 Allure *v.* ललचाना, मोहना, लुभाना, बरगलाना। ललچانا, मोहना, लुभानا, برغلانا  
 Alluvion, Alluvium *n.* बाढ़, बाढ़की मिट्टी। बाڑہ, باڑہ کی مٹی  
 Ally *n.* मित्र, दोस्त, मददगार, साथी। متر, دوست, مددگار, ساتھی

Almanac *n.* जंत्री, तकवीम। جتري, تقويم  
 Almighty *n.* कादिर, सर्वशक्तिमान। قادر, سروشکتي مان  
 Almond *n.* बादام। بادام  
 Almoner *n.* दान या खैरात बाँटनेवाला। دان يا خيرات بانٹنے والا  
 Almost *adv.* करीब-करीब, लगभग। قریب قریب, لگ بھگ  
 Alms *n.* दान, खैरात। دان, خیرات  
 Aloe *n.* अेलवा। ایلوا  
 Aloft *adv.* ऊँचा, ऊपर। اونچا, اوپر  
 Alone *adv.* अकेला, सिर्फ, केवल। اکیلا, صرف, کیول  
 Along *adv. prep.* किनारे-किनारे, सीधमें, लम्बाअिमें, साथ-साथ। کنارے کنارے, سیدھے میں, لمبائی میں, ساتھ ساتھ  
 Aloof *adv.* अलग। الگ  
 Aloud *adv.* जोरसे, पुकारके, ऊँचे सुरसे। زور سے, پکار کے, اونچے सुर سے  
 Alps *n.* ऊँचे पहाड़, ऊँचे पर्वत, (स्विट्जरलैण्डके)। اونچے پہاڑ, اونچے پریت (سوئٹزرلینڈ کے)  
 Alpenstock *n.* पहाड़ पर चढ़नेका डण्डा। پہاڑ پر چڑھنے کا ڈنڈا  
 Alpha *n.* यूनानी अब्जद (वर्णमाला) का पहला हर्फ या अक्षर। یونانی ابجد (ورنمالا) کا پہلا حرف یا اکشر  
 Alphabet *n.* अब्जद, वर्णमाला। ابجد, ورنمالا  
 Already *adv.* पहले से। پہلے سے  
 Also *adv.* भी, और। بھی, اور  
 Altar *n.* यज्ञवेदी, कु.रबानगाह। یگھ ویدی, قربان گاہ  
 Alter *v.* बदलना, फेरफार करना, बदल जाना। بدلنا, پھیر پھار کرنا, بدل جانا  
 Altercate *v.* तकरार करना, झगड़ा करना। تکرار کرنا, جھگڑا کرنا  
 Alter ego *n.* दो तन अक प्राण। दो तन ایک پران  
 Alternate *v.* वारी-वारी आना या करना। वारी باری آنا یا کرنا  
 Alternative *n.* दोमेंसे अक, दूसरा चारा या तरीका। دو میں سے ایک, دوسرا چارہ یا طریقہ  
 Although *conj.* अगरचे, यद्यपि, बावजूदे कि। اگرچہ, یدی, باوجودیکہ  
 Altimeter *n.* ऊँचाअी बतानेवाला यंत्र या आला। اونچائی یا آلہ  
 Altitude *n.* ऊँचाअी। اونچائی  
 Altogether *adv. n.* सब मिलाकर, बिलकुल, सबका सब। सब ملاکر, بالکل, सब का सब  
 Altruism *n.* परमार्थवाद, बेनफसी। پرمارتھواد, بے نفسی  
 Alum *n.* फिटकरी। فٹکری  
 Aluminium *n.* अलमुनियम। الومینیم  
 Always *adv.* सदा, हमेशा। سدا, ہمیشہ  
 -Am (from the verb 'to be') *v.* (हैं) हूँ ('होना' से)। (میں) ہوں (ہونا, سے)  
 Amain *adv.* बहुत जोरसे, बहुत जल्दीसे। بہت زور سے, بہت جلدی سے  
 Amalgamate *v.* मिलाना, मिलना, शामिल होना। ملانا, ملنا, شامل ہونا  
 Amanuensis *n.* अिमलानवीस, सुंशी (सुनकर लिखनेवाला)। املا نویس, منشی (سُنکر لکھنے والا)  
 Amaranthus *n.* सदाबहार (फूल)। سدابهار (پھول)  
 Amaryllis *n.* नरगिसकी जातका फूल। نرگس کی ذات کا پھول  
 Amass *v.* ढेर लगाना, जमा करना। ڈیر لگانا, جمع کرنا  
 Amateur *n.* कलाप्रेमी, फनका शौकीन। کلا پریمی, فن کا شوقین  
 Amatory *adj.* प्रेमी, प्यार करनेवाला। پریمی, پیار کرنے والا

## TIRED OF SATYAGRAHA?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

News comes from Durban that a group of Indians has sprung up in South Africa, who have lost faith in Satyagraha. They cherish the dream that they can overthrow the rule of the White man there, only by joining forces with the Negroes, the coloured people, other Asiatics and European sympathizers and adopting violent means. The rumour, if there is any truth in it, is disturbing and a definite fly in the ointment. All, whether they believe in non-violence or not, should realize that Indians in South Africa gained world-wide esteem, simply because, in spite of being a handful, they showed infinite capacity for suffering and did not, through losing their patience, resort to sabotage and violence. They learnt the wholesome lesson that true well-being springs from suffering and that victory lies in unity. From my own experience, my firm advice to Indians in South Africa is that they should, on no account, be lured away into throwing aside the matchless weapon of Satyagraha.

This does not, however, imply that they are not to accept the help of the coloured people, Negroes and any other sympathizers or that they will not help them in their need, should occasion arise. The only condition is that Satyagraha should be their one and only weapon. If they go astray from the path of non-violence, they will conform to the description of the poor woman, who, as an Indian proverb goes, went in search of a son and succeeded in losing her husband!

New Delhi, 11-9-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

## PANDIT NEHRU'S STATEMENT

I am informed by a friend in Durban that my name has been freely used there by some people in support of a violent struggle, in place of the present non-violent campaign being carried on in South Africa and that the association of Africans and others for this violent struggle is being sought. I am surprised to learn this, because I am quite clear that it will be fatal for the Indians in South Africa to adopt violent methods in their struggle. If the non-violent method is desirable in India, it is far more necessary in South Africa in the conditions prevailing there. I have often asked Indians in South Africa, to co-operate with Africans there, and I hope they will do so. The issue raised in South Africa is something much more than an Indian issue. It is an issue which affects all Asians and, of course, all Africans. Therefore, this co-operation is necessary between all those affected. But co-operation can only be effective and succeed on the basis of peaceful methods and it would be folly to indulge in violence.

### Acknowledgment

The treasurer of the A. I. C. C. asks me to say that he has received Rs. 2400 on behalf of the President of the Congress from the Indian community in Manila, Philippine Islands, for the purpose of famine relief.

M. K. G.

## WEEKLY LETTER

IF I WERE A DICTATOR

"If I were a dictator, religion and State would be separate. I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The State has nothing to do with it," remarked Gandhiji sometime back in answer to a question by a missionary friend who asked whether in Free India there would be complete religious freedom and whether religion would be separate from the State. "The State would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody's personal concern." He then went on to describe his conception of religion. "You must watch my life, how I live, eat, sit, talk, behave in general. The sum total of all those in me is my religion," he said.

Asked which movement, e. g., women's, political, scientific or religious would have had the most far-reaching influence in the world of tomorrow and would be considered 50 years hence as having had the greatest impact on world affairs as a whole and for the greatest good of mankind, he said, it was wrong to bracket religious movement with the rest. "It is religious movement that would dominate the future," he added. "It would do so today but it does not, for religion has been reduced to a Saturday or a Sunday affair; it has to be lived every moment of one's life. Such religion, when it comes, will dominate the world."

"Do you feel there is any special significance in the increasing number and magnitude of labour strikes, especially in India of late?" he was asked next. "What do you think will be the outcome of this labour trouble in India?"

"Strikes have today become a universal plague," he replied. "There are strikes everywhere, America and England not excepted. But in India they have a special significance. We are living under an unnatural condition. As soon as the lid is removed and there is a crevice letting in the fresh air of freedom, there will be an increasing number of strikes. The fundamental reason for this spreading strike fever is that life here as elsewhere, is today uprooted from its basis, the basis of religion and what an English writer has called 'cash nexus' has taken its place. And that is a precarious bond. But even when the religious basis is there, there will be strikes, because it is scarcely conceivable that religion will have become for all the basis of life. So, there will be attempts at exploitation on the one hand, and strikes on the other. But these strikes will then be of a purely non-violent character. Such strikes never do harm to anyone. It was such a strike perhaps that brought General Smuts to his knees. "If you had hurt an Englishman," said Jan Smuts, "I would have shot you, even deported your people. As it is, I have put you in prison and tried to subdue you and your people in every way. But how long can I go on like this when you do not retaliate?" And so he had to come to terms with a mere coolie on behalf of coolies as all Indians were then called in South Africa."

## AN INCIDENT AND ITS MORAL

Gandhiji has cultivated the habit of standing sentinel over himself every moment of his life. Daily he holds a silent tribunal within himself and calls himself to strict account before it for the littlest of his little actions. Nothing escapes his scrutiny and he shows himself no mercy. In fact he believes in viewing one's own shortcomings through a convex lens and those of others through a concave—the one occasion where exaggeration becomes a duty. An illustration of it was afforded the other day at the evening prayer. It has been an old practice of his to sell by auction after the evening public prayer, ornaments presented to him for the Harijan cause. He had discontinued the practice of late to save time. But it made him feel unhappy to think that he was saving his time at the cost of the Harijans who were his special wards and so, for the last 14 days, he has been disposing of one jewel every day, thereby nearly doubling the daily takings for the Harijans. Thus jewels worth Rs. 3071 in the aggregate have been auctioned at sums ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 400.

But on Saturday last, owing to rainy weather, the crowd was much smaller than usual. The prayer was held under a dripping *shamiana* and the daily auction was omitted. Afterwards Gandhiji blamed himself for it. Did it not betoken a lack of faith, he asked himself at the prayer gathering on the following day. He was afraid lest the auctions should not fetch a good price as the gathering was small. Why could he not have faith? His South African friend Downes, scheduled to speak from a church pulpit at 7 p. m. in Durban, began his address at the stroke of seven with an audience of one only. That was faith. "A man of faith," he concluded, "will remain steadfast to truth, even though the whole world might appear to be enveloped in falsehood. May God bless you with that faith is my constant prayer. Pray for me also that I too may find that faith in spite of temporary aberration."

## A SIGN ?

What originated as a brain-wave in Kanu Gandhi's mind has succeeded beyond expectation. The eleven days' spinning course, announced by him, evoked an immediate response. 159 applications were received by the 11th, after which further admissions were closed in terms of the announcement. Many had consequently to turn back disappointed. Requests have since been received for a night class for those who cannot attend during the day-time and arrangements for the same are under consideration. Instruction is at present being given to them in spinning and the allied processes, beginning with hand separation of seed and *tunai*. The trainees come in two batches: one in the morning from 7 to 11 and the other in the afternoon from 2 to 5. Men predominate in the former, women in the latter batch. About 60 per cent of the men who attend in the morning are Government servants. Most of the trainees are from the well-to-do class and are obviously actuated by an altruistic motive. To see them bending over their work in sweltering

heat under the thin shelter of a *shamiana* is a pure joy. The response was so unexpected that the organizers found it difficult to improvise proper implements in the beginning. The difficulty has since been overcome. Gandhiji inspects them at work daily in the morning and at evening and sums up his observations in the course of his address before the evening prayer gathering. In the course of his remarks yesterday he said that the sight of 144 of them attending the spinning classes daily, in the fullness of faith, made him hug the hope that one day the whole of India would be clad in Khadi. When he started the spinning revival of 1918, India was buying 60 crores worth of foreign cloth, excluding Indian mill cloth. This was the largest single import. Next came sugar with 18 crores and then hardware with 7 crores. Today, with the inflated prices the price of all mill cloth, indigenous and foreign, was probably 300 crores. Gandhiji asked his audience to ponder and realize what wealth this would mean to India, if 300 crores worth of cloth was produced by their own hands in the villages. There was a veritable mint of gold for them and if Khadi became universal, the villages would rise to unknown heights. Today our masses were poverty-stricken, without the luster of hope or intelligence in their eyes. The pure hands of the spinners could create this miracle for them and everyone could help. They should have understanding hearts and seeing eyes to detect the beauty in Khaddar even if it is coarse and not be allured by mill finery which could never clothe their nakedness in the true sense of the term. The only way to clothe their nakedness and drive away hunger was for them to grow their own food and make their own cloth. If this happy consummation could be achieved, the eyes of the whole world would be turned towards India. Today everything seemed to be going wrong in this land. He referred to the story that had appeared in the Press of the mad gunmen in Bombay who caused death of several innocent people. This shameful news must have been flashed across the radio to the world and they must hang their heads in sorrow. But, said Gandhiji, if they would only listen to him, all would be well with India. If all purified themselves and all thought of themselves as Indians, then they will have succeeded in learning the true lesson of the charkha.

In a written message in Hindustani, full of the fire of passion, that was read out on Monday, he observed: "Before the Charkha class in full swing, everything else appears dull and lifeless to me. For I behold my Rama dancing in every thread drawn. I find Swaraj in it. When I contemplate the strength of the yarn drawn by 40 crores of hands, my heart is filled with an ecstasy of joy. O, but 20 crores of Indians will not take to spinning," you say. Is it not a sign of our ignorance and lack of faith to refuse to believe in the possibility? Is it an impossible thing to expect every one of half the population to spin for an hour a day? If we have not the capacity to sacrifice even this much for our Motherland, what is our love of country worth?"

New Delhi, 16-9-'46

PYARELAL



## OVER-POPULATION OR UNDER-PRODUCTION ?

It has become a fashion these days to ascribe the recurring famines in India to over-population. That theory has been challenged more than once and seems to have an escapist odour about it. Chapter and verse can be cited to show that India's undeveloped potential of food production is more than adequate to feed her growing population for a good while yet to come. A correspondent points attention to the following facts about our agriculture in this connection.

1. It has been demonstrated by experiments in Government Agricultural Farms that by sowing improved seeds, 29 per cent increase can be affected on the existing yield.

2. If the export of oil-seed, oil-cake, bones, etc. were stopped and the animal droppings saved for the soil as manure by providing the villagers with wood fuel instead of cowdung for domestic cooking etc., the existing crop output could be doubled.

3. By further development of canal irrigation and by building sufficient wells and tanks, two crops could be grown where at present, there is only one. Out of 245 crore acres in India, at present only 32 crores are under double crop.

4. A comparison of yield per acre in India and other countries respectively points to the same thing.

Here are figures for rice per acre :

Egypt	3447 lbs.
Japan	3909 "
Italy	4810 "
Formosa	2407 "
India	939 "

The figures for wheat are :

Japan	2010 lbs.
Italy	1374. "
Canada	1197 "
England	2085 "
India	774 "

5. Government statements further indicate that owing to lack of proper storage facilities, the annual loss of food grains due to the inroads of rats, insect pests, etc. comes to about 10 lakhs of tons per year.

6. The extent of cultivable land which is at present not under cultivation is 9 crore acres.

7. Lastly comes the invasion of 'money crops'. In 1900 the area under commercial crops was 165 lakh acres. In 1930 the figures rose to 240 lakh acres. During this period the land under oil-seeds increased from 130 lakh acres to 160 lakh acres. In 1942, 32% of the entire yield of oil-seeds and jute was for export, of linseed 71% and of groundnuts 15%. In other words, so much soil fertility was bartered away for commercial gain, without the possibility of returning in any shape or form to the soil what was taken out of the soil, thus impairing it permanently. This is not agriculture but downright robbery of the soil at the cost of posterity. If our agriculture could be rescued from the invasion of 'money crops' it would go a long way towards meeting the recurring threat of food shortage.

New Delhi, 7-9-'46

PYARELAL

## RAMA THE SON OF DASHARATHA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Arya Samajist writes :

"How can the Rama whom you believe to be immortal, be Rama, the son of Dasharatha and the husband of Sita? I often attend your prayer gathering with this dilemma always confronting me and because of it, I am unable to join in the *Ramadhun*. This hurts me for you are right when you say that all should take part in it. Cannot you make the *Ramadhun*, such that all can join in the recital?"

I have already explained what I mean by all. It applies to all those who can join in it from the heart and recite it in tune. The others should remain silent. But this is a small matter. The important question is as to how Rama the son of Dasharatha can be deemed immortal. This question was raised by Saint Tulsidasa himself and answered by him. The answer cannot in reality be reasoned out. It does not lend itself to intellectual satisfaction. It is a matter of heart speaking to heart. I worshipped Rama as Sita's husband in the first instance, but as my knowledge and experience of Him grew, my Rama became immortal and omnipresent. This does not mean that Rama ceased to be Sita's husband; but the meaning of Sita's husband expanded with the vision of Rama. This is how the world evolves. Rama cannot become omnipresent for the man who regards him merely as the son of Dasharatha. But for the believer in Rama as God, the father of the omnipresent Rama also becomes omnipresent—the father and son become one. It may be said that this is all a matter of imagination. "To each man according to his faith", is all that I can say. If all religions are one at source, we have to synthesize them. Today they are looked upon as separate and that is why we kill each other. When we are tired of religion, we become atheists and then, apart from the little self, nothing, not even God, exists. But when we acquire true understanding, the little self perishes and God becomes all in all. Rama then is and is not the son of Dasharatha, the husband of Sita, the brother of Bharata and Lakshmana and yet is God, the unborn and eternal. All honour then to those who not believing in Rama as the son of Dasharatha still come to join in the collective prayers. This matter of Rama is one which transcends reason. I have merely tried to give to the reader my belief for what it is worth.

New Delhi, 16-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

### FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following :

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER

## Notes

### Blank Minute Books

A student writes:

"It has become a fashion for all to pose as political workers. And politics consist in speeches and participation in election campaigns. You would be pained to know that the minute books of Congress Committees are entirely blank, except for proceedings of annual sittings. It is all power politics. Students also get drawn into its vortex. What is your ideal of a political worker?"

I have all along stressed the need for constructive work and to that end, I drew up a list of items for the guidance of all workers. I hold that if the constructive programme were worked with vigour and understanding, the result would be far more than mere political Swaraj. Speeches and election campaigns would be almost unnecessary, if our workers had established Congress in the hearts of the people through service. Then there will be more service than power and the weekly or fortnightly meetings of Congress committees will be filled with a recital of the activities and achievements of committees in the wide field of work.

New Delhi, 14-9-'46

### Is It Not Cowardice?

Q. Non-violence in your opinion is not cowardice, but it is a form of resistance to injustice. You have admitted that it is wrong to arrest and imprison innocent persons which civil resisters are. And you have cheerfully courted arrest and imprisonment. Is this not inconsistent and cowardly?

A. Evidently you do not know the working of non-violence. An unjust law is itself a species of violence. Arrest for its breach is more so. Now the law of non-violence says that violence should be resisted not by counter-violence but by non-violence. Any breach of a law carries with it a penalty. It does not become unjust, merely because I say so. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it is unjust. The State has the right to enforce it, whilst it is on the statute book. I must resist it non-violently. This I do, by breaking the law and by peacefully submitting to arrest and imprisonment. I call such behaviour an act of bravery to the extent required. That imprisonment for a man like me today carries no suffering with it is irrelevant, if it may be assumed that ordinary prison-treatment would make no difference in my mental condition. Thus non-resistance in the case under discussion, is an essential condition of non-violence, not a symptom of cowardice. Resistance in the shape of refusing to be arrested etc. on the other hand, will in this case be certainly blustering, thoughtless violence and might be classified as cowardly brag. New Delhi, 14-9-'46

### An Appeal to Correspondents

Some good people waste money on sending wires, asking me to secure seats on the Interim Government, others in matters of strikes in various places, yet others in matters of fasting. To all these I would say that they not only take unnecessary trouble and waste money but pile work on an overworked group of co-workers and helpers, without securing needed help from me. I have no wish to influence the National Cabinet in the choice of co-ministers and

I hold that it would be wrong on my part or anybody else's, to do so. The members of the Cabinet should be left undisturbed in their choice if they are to render national service in an efficient and honest manner. In matters of strikes and fasts, my views are well known. These should give sufficient guidance when and where required. It is impossible and improper for me to give opinion on incomplete and one-sided data. And I have no time for studying individual cases. I have only limited capacity left in me. I assure correspondents that it is being exercised to the full extent without needing further additions.

New Delhi, 15-9-'46

### Karachi Khadi Bhandar

Numerous letters have been received with reference to the note in the *Harijan* of 25-8-'46 entitled "Disloyalty to Khadi". I am making inquiries and hope to announce the result as soon as they are completed.

M. K. G.

### The Peace of the Charkha

Shri Vichitra Narayan has sent Gandhiji a letter from a doctor friend of his. Dr. Bhupal Singh no longer practises for his eyesight has become very weak. He has consistently served the poor. The gist of his letter, given below, is interesting.

He avers that he has found the charkha very efficacious in the treatment of nervous disorders. Patients suffering from such are generally unable to concentrate, they are mentally disturbed and disinclined to do any work. The doctor's experience is that in these cases the spinning wheel is of greater help than medicines. The hum of the charkha has a soothing effect, spinning needs concentration and the product of their labour seems to restore self-confidence in the patients. Mental improvement naturally has a salutary effect on the body too. The writer feels that diseases like hysteria and neurasthenia are more prevalent in cities where such health-giving activity as spinning is discarded. The incidence of nervous disorders in the villages is far less.

Dr. Bhupal Singh's faith in the charkha is of long standing. During his many years of practice, he often used to take yarn from paying patients for his fees instead of money.

New Delhi, 16-9-'46

(From *Harijansevak*)

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## ELEVEN DAYS' CHARKHA CLASS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The important part of an account given to me by Shri Kanu Gandhi of this class is given below :

"This class was conducted in the Bhangi Colony from 11-9-'46 to 21-9-'46. 156 men and women and three children participated, ages varying from 8 to 75 years. Due to the re-opening after the summer holidays of the schools and in a few cases to illness the number in the end went down to 126. On the 11th day there was a 1½ hours examination held in which 110 persons, 51 women and 59 men, took part.

"Two separate classes were held daily in the morning and afternoon. The morning class from 7 to 11 was attended mostly by office-going persons who could only stay for 2 to 2½ hours. The afternoon class from 2 to 5-30 consisted for the greater part of women.

"The minimum and maximum tuition worked out at 16 and 40 hours respectively. 20 persons knew how to spin before they came to the classes but all the other processes were new to everyone. Owing to lack of spinning wheels etc. the trainees were not able to practise at home in the beginning but when all the implements became available, they were able to fill this gap. The approximate speed per hour of spinning with 'tunai' of the learners who went in for the examination was as follows :

23 persons	60 rounds
22 "	75 "
10 "	90 "
17 "	100 "
8 "	125 "
5 "	150 "
1 person	239 "

"The count of yarn varied from 19 to 25. Few produced yarn of very poor quality. Coarse yarn was spun by those whose speed was the lowest.

"In order to create enthusiasm among the people an exhibition of all the processes of spinning was held on the 22nd instant. An entrance fee of one anna was charged. All Charkhas from the early village wheel to the modern Yeravda, Kisan and Magan Charkhas (the latter enables the drawing of yarn by both hands), the triangular bamboo Charkha were on view, as also implements of carding including, the bow with both gut and thread and the bamboo knife. There was also a special Charkha for spinning

wool. An interesting sight was a one-armed man who was turning the Yeravda wheel with his foot and drawing the thread with his left hand. His speed was 240 rounds an hour. In one section there were exhibits of different species of cotton and yarn of various counts. A tree of *devkaps* was also on view as well as pictures of the different kinds of spinning wheels, *tablis* and carding implements. Near by lay a heap of 78 lakhs of hanks of yarn for presentation to Gandhiji. Harijan girls and boys from the Kasturba Balika Ashram and the Harijan Industrial School respectively as also workers from the Delhi Khadi Bhandar rendered valuable help. The public took a keener interest than had been expected. The exhibition was opened at 1 p. m. by Shri Jaiprakash Narain and was to remain open till 5 p. m. but owing to an immense crowd it was decided at 2-15 p. m. to stop all entries for 1½ hours and all the exhibits which had been arranged in a large hall originally had to be carried into the open.

"Competitions were held from 2-30 to 5 p.m. by Gandhi Ashram, Chandani Chowk, Delhi. These included spinning with all its processes, plain spinning, competition for children of 12 years, spinning with eyes closed and spinning without breaking the thread. The competitors, nearly 500 in number, were very enthusiastic.

"It was intended to hold the evening prayer preceded by collective spinning in which many of the leaders had promised to join in the exhibition premises. This became impossible owing to the huge unmanageable crowd. The collective spinning was, however, held in Bhangi Colony. Jawaharlalji, Badshah Khan, Rajendra Babu, Fakhruddin Sahib, Jagjiwanramji, Dr. Pattabhi and Shri Shankerrao Dev, all took part for about half an hour. Badshah Khan drew 66 rounds and Jawaharlalji 100. Figures of others are not available.

"It was a pure accident that the close of the spinning class coincided with the Charkha Jayanti. Rajendra Babu performed the flag hoisting in the morning in Bhangi Colony.

"Thanks for valuable help rendered to the spinning class are due to Shri Brijkrishna Chandiwala, Shri Krishnan Nair, Snri Kalkaprasad of Gandhi Ashram and to a worker sent specially for the purpose from Adampur Khadi Bhandar.

"Thanks for the loan of the hall and grounds for the exhibition are due to the Municipal Board and the Principal of the Bengali School."

In my opinion, this class has been of great value. The numbers of the learners, the class from which they came and the perseverance with which they worked are worthy of note. Thousands were drawn to see the small exhibition. Leaders joined in the collective spinning. All these should augur well for the future of Khadi. It is good to understand what perseverance can achieve.

New Delhi, 24-9-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

### FOOD RATIONING

A mistake is committed in the working of rationing in India. It consists in charging the cost of collection, transport, storage and distribution to the price of food. The resulting difference in price between what the producer gets and what the consumer pays is usually not less than 30 to 50 % (and often more) of the value paid to the producer. The results of this discrepancy in prices are :

1. The producer is unwilling to part with the grain due to the fear that when short of it, he will have to pay more than what he got.
2. The depressing influence on the producer who hesitates to expand his sowings due to the fear of Government control and interference.
3. The stimulus to the black market due to the wide margin of profit.

It is suggested, therefore, that the incidental costs of food control (collection etc.) should be charged to the Treasury and, *the food sold to the consumer at the rate paid to the producer.*

In addition to this, the price of food should be fixed by law for 1 to 3 years ahead, so that the producer and the consumer both know what they will get or pay for food.

Such an apparently simple measure as the changing of the incidental costs of food control to the Treasury will have the following results :

1. knocking out the black market completely,
2. encouraging the 'Grow More Food' tendency,
3. inducing the producer to part with his product, because he knows that he will always get what he needs *at the same rate,*
4. reassuring the consumer as to his future cost of living, and
5. creating a tendency to a uniform and low price of the basic necessities of life.

The revenue necessary to pay the cost of food control on these lines can be created by imposing a progressive sales tax on all non-rationed and non-controlled articles and highest on luxury articles. Thus the articles of first necessity like food will be subsidized by the purchasers of non-essential and luxury goods.

The proposition can be expressed tersely : the purchaser of goods non-essential to the maintenance of life and health will have to contribute to the costs of collection, transport, storage and distribution of essentials, so that they reach the consumer at the lowest possible price.

Maurice Frydman

### PARADISE LOST

My little room at the Valmiki Mandir had a window at the back which looked out on to open ground. Red rock and rough grass made a ridge of high land beyond which only the wide sky was visible. This was for me a continual comfort, to which was added the quiet society of Bapuji's goats, who had a habit of coming and standing under my little window.

When I was a tiny child, I lived in my grandfather's country house. There were three different walks for which my nurse would take me. One along the road to the town, one to the village, and one past a farm and up a country lane to the hills. There the birds sang and the wild flowers bloomed. Whenever my nurse asked me, which walk I would *like* to take, my answer was invariably "Up'i lane"—Up the lane towards the hills—for me that was the world of joy and beauty. In Delhi, fifty years later, there was no "Up'i lane", but at least there was a semblance of the countryside, and so my heart was ever through the little window, away from the rush and turmoil of the great city.

On the last day of my stay, I was obliged to go to Chandani Chowk for doing some necessary shopping. From all sides every sense was wounded. The din of traffic and shouting of harsh voices beat upon the ears, ugly sights of dirt and tawdriness hurt the eyes, and nasty smells invaded the nose. But worst of all, were the faces of the people, reflecting as they did, the blunted senses and hardened minds within.

And this is called civilization. To object to it is called 'putting the clock back'. Chandani Chowk is not a slum, it is looked upon as a grand highway and shopping centre!

That evening I took the train for Dehradun. Looking out of the carriage window at dawn, I felt as if Paradise were spread before my eyes. The air was so clear and fresh, the forest rich in its autumn verdure—and now came a brook of crystal water dancing and sparkling over its rocky bed with flowering bushes and tall, feathery grasses on its banks. The forest opened out into a broad glen, the sun had risen over the mountains to the east, and a glimmer of golden light in the opening of the forest, showed Gangaji winding her sacred way towards Haradwar. My heart sang with the birds of the forest in thanksgiving to God.

Then I thought of the city folks in Chandani Chowk surrounded with their own hideousness. Have they come to such a pass that they prefer that to this? Have their eyes lost the power to see God in Nature? Have their ears been so rasped that they can no longer detect the singing of the birds, let alone the voice of the Silence? And their noses—do they seek the city smells rather than the pure sweet air of the mountains? I looked at my fellow passengers—two educated young men. One was deep in a book, the other was tucked up in a corner smoking a cigarette. I thought to myself how, when they got to Mussooree, they would seek

out cinemas, and there go into raptures over foreign scenery, flickering on a screen to the accompaniment of vulgar music. They would not turn their eyes in reverence towards the majestic snows of Kedarnath, nor would they listen to the voices of the wind wandering through the fragrant fir woods.

Alas for modern man! He is the victim of a fell disease, and glories in that sickness, calling it progress, enlightenment, knowledge!

9-9-'46

MIRABEHN

## TRACTORS v. BULLOCKS

Tractor cultivation is a controversial question. Some people consider mechanization of agriculture the ideal goal for India, and some would not so much as look at a tractor.

There is a middle path during the development period.

In U. P. there are 79 lakhs acres of actually culturable waste lands. Much of this vast area is *usar* land which has become very hard, and in some cases needs extra deep cultivation in order to break up the *kankar* layer below the surface. There are other waste lands covered with tall, deep-rooted grasses, and yet others especially in the *terai*, where even shrubs and small trees have to be uprooted.

For many years the cattle population of India has been deteriorating, and with the recent war, it has become alarmingly reduced owing to wholesale slaughter of animals for feeding the foreign armies (English and American), and prisoners of war. This means that, today, to try and deal with waste lands by means of bullock power would be so slow a process that it would be as good as useless. We have to overcome long years of administrative neglect in as short a space of time as possible, if we are successfully to stop the rot which is steadily undermining our countryside.

I would, therefore, advocate the use of tractors for bringing waste land under cultivation where it is situated in large blocks and is otherwise suitable. But after the land is reclaimed, I would not for a moment suggest that it should remain permanently under mechanical cultivation. The bullock is in every way economical for the Indian peasant. The bullock is fed from the products of the land, and gives in return valuable cowdung which is used for plastering of walls and floors, for fuel and for manure. The bullock can also be used for all kinds of work—carting, water-lifting and the like, whereas the tractor has to have expensive oil purchased for it from the bazar and it gives nothing back from its belly. At the same time the only kind of haulage it can do, is field cultivation on a broad outlay.

When we have developed village groves for fuel-wood, we do not want to find that cow-dung has been greatly reduced owing to the removal of the bullock from village cultivation. On the contrary, we want to find masses of cow-dung released for the impoverished Indian soil. Anyone who is familiar with Indian village life knows the part

which cow-dung plays. Without it the whole village dwelling structure and economic life would become broken down.

So it comes to this, that tractors be used for big scale reclamation and, during the years that these lands are being brought into a good cultivated condition, every effort must be made to control and improve the breeding of the present herds of cattle in the province, so that ever-increasing quantities of good bullocks become available for cultivation purposes (see Note on Cattle Wealth).

Before closing this note, I would like to express a word of warning regarding tractors. At present the tractors are being obtained from abroad. This means that spare parts, extra to those supplied, will be difficult to get and very expensive. At the same time expert engineers and mechanics are very difficult to find in India today. This means that before any big scheme is handled, men must be thoroughly trained for taking up the job, and local workshops must be provided at the spots where the reclamation work is to be taken up.

The implements are the most troublesome part of tractor cultivation, as they frequently break or get out of order, and if we are to look to foreign countries for both the implements and their parts, tractor cultivation is bound to be a failure. Anyway, it would be a blot on our own Swadeshi zeal as a Province if we fail to turn out tractor implements, which can be manufactured in India.

MIRABEHN

## Cattle Wealth

No scheme of land and village development in India can be successful, unless the cattle problem is vigorously tackled. Cows and bullocks have suffered very heavy casualties during the war, having been ruthlessly butchered for feeding foreign armies and prisoners of war. This has reduced to a most critical condition the already pitiable state of the country's cattle.

Cattle cannot be bred in a day, and four to five years must elapse before we can expect any visible result. It behoves us, therefore, to take up the matter without delay. But unfortunately delay is the order of the day in the country.

Government servants have, therefore, to take up this cattle development in a new spirit, if it is to succeed. And, if it fails, then all other rural development fails with it.

A project has been passed by the Central and Provincial Governments to be financed on a half and half basis, which envisages the organization of the *goshalas* in the Provinces for improved cattle breeding. If this scheme is properly worked, great strides can be made in the right direction.

MIRABEHN

## THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION OR THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI

By Mahadev Desai

With Gandhiji's Foreword

Price Rs. Four, Postage Nine Annas



# HARIJAN

September 29

1946

## FOOD SHORTAGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is nothing so depressing as when fear pervades the atmosphere. I remember an occasion when the waters of the Sabarmati were rising fairly high and a message said to be from Sardar Patel was received after midnight to the effect that inside of an hour the Ashram would be covered with the rising waters and that we were likely to be drowned in them if we did not vacate. It was a most anxious time for all of us men, women and children. A sigh of relief went up to heaven when it was discovered that after causing some loss to property, the angry waters had begun to subside and that no loss of life need be feared.

Precisely in the same manner the danger of shortage reported from authoritative quarters bids fair to demoralize us into a panic which would be more fatal than real starvation. Such was my plight when a paragraph in the papers was read to me that of all the places in the world its intrepid Diwan had seriously contended that Travancore had a storage of food grains only for a fortnight. Knowing Travancore so well, I imagined all sorts of calamities, not merely for Travancore but for all India. Travancore with its luxuriant growth of edible tubers, cocoanut and fish had no need to starve for a single day, even though it might have no other supply from the other parts of India. My faith in Travancore kept me whole. And to my joy, I discovered that the shortage was not of food but of wheat and rice only. Travancore can grow rice, not wheat. So far as the cereals are concerned the inhabitants of Travancore are rice eaters. They take to wheat with difficulty and under stress. Would that the present distress could make us shed our provincialisms and induce all India habits so as to make us feel fully at home, no matter which part of India we happened to find ourselves in. For the moment, however, my object would be fully served if all responsible men in India would definitely tell the people in their respective provinces, districts and states, not to look beyond India for supply of food but to grow what they can themselves and learn to eke out a living from their own produce. And, if the numerous authentic letters I receive are an indication of things as they are or should be, we need fear no starvation for want of life-giving vegetables plus a little milk for vegetarians and fish, flesh or fowl for non-vegetarians.

Let India realize that as yet we have no appreciable quantity of food from outside our shores. Many are willing to help but they are themselves, for the most part sufferers or have more calls on them than they are able to cope with. The transport difficulty is very real for all of them and our own will commence when the foodstuff reaches our

shores. Internal transport and distribution constitute a problem by themselves. It is, therefore, practical wisdom to brace ourselves for the struggle and declare with one voice our resolve that we shall grow our eatables for ourselves and perish bravely in the attempt if we must.

This is the only way and no other.

New Delhi, 21-9-'46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

WHAT USE AHIMSA ?

Q. Wherever in the world today one casts one's eye, there is nothing but violence and power politics to be seen. And this obtains even in democratic countries like England and America. Have you pondered as to what your *ahimsa* can do under such circumstances ?

A. It is true that power politics exist everywhere; but you are very much mistaken if you imagine that true democracy obtains either in America or England. The voice of the people may be said to be God's voice, the voice of the *Panchayat*. But how can there be the voice of God where the people themselves are the exploiters as England and America are ? They live on the coloured races by exploiting them. If the voice of the people is the voice of God, they will be above party. His scales will ever be evenly weighted with truth and non-violence. This statement embraces my reply. My *ahimsa* is neither maimed nor weak. It is all-powerful. Where there is *ahimsa*, there is Truth and Truth is God. How He manifests Himself, I cannot say. All I know is that He is all-pervading and where He is, all is well. There is, therefore, one law for all. Wherever in the world Truth and Non-violence reign supreme, there is peace and bliss. That these exist nowhere shows that they are hidden from man for the time being. But they cannot disappear for ever. That faith must sustain the faithful.

SHOULD FOREIGNERS BE WELCOME ?

Q. You say that Independent India will not fear foreigners who decide to live here as Indians. But has this happened in any country ? Where nationalism has been predominant, will you not admit that a certain amount of racial arrogance will remain ? Can even an Independent India escape from it ?

A. My faith that we need have no fear is unshakable. I can give strong evidence in support of it, but I do not think there is any need here for me to do so. This much only must be remembered that all foreigners will be welcome to stay here, only if they look upon themselves as one with the people. India cannot tolerate foreigners who wish to remain here with safeguards for their rights. This would mean that they want to live here as superior persons and such a position must lead to friction. It is inconceivable that the present friction between Britain and India should exist, if India became free. There is no freedom for India while the friction subsists. New Delhi, 19-9-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

## DO NOT ELIMINATE TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent who sends his name and describes himself as devoted to service writes:

"I read your *Harijanbandhu* regularly. Recently in your reply to Shri Shankarrao Dev you have said: 'I have been saying for some time that the words "truth and non-violence" should be removed from the Congress constitution.'

"If this happens in the existing circumstances, people will lose their faith in Congress because they will feel that so long as it was not in power it was thought best to adhere to truth and non-violence but now that power has come it contemplates removing these words from the constitution. They might even infer that the removal is being resorted to in order to counter the Muslim League's threat of direct action.

"If these words are eliminated from the constitution, Congress will fall from the high pedestal which these means alone have secured for it. It will lose in prestige. You have always said that you yourself cannot go forward one step without truth and non-violence and is it not their adherence to these that makes the public think of Congressmen as trustworthy, merciful, full of the spirit of service and bravery? The tree must perish if its roots are destroyed. You must see to it that the roots go deeper and deeper and are not eradicated.

"Therefore, I feel that you should compel every Congressman to follow these principles and if he refuses, he must leave the Congress."

How can I, the champion of *ahimsa*, compel anyone to perform even a good act? Has not a well-known Englishman said that to make mistakes as a free man is better than being in bondage in order to avoid them? I believe in the truth of this. The reason is obvious. The mind of a man who remains good under compulsion cannot improve, in fact it worsens. And when compulsion is removed all the defects well up to the surface with even greater force.

Moreover, no one should be a dictator. Even the Congress cannot force its members to follow truth and non-violence. These have to be accepted willingly from the heart.

I have been recommending the elimination of these words from the constitution for over a year, long before the Muslim League contemplated direct action which makes no bones about *himsa* or *ahimsa*. Thus my recommendation has no connection with the League's resolution. But I have no help for those who invariably attribute sinister motives to my words.

I have strong grounds for my recommendation. Congress may not cover untruth and violence under the guise of truth and non-violence. Is not this an all-sufficing reason? If Congressmen were no hypocrites, nothing could be better than that Congress should adhere to these two pillars.

I could never wish the Congress, the moment it comes into power, to discard the very ladder by

which it has climbed so high. I believe that if Congressmen, while in power, renounce truth and non-violence, the lustre surrounding the Congress will grow dim.

We must all guard against one mistake. There is no rule against following what is not in the constitution. Indeed my hope is that when these words are removed all, or a large majority of Congressmen will heartily follow truth and non-violence even to the point of death.

The writer has forgotten to mention one thing which I should like to clarify. The words in the constitution are 'peaceful and legitimate'. I have no right to interpret them as truthful and non-violent, if they don't bear that meaning. Congress has adopted them as a policy, not as a creed. The question of my right to retain or eliminate them does not arise. But whilst it lasts, policy is tantamount to creed and hence becomes obligatory. Of course, my recommendation has no meaning if 'peaceful' can be interpreted as violent and 'legitimate' as untruthful.

New Delhi, 21-9-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

## Notes

### Congress Ministers, not Sahib Log

A Congress worker asks:

"Should the Congress Ministers live in great state like their English predecessors? Will it be right for them to use Government cars for private work?"

From my point of view there can be only one reply to both the questions. If the Congress wants to continue as a people's organization, the Ministers cannot live as *sahib log* nor use for private work facilities provided by Government for official duties.

New Delhi, 20-9-'46

(From the original in Hindustani)

### Not Sentiment but Reason

Prof. Brij Narain has devoted two columns of the *Lahore Tribune* in support of the Salt Tax. I dare not combat his arguments though they make little appeal to my lay mind. He has come to the gratuitous conclusion that I ask for repeal on grounds of sentiment rather than reason. He reminds me of armchair politics and philosophy. Salt Tax hits not only men, women and children, but also fish and cattle. Reason demands its immediate repeal. It is not the amount of the tax that kills, it is the monopoly and all it means that kills the poor villager and his cattle. Imagine what would happen if the poor were prohibited from breathing air or drinking water without permission of the Government. The condition as to salt is not radically different. The scientist has not taken the trouble to study what this prohibition to prepare salt even for one's own consumption has cost India.

Prof. Brij Narain will not allow the Congress to be nationalistic enough even to warrant its abolishing a monopoly which presses heavily upon all the poor people without distinction, unless the Professor ignorantly imagines that the Muslims have no poor to think of.

New Delhi, 22-9-'46

M. K. G.

### About Khadi Bhandars

Since I wrote on happenings in the Karachi Khadi Bhandar, I have received several letters about other Bhandars also. The gist of these is given below :

1. Khadi in Bhandars is available only to friends of those in charge or to those who have influence.

2. Even if the Bhandar is replete with Khadi, the reply the ordinary customer often gets is that there is none.

3. Some Bhandars have no facilities for having yarn woven into Khadi, while others cannot supply Charkhas and their accessories.

4. In the circumstances Khadi workers in many Bhandars earn wages for doing no work. Time and again one's yarn is not accepted on the plea that it is too coarse.

It would not be right to console oneself by saying that all these complaints are untrue. Such conduct as described is unwise, callous and disloyal. None of these defects should obtain in any Bhandar, much less in Khadi Bhandars. How can Khadi command respect, if its servants behave in the manner described ? It is to be hoped that every Khadi Bhandar will become a model of service and thereby not only raise itself but also maintain the honour that Khadi carries.

New Delhi, 22-9-'46

M. K. G.

(From the original in Gujarati)

### Superfluous Rations

An acquaintance in Delhi tells me that she and her husband are both wage earners and their joint income is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 500 p. m. They happen to have no children. She is able to save enough from their wheat ration to entertain a number of people every week without any difficulty. The woman in question suggested that a survey of families in Delhi—and this really should apply to all towns—might be taken and those persons who can afford to reduce their cereal rations should cede their quota.

Much can be done by voluntary endeavour if the will is there. During this crisis all entertainment should cease, whether public or private and, in any case, no foodstuff made out of cereals should be allowed to be served.

New Delhi, 22-9-'46

A. K.

### FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following :

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER

## WEEKLY LETTER

WITH AN ENGLISH JOURNALIST

"India is on the march to Independence, it is coming whether there is an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress or not. No one can stop it. It is her destiny. She has bled enough for it." In these words, Gandhiji who avoids giving press interviews these days reiterated his faith in India's destiny to a foreign press correspondent who was lucky enough to break through his (Gandhiji's) self-imposed cordon of silence and had a talk with him in the course of his morning walk in the yard of the Sweepers' Colony. The correspondent's question was whether co-operation between the Congress and the League would not help the attainment of Indian Independence and was not therefore desirable. "Of course, if there is heart-cooperation between the two, the progress will be quicker and smoother," added Gandhiji. "But it must be real heart unity—not a make-believe."

Gandhiji, who claims kinship with pressmen and therefore their friendship, began by telling this friend what he considered to be the function of journalism. "There are occasions when a journalist serves his profession best by his silence," he observed.

"But it is a journalist's job to purvey facts and let the public judge for itself," the friend argued. Did not Gandhiji believe in the capacity of the average man to judge correctly provided he had enough knowledge of facts ? But Gandhiji demurred. "Not knowledge of facts. What passes for facts is only impressions or estimates of things and estimates vary. Hence one gets different versions of the same event." As an illustration he mentioned the parable of the seven blind men of Hindustan, each one describing the elephant differently and each one believing himself to be right. "What is really needed to make democracy function is not knowledge of facts but right education. And the true function of journalism is to educate the public mind, not to stock the public mind with wanted and unwanted impressions. A journalist has, therefore, to use his discretion as to what to report and when. As it is, journalists are not content to stick to facts alone. Journalism has become the art of 'intelligent anticipation of events.'"

"As a public man and a social reformer," continued Gandhiji, "it is for me to judge when to say something and when to hold my tongue." The best contribution that he could make to world peace, he added, speaking of himself, was to be forgotten. "What the world needs is not words but action. Actions and thoughts tell far more than speech. And this applies to all men both great and small."

### A HEAVY BROADSIDE

The friend poured in his broadside. What did he think of Russia ? "Russia is an enigma to me," replied Gandhiji. "It hurts me to think (if the reports are true) that a country which stood for the people has turned into an imperialist power."

But I may not pass judgment on a great people and a great man like Stalin. I lack the data."

"Was the world progressing? Had the making of life and struggle for existence easier in the modern world resulted in the dulling of man's instincts and sensibilities?"

"If that is your comment, I will subscribe to it," replied Gandhiji.

"And the atom bomb?"

"O, on that point you can proclaim to the whole world without hesitation," exclaimed Gandhiji, "that I am beyond repair. I regard the employment of the atom bomb for the wholesale destruction of men, women and children as the most diabolical use of science."

What was the antidote? Had it antiquated non-violence? "No," was Gandhiji's reply. On the contrary, non-violence was the only thing that was now left in the field. "It is the only thing that the atom bomb cannot destroy. I did not move a muscle when I first heard that the atom bomb had wiped out Hiroshima. On the contrary, I said to myself, 'Unless now the world adopts non-violence, it will spell certain suicide for mankind.'"

"What would be your fatherly advice to a young man about to launch into the world," Gandhiji's interviewer asked next.

"To hold his tongue," replied Gandhiji and added, "was it not Shakespeare who said, 'Lend everybody thine ear, thy voice to none?'"

"You followed that policy fairly in your own case," put in the friend.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "I used to think in my early days that I was a dunce and an idiot, that I should never be able to speak. Now I feel thankful for that disability."

"You have been a fighter all your life. What has fighting done for you?" next asked the friend.

"It has braced me for the next struggle," replied Gandhiji. "Fighting has done me good. What it has done to others, I do not know."

"Considering that the difference between the Muslim League and the Congress has narrowed down to one or two basic issues," remarked the friend, reverting to the earlier topic, "would it not be better to make a little sacrifice to secure agreement?"

"You cannot sacrifice a principle to gain a doubtful advantage," replied Gandhiji.

"After hearing both sides of the controversy," finally remarked the friend, "an outsider feels at sea. The only course, it seems, is to suspend judgment under the circumstances."

"When two parties cannot agree and both are sincere in their convictions it is clear one of them must be wrong," replied Gandhiji. "Both cannot be right. The world must be the arbiter in that case. It dare not withhold judgment. It has often been found in the progress of non-violence that even people who want to be perfectly just come to wrong judgment."

Before taking leave the friend tendered Gandhiji congratulations in advance on his coming birthday.

"I attach no importance to it," replied Gandhiji. "Every day one is reborn. I, at any rate, am."

#### THE SEVENTYEIGHTH BIRTHDAY

Without being aware of it, it seems he was uttering a prophesy. A little incident in connection with the birthday celebration on the 22nd instant dramatized it for all. The anniversary programme in the Sweepers' Colony consisted mostly of spinning activities in one form or another — spinning being so close to his heart and that of the late Kasturba Gandhi, the date of whose demise by chance coincided with the 78th birthday anniversary of Gandhiji according to the Indian calendar this year.

The day's programme was to open with a flag hoisting and salutation ceremony which was to be performed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. A local friend who was in charge of the day's programme had planned to have refreshments served to Harijan children and the volunteers after the ceremony. Gandhiji came to know of it just by chance early in the morning. It gave him a shock. As is his wont he turned the searchlight inward to look for the cause. It seemed to him that the inwardness of the Charkha had been forgotten by his comrades. "The music of the Charkha murmurs sweetly," he explained at the evening prayer gathering, "that we were all one, born to be equal sharers in the goods of the earth with no one higher or wealthier than the other. Yet the world is today full of inequalities of wealth and invidious distinctions of high and low. This is folly. In our arrogance we forget that we are all one day going to be levelled with the dust by death that knows no distinctions." The second lesson was that we are to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow — what a Russian savant has called "bread labour" and the third was that if we are one of and with the people, we should refuse to give food to those who are not in need or to take more than we need for health. If we all did that there would be no scarcity of food in this land and we would refuse to look across the seas for food stuffs. Yet his nearest comrades were about to make the mistake of serving refreshments after the *jhanda-vandan* by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to volunteers and Harijans who were not in need of such. Was it not criminal to fritter away foodstuffs that would serve to keep alive twenty men, to provide titbits to Harijans and volunteers who were certainly not suffering pangs of hunger? They were deceiving themselves if they thought that thereby they served the Harijans. The real hunger of the Harijans which needed to be satisfied was not for morsels of food but for decent living as self-respecting, equal citizens for a square deal as human beings, for freedom from fear, inculcation of clean and sanitary habits, thrift, industry, education. That required perseverance, self-sacrifice and patient intelligent labouring on our part. If they gave him money to feed Harijans he would refuse to accept it, he remarked. For, he did not want to make beggars and idlers of them. He pointedly referred to the fact that Dr. Rajendra Prasad was

their Food Member who wanted to save for the famishing every morsel of food. In the circumstances he very much questioned whether the oversight of his comrades was not due to his being lax with himself. Was he not allowing himself to partake rather too freely of the fruits that were placed before him? The lesson of yesterday, he concludingly remarked was a grave warning for all, if we are to learn truly the lesson of the Charkha.

#### HEART SEARCHING

Gandhiji is in the habit of giving menu instructions separately for each meal—the menu being strictly regulated according to his physical condition, conditions of rest and work in prospect, mental strain and such other factors. That evening he scribbled out instructions that the juice of sour limes instead of the usual orange juice was to be served with his milk. What right had he to use oranges when he could possibly do with sour limes and jaggery?

His diary that night contained the following significant entry: "The inwardness of the spinning wheel seems to have been forgotten. I was angry. I have to consider what my duty under the circumstances is. It seems to be so very hard to maintain detachment of mind in the midst of this raging fire. My heart searching continues." "I am filled with agitation," he remarked to a close comrade in the course of a talk. "Why could not I suffer this inner anguish with unruffled calmness of spirit? I am afraid I have not the detachment required for living up to 125 years. That also explains why Charkha and Khadi are making such slow progress. Success of Khadi is impossible without infinite patience. A burning passion coupled with absolute detachment is the key to all success."

New Delhi, 24-9-'46

PYARELAL

#### CRIMINAL WASTE

The following is the gist of a long letter from one who writes from personal knowledge. The writer gives five instances of the mismanagement and inefficiency of those concerned which result in a colossal loss of foodgrains.

1. Entire lack of suitable storage for foodgrains which are thus exposed to destruction by rats, insects, etc.

2. Exposure of foodgrains to rain in *mandis*, railway goods, platforms and in front of retail shops.

3. Exposure of grain in uncovered heaps in *mandis* and in front of retail shops, so that millions of birds etc. feed on it all the year round.

4. Use of old, worn-out bags as containers for foodgrains with resultant loss in transport by spilt grain and pilfering.

5. The prevalent practice of marketing grain in an uncleaned state whereby not only the producer and consumer lose but there is unnecessary loss in transport.

The loss caused through lack of suitable storage alone is reckoned at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million tons and from the other four causes at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million, making a total of 50,00,000 tons every year. Lack of proper storage, apart from causing loss of 5 to 10% in weight of the foodgrains because of rats and insects eating, the best portion, is responsible also for deterioration in the quality due to exposure. Grain merchants

are apathetic, while authority is dilatory and inefficient, if not unconcerned.

The writer recommends that grain merchants must be compelled by law to provide themselves with suitable storage accommodation for foodgrains. No trading license should be granted or renewed unless proper storage is in existence. 50% of the loss could be stopped at once by plastering floors and walls, whitewashing, cleaning and disinfecting ceilings, making doors rat-proof and in some cases lining the walls with burnt brick of existing stores in *mandis*. Government should be the first to set an example in the matter of erecting permanent storage units and letting the people see the accruing benefit.

Between Lahore and Lyallpur the writer recently saw thousands of bags of wheat lying uncovered in open trucks or between rail tracks in heavy rain and not a single one of the Government officials on the spot responsible for the safety of the grain, took the trouble to raise a finger to prevent the perishing on that particular day only of 40,000 maunds of wheat. The same applies to other places all over the country. Waste of spilt grain could be stopped by making compulsory the use of double new bags as containers for grain.

It would be desirable to have the grain cleaned at the place of production. This would enable the producer to receive full value for his grain and use the small grain and screening for cattle and chicken as well as constitute a large saving in road and rail transport.

The Government is spending Rs. 150 crores for the purchase of food and allowing the equivalent of that sum in foodgrains to be destroyed in our own country.

In addition the writer refers to what has already been commented on more than once in these columns in regard to the wanton waste of food in our homes, the necessity for growing more food on every available scrap of land, of surveying what cultivable land can be tilled forthwith and water whether by wells or other means provided. He also recommends the stoppage forthwith of the use of cowdung as fuel in cities and proper use of all kinds of refuse for manure.

New Delhi, 19-9-'46

A. K.

[All the suggestions made by the writer can and should be adopted at once, if a major disaster is to be averted.

M. K. G.]

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# HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

### TESTING TIME

A friend, who has just returned from England after several months' stay there, was describing to Gandhiji the other day the splendid spirit which the British people are showing in tiding over the food crisis. Everybody is tightening his belt, no one complains. The rich are proud to share equally with the poor the hardships which are the price of victory. It is a testing time for all and everybody is trying to rise equal to the occasion.

It is no less a testing time for us, Gandhiji has been reminding his prayer gatherings during the week. After half a century of ceaseless struggle we seem to be at the threshold of the Promised Land. The excitement of struggle keeps one going while it is on. But the real test comes when the din and dust of battle have subsided and we are brought face to face with the great tasks that lie ahead. What is the equipment that we shall need to realize the contents of Swaraj for which we have striven so arduously and long? Uttermost humility and shedding of self is what we require at this juncture, says Gandhiji.

### THE SPINNING WHEEL

"In the song that has just been sung," he remarked, "the poet says that he who loses 'self' finds God." If we understand its significance, we really do not need anything more. This is what the spinning wheel teaches us. You might ask how it is possible to find God through the spinning wheel. As I have told you before, the spinning wheel enables us to identify ourselves with the crores. The millionaires imagine that money can bring them anything in the world. But it is not so. At any moment death might come and snuff them out. Some are being stabbed daily but losing one's life that way is not the same thing as shedding 'self'. One has to learn to efface self or the ego voluntarily and as a sacrifice in order to find God. The spinning wheel rules out exclusiveness. It stands for all, including the poorest. It, therefore, requires us to be humble and to cast away pride completely.

It holds the key to Swaraj. But can one spin for Swaraj and yet not be filled with subtle pride? If pride is there, spinning won't bring one the Swaraj of the spirit or the realization of God.

"When self is shed the change will be reflected in our outward behaviour. It will show in the littlest of our little acts. The whole outlook on

life will be changed. Everything we do will be undertaken not for little self but for all."

"The hymn goes on to say," concluded Gandhiji, "that to find God one need not go out anywhere. He resides in our hearts. But if we instal self or ego there we dethrone 'poor' God. I have here used the epithet 'poor' advisedly. For, although He is the King of Kings, Most High, Almighty, yet He is at the beck and call of anyone who has reduced himself to zero and turns to Him in uttermost humility of spirit. Let us then become poor in spirit and find Him within ourselves."

### "COME THOU IN A SHOWER OF MERCY"

When will this orgy of madness end? Killings in Calcutta, stabbings in Dacca, Agra, Ahmedabad and Bombay. To it must now be added the technique of poisoning. Must India go in for this crowning infamy? Or, is India's destiny to illustrate to the world the truth of the old Indian saying that greatest corruption leads to greatest pessimism and crime? Gandhiji poured out his soul's anguish over these dark happenings in the course of his address at the evening prayer gathering on the 2nd October, his birthday according to the English Calendar. Mrs. Nandita Kripalani, the grand-niece of the Poet, had just sung in her melodious voice the Poet's song:

When the heart is hard and parched up, come upon me with a shower of mercy.

When grace is lost from life, come with a burst of song.

When tumultuous work raises its din on all sides shutting me out, come to me, my lord of silence with thy peace and rest.

When my beggarly heart sits crouched, shut up in a corner, break open the door, my king and come with thy regalities.

When desire blinds the mind with delusion and dust, O thou holy one, thou wakeful, come with thy light and thy thunder.

"It is almost as if God has sent a special message to me and to us in this hymn today," he commented. "The springs of life in India appear to be dry today. We would be foolish to imagine that all is well because we have a Congress ministry at the Centre." It was, he proceeded, as if God has come to us with His awful light and His thunder to awaken us at a time when our minds are blinded with delusion and dust.

## GOA

He, however, did not wish to harp on the mutual stabbings, bad as they were. To illustrate how dry the fountain of life had gone, he took the audience's mind to the little island of Goa, which was part and parcel of India. News had come that Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had been arrested on arrival there and put in solitary confinement. Shri Kakodkar had a little while ago been tried for pleading for civil liberty and sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment with the prospect of being sent across the seas. Dr. Lohia was a scholar and while he might not be of the same way of thinking as Gandhiji, that did not mean that he, the speaker, had nothing to do with his case. His arrest and the happenings in Goa must affect his hearers as they did him. He had had some correspondence with authority but to no avail. Their Chief Minister, Pandit Jawaharlalji, was trying in his own way. It was humiliating for any Indian to be told he could not go to Goa as he was a foreigner. Goa was just as much a part of India as Kashmir or any other State and it was intolerable that a man like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia should be treated as a foreigner having no right to enter Goa or any other part of India not directly under British rule.

## INNER MEANING OF DUSSEHRA

In the face of such indignities and with the spiritual bankruptcy staring them in the face, what right had they to celebrate Dussehra with feasting and processions and other marks of jubilation, he asked his audience the next day. Could there be rejoicing in a country where daily stabbings were taking place and brother hated brother? Dussehra was the celebration of Rama's victory over Ravana but his victory was not achieved by violence. When Vibhishana asked Shri Ramachandra how unarmed, unshod, without any armour, he was going to defeat the heavily armed and mighty Ravana with his chariots, Rama's reply was that it was faith and purity that were going to win the battle. His bow was his self-control. His victory was the victory of good over evil. Gandhiji advised them to spend Dussehra quietly at home in prayer if they had understood the real meaning of religion and Dussehra.

He was receiving, Gandhiji went on to say, letters of abuse saying that his doctrine of non-violence was emasculating the Hindus, that he was no Mahatma, that he was injuring them and leading them astray. The speaker said, he never laid claim to being a Mahatma. He was an 'ordinary' mortal as any one of them. He hoped he had never injured anyone. What he told them he told them for their own and the universal good. He had said that if they could not act non-violently they should defend themselves violently rather than be cowards. But the ability to die smiling at the hands of a brother without retaliation, physical or mental, was the highest bravery. In no case was it right to spoil for a fight. That was no self-defence. It was bad for them, bad for the country and utter disloyalty

to their leaders. It was hindering them in their march towards Swaraj. Gandhiji reiterated that today no one had a right to feast and eat one morsel more than necessary. If they behaved in a disciplined manner India would live. If they did not, then India would die and they would be unable to hold their heads high.

## OUR NEIGHBOURS THE AFGHANS

It was a seer who in an inspired moment envisaged the sending out of armies not of occupation but of non-violence for service to other countries, to take to them the fruits of culture and the arts of peace. Like many other countries Afghanistan is in the grip of economic shortages, particularly of cloth. An S.O.S. was received the other day through the Afghan Agent-General by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru enquiring whether India could not do a friendly turn to Afghanistan by providing them with cloth. Jawaharlalji referred the Afghan request to Gandhiji. Luckily Gandhiji had received an intimation only a few days ago from the Punjab that they had for disposal a stock of Rs. 2½ lakhs worth of Khadi. Gandhiji mentioned the fact to the Afghan Consul who saw him on Sunday the 6th of October. Later the Afghan friends examined some samples of printed and dyed Khadi and said they would be immensely pleased to have what could be spared. They also enthusiastically welcomed Pandit Jawaharlalji's suggestion that India might send a batch of organizers and technical experts to teach them to organize hand-spinning and the manufacture of Khadi in Afghanistan itself. They visited Kanu Gandhi's spinning class and were agreeably surprised to learn that little boys and girls could pick up the art within a week's time. Afghanistan had two cotton mills with an output of nearly 6 million yards. A sort of Khadi was produced there but it was very coarse. Weaving was still a live art but cotton spinning has fallen into desuetude. American long staple cotton was grown in Afghanistan in quantities above and beyond their present-day textile requirements and part of it was exported to India. Wool spinning was fairly universal. And in the long winter months everybody had enough enforced leisure which, if properly utilized, could enable Afghanistan to become self-sufficient in the matter of clothing.

Panditji is the first Minister in the land, remarked Gandhiji in his prayer address. He cannot turn a deaf ear to anyone's need. Today they had to confess with shame that they had gone mad and were fighting with each other. People from all over the world were wiring to congratulate India on having come thus far towards independence through non-violence. How then could they be enemies of anyone? Their Badshah Khan was a Pathan. His brother Pathans across the border had come to ask for cloth. It was India's duty to help them. This river of love could and should flow from India. Time was when India not only clothed herself but her muslins were famed throughout the world for their exquisite texture. Today they were naked in their own country and all through their own laziness. Money

could buy neither grain nor cloth in a country which should feed and clothe herself with ease. Gandhiji claimed that if they put their shoulders to the task and took to spinning they could fulfil not only their own but the needs of the world in the matter of cloth.

#### BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

Birthday greetings have a significance all their own, not for what they say about the persons concerned but the comment they provide on the ideals, hopes and aspirations of the time one is living in. Is not an age known by the way in which it honours its heroes? The following excerpts from some of the birthday greetings received by Gandhiji will serve as an index of what the world of today is aching for :

"You have dedicated so many years to the cause of Indian freedom that I hope you may live long ( to 125 at least ) to see the results of your labours come to a full fruition of happiness for your people.

"These are difficult days but nevertheless we are progressing in the right direction.

"A few short steps and the final act will have been completed and then we can all rejoice together in the accomplishment of Indian freedom."

Here is another :

"Gandhiji! The month of October brings the anniversary of your birth into this world of conflict — conflict between the powers of good and evil. I send you my salutations and my heartfelt good wishes. May you see during the coming year, still further fulfilment of your prophetic vision. May it bring a further advance of Freedom and of Peace to your beloved country. Our inspired poet, William Blake wrote :

"I give you the end of a golden string  
Only wind it into a ball  
It will lead you in at Heaven's Gate  
Built in Jerusalem's wall.

"Jerusalem was the symbol used by Blake of his vision of the Kingdom of Heaven which he believed would be finally established on earth. And his golden thread was the practice of forgiveness.

"In this faith you and the poet Blake are kindred souls, and you also have put this thread into our hands, which is for each of us to unwind in our day-to-day practice — the thread which will bring us safely through the intricate maze of circumstance, and release us into the 'Kingdom of Heaven'.

"Your life and being have enriched the human race and will always remain as part of the Light which shines in the darkness. May all faith and joy be yours at this time of the celebration of your Birthday."

But one of the most touching is from distant America :

"Today at lunch I got the urge to write and tell you that small towns, like Forty Fort where I

live, all over the world have been made better because of your life.

"Perhaps it is not so strange after all that you, Hindu leader, should remind the world and Palestine to adopt the methods of Jesus, our Christ. Jesus lives today and perhaps he speaks through you.

"To me it is one of my great blessings that I have lived in the same generation with you.

"You feel and know, I am sure, that the world is getting better and, that we are drawing closer to the people of India and China."

#### AT LAST ?

It is darkest before dawn. Things have a knack of growing worse before they become better. It would almost seem as if in answer to the prayers and good wishes of an aching world, dark clouds that have so long darkened the Indian sky are going to lift after all. As this is being written there are indications that the last gap in the National Interim Government is going to be filled up by the Muslim League coming into the Cabinet. Conversations were going on, remarked Gandhiji at today's evening prayer in his written Monday message in Hindustani, which led one to hope that the Muslim League would join the Cabinet. He wanted all to pray that this time the union between the Congress and the Muslim League would be even deeper and more lasting than in 1916 and during the Khilafat movement and brother would no longer abuse or kill brother and all would live at peace.

New Delhi, 7-10-'46

PYARELAL

#### ROWDYISM RUN RIOT

( By M. K. Gandhi )

A correspondent from Jubbulpore describes the rowdyism exhibited by a section of the Hindus at a benefit performance in aid of the local convent school for girls. A Hindu friend actually organized the show. The actors in the little drama were all girls from the convent. Towards the end there was a scene in which an orphaned girl, tired of the world, was praying to God. Angels appeared and advised her to have faith in her Christ and the play ended with a hymn in praise of Jesus. This was the signal for pandemonium. The Hindus who created the disturbance raised a hue and cry against Christianity, the organizer who tried to speak was unable to make himself heard and money for the tickets was demanded back. The writer asks whether this scene could have taken place if the hymn sung had been in praise of Shri Krishna instead of Jesus.

If what the correspondent says is true, the behaviour described was wholly unworthy. It betrayed extreme intolerance. Those who do not like things that do not coincide with their notions need not patronize them but it is ungentlemanly to behave like less than men when things are not to their taste.

New Delhi, 5-10-'46

# HARIJAN

October 13

1946

## THE DANGER OF 'VANASPATI'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"In *Harijan* of 14-4-'46 you supported Sardar Datar Singh's plea regarding a ban on 'Vanaspati'. There were several suggestions in that article which, had they been acted upon, would have checked the evil. But unfortunately no action has been taken. In the Punjab, in Akola, Shegaon and Kurnool, permission has actually been given for starting new factories. At any rate, this should be stopped. In the Punjab the Government has not even ordered the colouring of 'Vanaspati'."

The above is the substance of a letter to me. I have advisedly put 'Vanaspati' in inverted commas. It ought really to be Vanaspati Ghee. No one can have any quarrel with Vanaspati which means the leaves of flowers, fruits and vegetables. But when it presumes to pass as something else, it becomes a poison. Vanaspati is not and can never be ghee. If ever it were to become ghee, I would be the first loudly to proclaim that there is no further need for real ghee. Ghee or butter are the fat contents of milk drawn from an animal. To sell vegetable oil or butter in the form and name of ghee is to deceive the Indian public. It is thoroughly dishonest. It is the clear duty of tradesmen not to sell any product of this nature in the guise of ghee and no government should countenance such sale. The crores of India today get neither milk nor ghee nor butter, nor even buttermilk. No wonder that mortality figures are on the increase and there is lack of energy in the people. It would appear as if man is really unable to sustain life without either meat or milk and milk products. Anyone who deceives people in this regard or countenances the fraud is an enemy of India.

New Delhi, 6-10-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

### Dolapalki (Bridal Conveyance)

The Hindus of Garhwal District are so ignorant that they do not allow Harijan bridegrooms to ride or sit in any conveyance and pass in front of temples, public squares or the residential quarters of high caste Hindus. An evil custom like this should not really be tolerated today. One friend suggests that perhaps the best way to dispel ignorance would be to have a law enacted. This should be done. And, in any case, whenever a Harijan bridal procession is taken out, these unfortunate people should be afforded police protection. The district authorities should issue notices that no interference with the same shall be permitted. Anyone who tries to stop or causes to have stopped any such procession will be liable to punishment.

New Delhi, 6-10-'46

M. K. G.

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

## A WORD TO PUNJAB

A knowledgeable person from the Punjab writes that the control on export of cattle from that province which had been imposed in 1944 expires on the 30th September and Government has no intention of reimposing it. Pure milk, butter, ghee, etc. are difficult to procure in the market, the quantity and quality of the cattle wealth of the province is rapidly deteriorating. While in 1940 the proportion of cattle stock to that of the population was 55 per hundred, it had reduced in 1945 to 51 per hundred. The matter of export is, therefore, of vital concern.

Export generally takes place to the larger cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Traders sell cattle to milkmen at enormous profits. The latter, as soon as the cows are dry, pass them on to the butcher's knife. Drs. Smith and Wright, both experts, have expressed themselves against export in the clearest terms. Dr. Pepperall who came to advise the Government of India on the question of milk wrote as follows:

"It would be far better for the Punjab to retain its cattle and arrange instead to send evaporated milk in time to Bombay or Calcutta rather than export cattle that are usually slaughtered within a few months and replaced at great cost. The economic advantage to the country would be great. Animals could be retained in surroundings where they would be well fed and cared for and their milk when delivered in time ought to be much cheaper than locally produced milk apart from being quite safe from a health point of view. It is recommended that this development be pursued with the utmost energy as it is considered to be the most practicable method of supplementing city supplies, saving valuable cattle from premature slaughter, reducing the price of milk, preventing adulteration and bringing to an end the maintenance of cattle in city stables."

The correspondent hopes that the Provincial Government, the members of the Assembly and the general public will take up this matter which is of common interest. Not only should the export be restricted but full advantage should be taken of the facilities which the Railway Board, according to the correspondent, are willing to offer in the matter of bringing back dry cattle to the Punjab. The eastern districts of the Province have, perhaps, the best stock in the whole of India, but unless a sensible policy is adopted the province stands in danger of losing its cattle wealth. The disastrous effect of this on both health and agriculture needs no comment.

New Delhi, 30-9-'46

A. K.

### Wells Thrown Open

Gandhiji refers in *Harijanbandhu* to a letter from Shri Kalyanji Mehta saying that many wells were thrown open to Harijans in the Surat District. He remarks that while this news is good so far as it goes, it is also an exhibition of our shame that so many thousands still remain to be thrown open. It has delighted him to have the news that prohibition and other constructive work has been started in the provinces.

New Delhi, 8-10-'46

S. N.

## DECIMALIZATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

My opinion on this subject is as follows :

1. I entirely agree that there should be a uniform standard of measurements of various types throughout the country. The chaos complained of in the letter of the Government of India is indefensible.

2. At the same time it is also necessary that two standards of measurements should not be allowed to prevail side by side, as it does at present in respect of the pound and the *seer*. This is even more confusing and provides better opportunity for sharp practice than the prevalence of a different local scale.

3. It is true that the decimal system has some advantages in large-scale calculations, and allows mechanical reckoners to be used. It is used for all types of calculations in the domain of science, except those relating to measurement of time and angles. The metric system has been adopted internationally and is also widely used in ordinary affairs in several parts of Europe. If decimalization is to be uniformly resorted to in India, I think we should adopt the metric system totally. I do not consider it desirable to have decimalization of an independent Indian style.

4. But I definitely hold that the use of decimals presupposes wide literacy and the use of paper and pen. To the illiterate, the *chauthai* (quarteral) system is much simpler and has several advantages over the decimal one. I am of opinion that all sub-divisions of an upper unit should be made on the quarteral system for our country. As  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  are perfect decimals, it does not clash with the decimal system. May be, after a decade or two, it may be possible to make a change over to the decimal system completely.

5. But, at present, there does not exist any regularized application even of the *chauthai* system in the several standards of measures. Thus the rupee is sub-divided into 64 parts (not to mention the pie), the *seer* into 80, the *tola* into 32 or 96 in different patterns, and so on. The Indian system of lineal measurements has been completely supplanted by the British system of a thoroughly irregular pattern. As its square and cubical measurements have also an importance on the system of weights, its irregularity is a very great handicap. It is, therefore, necessary that the *chauthai* system should be applied in a regular manner in standardizing various tables.

6. Accordingly, my suggestions are :

(i) Indian tables should be re-arranged on the *chauthai* system in a uniform and regular manner for all tables of measurements, its scope being limited to the sub-divisions of its standard unit;

(ii) The standard unit of every measurement should be linked to the International Metric system, instead of the British system.

It is possible to achieve this in more ways than one. One important point requiring to be settled

in this connection is whether the new standards might be allowed to depart considerably from the prevailing ones; for instance, whether we might fix upon a *seer* of say 800 or 960 or even 312 grams, in place of the present one, which is approximately 933 grams. So also in respect of the *gaj*. The importance of the C. G. S. lies in the fact that the gram is linked with volume (being the weight of 1 cc. of water). If this is to be achieved in the Indian system also (which is quite possible), some measurements would have to be radically altered. The question is, how far is the Government prepared to favour radical alteration? If the policy is to depart as little as possible in respect of important current units, the basis of equalizing Indian measures to the metric system will be of one type. It might involve the reckoning of more decimal places than what might be regarded comfortable. If a radical departure is made the basis might be simpler. After working at it in a number of ways, I find that it would be worthwhile pursuing this work only if the Government is agreed on the two principles mentioned above and indicates in a general manner its policy on the question set forth in this paragraph. Sevagram, 22-9-'46 K. G. MASHRUWALA

## GROW MORE PALMS

Fifteen years ago, the prohibition campaign sponsored by the Indian National Congress included destruction of palm trees utilized for drawing intoxicant toddy. It was not then realized that the fault was not of the palms which really yield a sweet, non-intoxicant, healthy beverage called *nira*. The fault was of the owner who converted it into intoxicating toddy. Therefore, the rational remedy will be to reform the owner rather than kill the palms. The palm trees play a double function. Besides the benefit they give as trees, they give also *gur* and sugar from palms. Good many articles of everyday use like baskets, brooms, brushes, fans, caneware, etc. are made from the different parts of the palm tree. Edible fruit is yielded by the date and palmyra palm. Annually one maund of *gur* is yielded by a palmyra tree and  $\frac{1}{5}$  maund by a date palm in alternate years. The trees unlike sugarcane need no irrigation, manuring or protection from wild animals. When once planted the palms live for more than fifty years and continue yielding *gur*. The palms can be raised on non-agricultural waste land and need no fertile fields like sugar-cane. When newly planted, it takes nearly 10 years for a date and 15 years for a palmyra palm to begin yielding *nira* — sweet sap.

All possible effort must be made to grow more and more palm trees to produce enough palm *gur*. The planting must be done systematically. Ten feet distance ought to be left between every two trees. If the palms are grown like a jungle, the yield of *nira* will be adversely affected. The intervening space may be used for growing cereals without harm to either the trees or the crops.

Maganwadi, Wardha

GAJANAN NAIK



## NEW EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

I have been turning over the pages of a recently published volume on education in England from the pen of Mr. M. L. Jacks, Director of the Department of Education at Oxford University (*Total Education*, Kegan Paul), and find that the educationists in England are faced with problems similar to ours, and that the solutions they propose are not without interest for us in India.

It is a common complaint in India that our education is purely intellectual, and neglects body as well as character-building. Similarly Mr. Jacks says, 'On the one side is the mind, a proper subject of education. On the other side is the body, and we have not thought it proper to educate that.' But it should be our object in the school to 'synthesize all a child's capacities, physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual.' As Mr. F. C. Happold observes in *Citizens in the Making* (Christophers), 'the discovery that both children and adults can best be trained by being taught to think with their whole bodies and not with their brains, is one of the educational discoveries of our age.' But this discovery has been made by only a few, namely 'the teachers who have paid attention to Physical Education (of which Physical Training is only a part).' They have discovered that 'in the young an increase in physical alertness is always accompanied by an increase in mental alertness; that the control of the body, which is learnt from an intelligent course in Physical Education, broadens out into a control of the passions and impulses, and of the mind and the knowledge which it gains; that problems of discipline become notably fewer and tend to solve themselves; that old intellectual interests are enlarged and take on a new vividness, and that new interests are created; that an awareness of self as an undivided whole is engendered, and that with this awareness there goes a new self-respect.' This is the experience not only in England but in other countries as well, as for instance in Czechoslovakia, where 'the Sokols, using gymnastics and callisthenics as instruments of physical, moral and intellectual regeneration, developed . . . into a movement for the renewal of a whole people and became the centre and crystallization of national sentiment. All these are instances of the co-education of mind, body and spirit, and of the whole human being in action; he becomes a controlled being, with his knowledge and skill, no less than his health and strength, controlled in the interests of his whole self.' As a striking picture of the education of the whole child, Mr. Jacks cites the case of a boy intent upon a piece of carpentry: in the visualization and appreciation of an end which is both useful and beautiful, in the thinking out of the proper means for its accomplishment, in the accuracy of measurement, the manual skill, and the manipulation of a tool which are required, in the demands upon the senses of sight and of touch, in the economical and

controlled use of physical strength, and in the obvious determination of the will to exclude all distractions and concentrate the whole self upon the job—in all this, intellectual, moral and physical powers are brought into play and operate as one, and the finished article is the self-suppressive and creative act of the whole boy.'

It will not do to neglect the physique of our children. As Mr. Jacks forcibly puts it, a school should be first and foremost a health centre, where the indivisible health of body, mind and spirit may be fostered as one operation. 'Indifferently played games can never meet the necessities of the case. Every school should have a department of Physical Education, and we should in time be able to devise for the age of sixteen a physical test to correspond to the intellectual test represented by the School Certificate examination, and by dovetailing the one into the other to produce something which will approximate more closely to a test of the whole child.'

'Physical illiteracy' which afflicts most of our students will be a thing of the past when schools attend to the bodies of our children as well as to their minds.

Along with language and other subjects of the school curriculum Mr. Jacks deals with arts and suggests that the study of dress, embroidery, colour-printing, decoration, architecture and costume would be suitable for girls, and the practice of book-crafts, lino-cuts, wood-work, metal work, modelling, constructional and free drawing for boys. This may be all right in England, but in India as our ideal is the revival of the old self-sufficient, self-reliant and independent village republic, we must concentrate on food and clothes which constitute the basic necessities of man all the world over. Every child at school should be placed in charge of a small piece of ground where he or she can grow flowers, vegetables and the like. But this would not be possible in every place; in quite a number of places the ground required for the purpose may not be available. Spinning however does not present any such difficulty and should therefore be practised in every school along with or without gardening.

Schoolmasters no less than schoolboys should receive training in handicraft as well as physical training. Dealing with conditions in England, Mr. Jacks says, 'Man is a "skill-hungry animal", and yet this hunger is rarely satisfied: the starvation is due to the fact that a training in manual or bodily skills has been widely neglected in schools and these skills have been regarded as the Cinderellas of the curriculum. They can only be rescued from this status, if we so train our teachers that they will be competent both to practise and to foster them: and this competence is likely. . . . to be an increasingly important part of every teacher's equipment.' This competence may be important in England, but it is essential in India.

V. G. D.

## HINDUSTANI DICTIONARY

In continuation of my last note I regret to say that neither from the publishers nor from other booksellers or friends have I been able to procure a copy of the trilingual dictionary referred to by the two correspondents.

Readers will have noticed that eight columns of words come out every fortnight instead of four every week.

Letters of appreciation of the work have been pouring in, showing that it supplies a felt want.

M. K. G.

## INSTALEMENT—IV

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Amazement *n.* हैरानी, आश्चर्य | آشچره | حیرانی  
 Amazon *n.* लड़नेवाली स्त्री या औरत, देवनी की-सी |  
 लڑنے والी अस्त्री या عورت, دیونی کی سی  
 Ambassador *n.* राजदूत, अेलची, सफ़ीर | سفیر | راجدوت, ایلچی  
 Amber *n.* अम्बर, कह-रुबा | کمر یا امبر  
 Ambient *adj.* घेरे हुअे, घिरा हुआ | گھرا ہوا  
 Ambiguous *adj.* धुँधला, नासाफ़ | دھندلا, ناصاف  
 Ambit *n.* घेरा, गिरदा | گردا  
 Ambition *n.* सुमंग, अमिलाषा, लोभ | انگ, اہلاشا, لوبہ  
 Ambling *n.* घोड़ेकी-सी चाल | گھوڑے کی سی چال  
 Ambrosia *n.* देवभोजन, अमृत, सुधा | سدھا | دیوبोजن, امرت  
 Ambulance *n.* बीमारकी गाड़ी | بیمار کی گاڑی  
 Ambuscade or ambush *n.* घात, छिपी हुअी फ़ौज या सेना |  
 گھات, چھپی ہوئی فوج یا سینا  
 Ameliorate *v.* बेहतर बनाना, सुधारना, अच्छा होना |  
 بہتر بنانا, سدھारना, اچھا ہونا  
 Amen *Inter.* आमीन, तथास्तु | آمین, تہاستو  
 Amenable *adj.* आज्ञाकारी, फ़रमाँवरदार | آگیاکاری, فرمانبردار  
 Amend *v.* सुधारना, रहोबदल करना, तरसीम करना |  
 سدھारना, ردوبدل کرنا, ترمیم کرنا  
 Amends, to make *v.* दण्ड भरना, पश्चात्ताप करना, बदला देना |  
 دंड بھرنا, پشچاتاپ کرنا, بدلا دینا  
 Amenity *n.* खूबी, खुशगवारी, खुश मिजाजी |  
 خوبی, خوشگواری, خوش مزاجی  
 Amerce *v.* जुरमाना करना | جرمانہ کرنا  
 American *n.* अमरीकी | امریکی  
 Amiable *adj.* हरदिल अजीज, दिलकश, मनभावना, सुशील |  
 ہر دل عزیز, دلکش, من بھارنا, سوشیل  
 Amicable *adj.* दोस्ताना, आपसका | دوستانہ, آپس کا  
 Amidst *adv.* बीचमें | بیچ میں  
 Amiss, *v.* बुरा मानना | برا ماننا  
 Amiss, to take *adj.* गलत, गलतीसे | غلط, غلطی سے  
 Amity *n.* दोस्ती, मित्रता | دوستی, مترتا  
 Ammonia *n.* अमोनिया (अक किस्मकी गैस) |  
 امونیا (ایک قسم کی گیس)  
 Ammunition *n.* गोला-बारूद | گولہ بارود  
 Amnesia *n.* स्मृतिलोप, हाफ़िजेका जाता रहना |  
 اسمرتی لوپ, حافظہ کا جاتا رہنا  
 Amnesty *n.* राज-क्षमा, आम सुआफ़ी | راج کھما, عام معافی  
 Among *adv.* बीचमें, आपसमें, शामिल | بیچ میں, آپس میں, شامل  
 Amoral *adj.* नीतिहीन, बेजिस्सलक़ | नीति هین, بے اخلاق  
 Amorous *adj.* आशिक, आसक्त | عاشق, آسکت

Amount *n.* संख्या, जमा, रक़म | رقم, سنکھیا, جمع

Amount, to, *v.* मीज़ान आना, समान होना |

मीज़ान आना, समान होना

Amphibian *n.* पानीका जानवर | पानी का जानवर

Amphitheatre *n.* गोल तमाशगाह या नाटकशाला |

गोल तमाशे ग़ाह या नाटकशाला

Ample *adj.* काफ़ी, बहुत | کافی, بہت

Amplify *v.* बढ़ाना | بڑھانا

Amputate *v.* अंग काट डालना, काटना, अज़ोका काटना |

انک کاٹ ڈالना, काटना, عضو काटना

Amuck *adv.* पागलकी तरह | پاگل کی طرح

Amulet *n.* तावीज, जन्तर, गण्डा | گنڈا | تہویز, جتنر, گنڈا

Amuse *v.* दिल लगाना या बहलाना, खुश करना |

دل لگانा या بھलانا, خوش کرنا

Anachronism *n.* जो वक्तके लिहाज़से ग़लत हो |

جو وقت کے لحاظ سے غلط ہو

Anaconda *n.* अजगर — अक बहुत बड़ा साँप |

अजगर — ایک بہت بڑا سانپ

Anaemia *n.* खूनकी कमी | خون کی کمی

Anaesthetic *n.* बेहोश करनेवाली दवा | बेहोश کر دینے والی دوا

Analogy *n.* मिसाल | مثال

Analysis *n.* छानबीन, जाँच | چھان بین, جانچ

Anarchy *n.* अराजकता | अराजکتا

Anethema *n.* शाप, लानत | शाप, لعنت

Anatomy *n.* शरीर-रचना, जिस्मकी बनावट, ढाँचा |

شریر رچنا, جسم کی بناوٹ, ڈھانچہ

Ancestor *n.* पूर्वज, पितर, बापदादा | पूर्वج, پتر, باپ دادا

Anchor *n.* लंगर | लंकर

Anchor, to cast *v.* लंगर डालना | लंकर ڈालना

Anchor, to weigh *v.* लंगर छुठाना | लंकर اٹھانا

Anchorite *n.* बैरागी, गोशानशीन | बैरागी, گوشه نشین

Ancient *adj.* पुराना, सनातन | پुरانا, سناتن

And *conj.* और, व | اور, و

Anecdote *n.* किस्सा, कहानी | قصہ, کہانی

Anew *adv.* फिरसे, नये सिरेसे | फिर سے, نئے سیرے سے

Angel *n.* देवदूत, फ़रिश्ता | دیودوت, فرشتہ

Anger *n.* क्रोध, गुस्सा | क्रودہ, غصہ

Angle *n.* कोना, जाविया | کونا, زاویہ

Angle of vision *n.* दृष्टिकोण, जविया निगाह |

درستی کون, زاویہ نگاہ

Anguish *n.* सन्ताप, दर्द, तकलीफ़, दुःख | ستاپ, درد, تکلیف, دکھ

Animal *n.* जानवर, प्राणी | जानवर, प्राणी

Animate *v.* रूढ़ फ़ूँकना, प्राण या रूढ़ डालना, खिन्दा करना, |

روح پھونکना, پران या روح ڈالना, زندہ کرنا, جان ڈالना

Animism *n.* पेड़-पत्थरकी पूजा | پیڑ پتھر کی پوجا

Animosity *n.* दुश्मनी, अदावत, बैर | دشمنی, عداوت, بیر

Animus *n.* जहर | زہر

Aniseed *n.* सौंफ | سونف

Ankle *n.* टखना, गिद्धा | ٹخنہ, گٹھا

Annals *n.* तवारीख या इतिहासके पन्ने | تواریخ یا اتہاس کے پنے

Anneal *v.* आँच देना, ताव देना | آنچ دینا, تار دینا

Annex *v.* नत्थी करना, शामिल करना, जोड़ना, मिला लेना, कब्ज़ा |

जमाना, हथिया लेना

تھی کرنا, شامل کرنا, جوڑنا, ملا دینا, قبضہ جمانا, ہتھیا لینا

Annihilate *v.* मिटानا, फ़ना करना । فنا کرنا  
Anniversary *n.* बरसी, सालगिरह, जयन्ती । سالگرہ، جیتی  
Annotate *v.* शरह करना, व्याख्या करना ।

Announce *v.* ऐलान करना, खबर देना, प्रगट करना ।  
اعلان کرنا، خبر دینا، پرگٹ کرنا

Annoy *v.* सताना, तंग करना । ستانا، تنگ کرنا  
Annual *adj.* वार्षिक, सालाना, हर साल । وارشد، سالانہ، ہر سال  
Annuity *n.* सालाना भत्ता । سالانہ ہتہ

Annul *v.* मिटा देना, मन्सूख करना । مٹا دینا، منسوخ کرنا  
Annular *adj.* छल्लेका-सा, अँगूठी-जैसा । اٹھلے کا سا، انگوٹھی جیسا  
Anodyne *n.* पीड़ानाशक, दर्द मिटानेवाली दवा ।

Anoint *v.* तेल लगाना, राजतिलक या ताजपोशीके लिये तेल लगाना ।  
تیل لگانا، راج تھک یا تاج پوشی کے لئے تیل لگانا

Anomalous *adj.* बेक़ायदा, अनरीत । بے فائدہ، ان ریت  
Anon *adv.* अभी-अभी, फ़ौरन, तुरन्त । ابھی ابھی، فوراً، تزلت  
Anonymous *adj.* गुप्तनाम, बे-नाम, गुप्तनाम ।

Another *adj., pro.* दूसरा, अेक और । دوسرا، ایک اور  
Answer *v.* जवाब देना या उत्तर देना, मुआफ़िक या उपयोगी होना, जिम्मेदार होना ।

Ant *n.* चींटी । چیٹی  
Ant, white *n.* दीमक । دیمک  
Antagonism *n.* बैर, दुश्मनी, मुख़ालिफ़त । بیر، دشمنی، مخالفت

Antarctic *adj.* ज़नूबी कुतुबका, दक्षिणी ध्रुव-सम्बन्धी ।  
جنوبی قطب کا، دکھنی دھروو سمبندھی

Antecedent *n.* पहले आनेवाला । پہلے آنے والا  
Antecedents *n.* पिछला हाल । پچھلا حال

Antedate *v.* असली तारीख़ या तिथिसे पहलेकी तारीख़ देना ।  
اصلی تاریخ یا तिथی سے پہلے کی تاریخ دینا

Antediluvian *adj.* प्रलय या नूहके तूफ़ानसे पहलेका, दक्षियानूसी (जिसलिअे बहुत पुराना) ।  
برلے یا نوح کے طوفان سے پہلے کا، دقبانوسی، (اسلے بہت پرانا)

Antemeridian *adj.* दोपहरसे पहले । دوپہر سے پہلے  
Antenatal *adj.* पैदाविश या जन्मसे पहले । پیدائش یا جنم سے پہلے

Antenna *n.* कीड़ेका सींग (जिससे वह टटोलता है) ।  
کیڑے का سینک (جس سے وہ ٹٹولتا ہے)

Anterior *adj.* अगला, पहलेका, सामनेका ।  
اگلا، پہلیکا، سامنے का

Anthem *n.* भजन, वन्दना । भजन، بندना  
Anthem, national *n.* कौमी गीत । قومی گیت  
Anthology *n.* साहित्य-संग्रह, अदबका गुलदस्ता ।

Anthracite *n.* आला दरजेका कोयला (जो धुआँ नहीं देता) ।  
اعلیٰ درجے کا کوئلہ (جو دھواں نہیں دیتا)  
Anthrax *n.* मवेशियों (पशुओं) और मेढोंकी अेक बुरी बीमारी ।  
موشیوں (پشؤوں) اور مہڈوں کی ایک بڑی بیماری

Anthropoid *adj.* बिनसान-जैसा, मनुष्य-जैसा ।  
انسان جیسا، منش جیسا  
Anthropology *n.* मनुष्य-विज्ञान, बिनसानका अिल्म ।  
منش وگیان، انسان کا علم

Anthropomorphous *adj.* मनुष्यके रूपमें भगवान्, बिनसानकी शकलमें खुदा ।  
منش کے روپ میں بھگوان، انسان کی شکل میں خدا

Anti खिलाफ, विरुद्ध । خلاف، وردہ  
Anybody *n., pro.* कोअी भी । کوئی بھی  
Anyhow *adv.* चाहे जैसे, किसी न किसी तरहसे ।

Anything *pro., n.* कुछ भी, कोअी भी, कोअी अेक चीज़ ।  
کچھ بھی، کوئی بھی، کوئی ایک چیز

Anyway *adv.* देखो anyhow । anyhow دیکھو  
Anywhere *adv.* कहीं, कहीं भी । کہیں، کہیں بھی  
Apace *adv.* जल्दीसे, तेज़ीसे, शीघ्र । تیزی سے، شیکھر

Apart *adv.* अलग, अलहदा, अेक तरफ़, अलावा ।  
الگ، علیحدہ، ایک طرف، علاوہ

Apartment *n.* कोठरी, कमरा । کمرہ، کوٹھری  
Apathy *n.* बेपरवाही, रूखापन, फ़ीकापन । بے پرواہی، روکھاپن، فیکاہ

Ape *n.* बन्दर (बिना पूँछका) । بندر (بنا پونچھ کا)  
Ape *v.* नक़ल करना । نقل کرنا  
Aperient *n.* हलका जुलाब । ہلکا جلاب

Apterture *n.* छेद, सुराख । چھید، سوراخ  
Apex *n.* चोटी, नोक । چوٹی، نوک  
Aphorism *n.* कहावत, सूत्र । کہاوٹ، سوتر

Apiary *n.* शहदकी मक्खी पालनेका घर । شہد کی مکھی پالنے کا گھر  
Apocryphal *adj.* ग़ैर मुसद्दिका, प्रमाणहीन ।

Apologize *v.* सुआफ़ी माँगना, क्षमा माँगना या चाहना ।  
معافی مانگنا، کشما مانگنا یا چاہنا  
Apology *n.* सुआफ़ी, क्षमा, कमज़ोर जवाब । معافی، کشما، کمزور جواب

Apostasy *n.* धर्म त्यागना, मज़हबका छोड़ना ।  
دھرم त्याگना، مذہب کا چھوڑنا  
Apostle *n.* धर्म-प्रचारक, मुख्य विषय, पैग़म्बर, नबी ।

Apostrophize *v.* ग़ैरहाज़िरसे बोलना या खुसे बुलाना ।  
غیر حاضر سے بولنا یا اسے بلانا  
Apothecary *n.* दवा बनानेवाला, पंसारी । دوا بنانے والا، پंसاری

Apotheosis *n.* खुदा या देवता बनाना, खुदाकी या खुसलकी स्तुति या तारीफ़ करना ।  
خدا یا دیوتا بنانا، خدا کی یا اصول کی استوتی یا تعریف کرنا

Appal *v.* डराना, थर्रा देना । ڈرانا، تھرا دینا  
Apparatus *n.* सामान, औजार, आलात । سامان، اوزار، آلات

Apparel *n.* पहनावा, लिबास । پہناوا، لباس  
Apparent *adj.* ظाहिर, साफ़ । ظاہر، صاف  
Apparition *n.* भूत, वहमी सूरत, साया । ہوت، وہمی صورت، سایہ

Appeal *v.* प्रार्थना करना, दरख़ास्त देना, असर डालना, अच्छा प्रारतना करना, درخواست देना, اثر डालना, अچھا لگانا, माना ।  
اپील کرنا، دعا देना، दरख़ास्त देना، असर डालना، अच्छा प्रारतना करना

Appear *v.* दिखाअी देना, सामने आना, माख़स होना ।  
دکھائی देना، سامने آना، माख़स होना  
Appearance *n.* रूप, शकल, हाज़िरी । روپ، شکل، حاضری

Appease *v.* ठण्डा करना, शान्त करना, थामना ।  
ٹھنڈا کرنا، शान्त کرنا، थामना  
Appellation *n.* नाम । نام  
Append *v.* साथ लगाना, नत्थी करना, जोड़ना ।  
ساتھ لگانا، नत्थी करنا، जोड़ना

Appertain *v.* सम्बन्ध रखना, ताल्लुक रखना, हक होना।  
 سمبندہ رکھنا، تعلق رکھنا، حق ہونا

Appetite *n.* भूख, इच्छा, लालसा। लासा, بھوک, خواہش

Applaud *v.* ताली बजाना, वाह-वाह करना, गुण गाना, शाबाशी देना।  
 تالی بجانا، واہ واہ کرنا، گنا، شاباشی دینا

Apple *n.* सेब। سیب

Appliance *n.* जरिया, वसीला, सुपाय। अपाये, ذریعہ, وسیلہ

Apply *v.* लगाना, काममें लाना, लागू होना, लागू करना, लगे रहना, दरखास्त करना।  
 لگانا، کام میں لانا، لاگو ہونا، لاگو کرنا، درخواست کرنا

Appoint *v.* मुर्करर करना, नियुक्त करना। مقرر کرنا، نیوکٹ کرنا

Apportion *v.* हिस्सा देना, बाँटना। حصہ دینا، بانٹنا

Apposite *adj.* ठीक, सुआफ़िक, योग्य, लगता हुआ।  
 ٹھیک، موافق، یوگیہ، لگتا ہوا

Appraise *v.* जाँचना, आँकना, दाम लगाना, अन्दाजा करना।  
 جانچنا، آنکنا، دام لگانا، اندازہ کرنا

Appreciable *adj.* खासा, काफी। خاصی, کافی

Appreciate *v.* कदर करना, आदर या मान करना, समझना, ठीक अन्दाजा लगाना, भाव बढ़ाना या बढ़ना।  
 قدر کرنا، آدر، امان کرنا، سمجھنا، ٹھیک اندازہ لگانا، بھار بڑھانا یا بڑھنا

Apprehend *v.* पकड़ना, गिरफ्तार करना, समझना, डरना, अंदेश होना।  
 پکڑنا، گرفتار کرنا، سمجھنا، ڈرنا، اندیشہ ہونا

Apprentice *n.* खुम्मेदवार, शार्गिर्द, नौसिखिया।  
 امیدوار، شاگرد، نوسکھیا

Apprise *v.* जताना, खबर देना, ज्ञात करना, वाक्फिर करना।  
 جانا، خبر دینا، گیت کرنا، واقف کرنا

Approach *v.* पास या नजदीक आना, लगभग होना, मिलता-जुलता होना।  
 پاس یا نزدیک آنا، لگ بھگ ہونا، ملتا جلتا ہونا

Approach *n.* रास्ता, पहुँच, देखनेका ढंग।  
 راستہ، پہنچ، دیکھنے کا ڈھنگ

Appropriate *v.* कब्जा करना, ले लेना, अपना बना लेना।  
 قبضہ کرنا، لے لینا، اپنا بنا لینا

Appropriate *adj.* योग्य, सुचित, सुनासिब, ठीक।  
 یوگیہ، اچت، مناسب، ٹھیک

Approve *v.* मंजूर करना, स्वीकार करना; पसन्द करना, अच्छा منظور करना, सुनकर करना; پسند करना, अच्चा सरकारी गवाह, राज-साक्षी।  
 منظور کرنا، سونکار کرنا، پسند کرنا، اچھا سمجھنا

Approver *n.* सरकारी गवाह, राज-साक्षी।  
 سرکاری گواہ، راج ساکشی

Approximate *adj.* लगभग, करीब-करीब, नजदीक।  
 لگ بھگ، قریب قریب، نزدیک

Apricot *n.* खूबानी, जरदालू।  
 خوبانی، زرد آلو

April *n.* अप्रैल (अंग्रेजी सालका चौथा महीना)।  
 اپریل (انگریزی سال کا چوتھا مہینہ)

Apron *n.* फ़िरन। پھرن

Apropos *adv.* कामका, मौक़े पर, बारेमें।  
 کام کا، موقع پر، بارے میں

Apt *adj.* तेज़, तत्पर; ठीक, सुनासिब; प्रवण, झुका हुआ, चतुर।  
 تیز، تہر، ٹھیک، مناسب، پروں، جھکا ہوا، چتر

Aptitude *n.* लियाक़त, रुझान, रुचि।  
 لیاقت، رجحان، رچی

Aqua *n.* पानी। پانی

Aquarium *n.* पानीके पौधे या जानवर पालनेका घर या हौज़।  
 پانی کے پودے یا جانور پالنے کا گھر یا حوض

Aquatic *adj.* दरियाजी, जल-सम्बन्धी।  
 دریائی، جل سمبندھی

Aqueduct *n.* पानीका रास्ता।  
 پانی کا راستہ

Aquiline *adj.* गरुड़ या शुक्रावकी तरह।  
 گروڑ یا شکرابکی तरह

Arable land *n.* काश्तकी या जोतने लायक़ ज़मीन, सुपजाऊ क़اشت की या जोतने लायक़ زمین, اچھا زمین

Arbiter *n.* पंच, मुन्सिफ़, जज, सालिस।  
 پنچ، منصف، جج، ٹالک

Arbitrary *adj.* जालिमाना, मनमाना, बेकायदा।  
 ظالمانہ، من مانا، بے قاعدہ

Arbitration *n.* पंचायती फ़ैसला, सालिसी फ़ैसला।  
 پنچایتی فیصلہ، ٹالسی فیصلہ

Arbitrator *n.* देखो Arbiter।  
 دیکھو Arbiter

Arboreal *adj.* दरख़तका या पेड़का।  
 درخت کا یا پڑ کا

Arbour *n.* कुंज, दरख़तों और बेलोंका साया।  
 کنج، درختوں اور بیلوں کا سایہ

Arc *n.* चक्कर या दायरेका टुकड़ा।  
 چکر یا دائرے کا ٹکڑا

Arcade *n.* छत्ता, ढँका रास्ता।  
 چھتا، ڈھنکا راستہ

Arch *n.* महराब, तोरण।  
 محراب، تورن

Arch *adj.* चालाक, मुख्य, खास।  
 چالاک، مکھیہ، خاص

Archaeology *n.* प्राचीन वस्तुओंकी विद्या, पुरानी चीज़ोंका ज़िल्म।  
 پراچین وस्तوؤں کی ویدا، پورانی چیڑوں کا علم

Archaic *adj.* पुराना, अप्रचलित, ग़ैर-रायज।  
 پرانا، اپرچلت، غیر رایج

Archangle *n.* फ़रिस्तोंमें सबसे बड़ा, प्रधान देवदूत।  
 فرشتوں میں سب سے بڑا، پردھان دیودوت

Arch enemy *n.* जानी या बड़ा दुश्मन।  
 جانی یا بڑا دشمن

Archbishop *n.* लाट पादरी।  
 لاٹ پادری

Archer *n.* तीरन्दाज।  
 تیرانداز

Archipelago *n.* द्वीप-पुंज, टापुओंका मजमूला।  
 دوپ، ٹاپوؤں کا مجموعہ

Architect *n.* बिमारत बनानेवाला।  
 عمارت بنانے والا

Archive *n.* मुहाफ़िज़ख़ाना।  
 محافظ خانہ

Arctic *adj.* अत्तरी, शिमाली।  
 اتری، شمالی

Ardent *adj.* खुत्सुक, सरगर्मी, जोशीला।  
 انسک، سرگرم، جوشیلا

Ardour *n.* खुत्सुकता, सरगर्मी, जोश, लगन।  
 انسکتا، سرگرمی، جوش، لگن

Arduous *adj.* कठिन, मेहनतका।  
 کٹھن، محنت کا

Area *n.* क्षेत्रफल, रकबा, मैदान, अहाता।  
 کشیر پھل، رقبہ، میدان، احاطہ

Areca *n.* सुपारी, डली।  
 سپاری، ڈلی

Arena *n.* अखाबा, दंगल।  
 اکھاڑا، دنگل

Argent *adj.* रुपहला।  
 روپھلا

Argue *v.* दलील करना, बहस करना।  
 دلیل کرنا، بحث کرنا

Arid *adj.* रूखा, खुश्क।  
 روکھا، خشک

Aright *adv.* ठीक, ठीक-ठीक, सही।  
 ٹھیک، ٹھیک ٹھیک، صحیح

Arise *v.* खुठना, चढ़ना।  
 اٹھنا، چڑھنا

Aristocracy *n.* खुमरा, राजवंशी।  
 امرا، راج بنشی

Arithmetic *n.* जिल्महिसाब, गणितशास्त्र।  
 ایلحساب، گنت شاستر

Ark *n.* नूहकी किस्ती या नाव।  
 نوح کی کشتی یا ناو

Arm *n.* बाजू, बाँह, मुजा।  
 بازو، بانہ، بھجا

Armed *adj.* हथियारबन्द।  
 ہتھیار بند

Armchair *n.* आरामकुर्सी।  
 آرام کرسی

Arm-in-arm *adv.* हाथमें हाथ डाले हुये।  
 اٹھ میں ہاتھ ڈالے ہوئے

Armpit *n.* बगल।  
 بغل

Arm's length, at *adv.* चार कदम पर।  
 چار قدم پر

Arm's length, to keep at *v.* दूर ही दूर रखना, सुँ<sup>2</sup>  
 دور ہی دور رکھنا، منہ نہ لگانا

Arms *n.* हथियार, शस्त्र।  
 ہتھیار، شستر

- Arms, to lay down *v.* हथियार डालना, हार मान लेना ।  
 هتھيار ڈالنا، هار مان لینا
- Arms, to be up in *v.* लड़ाईके लिये तैयार होना, लड़ाई पर कमर बाँधना ।  
 لڑائی کے لئے تیار ہونا، لڑائی پر کمر باندھنا
- Armada *n.* जहाजोंका जंगी बेड़ा ।  
 جہازوں کا جنگی بیڑہ
- Armageddon *n.* दुनियाभरका आखिरी लड़ाई ।  
 دنیا بھر کی آخری لڑائی
- Armament *n.* हथियारबन्द सेना या फौज; जंग का साज-सामान ।  
 हتھيار بند सेना या फوج; جنگ کا साज सामान
- Armed *adj.* हथियारबन्द, सशस्त्र ।  
 हتھيار بند, سشتر
- Armistice *n.* आरज़ी सुलह, लड़ाईकी मुद्दी रोक ।  
 عارضی صلح، لڑائی کی مدتی روک
- Armour *n.* कवच, बक्तर ।  
 کچ، بکتر
- Army *n.* फौज, दल, सेना ।  
 فوج، دل، सेना
- Aroma *n.* खुशबू, सुगन्ध, महक ।  
 خوشبو، سوگند، महک
- Around *prep.* चारों तरफ, चारों ओर, घेरे हुअे; अधर-अधर ।  
 چاروں طرف، چاروں ओर، گھیرے ہوئے، ادھر ادھر
- Arouse *v.* जगाना, बेदार करना ।  
 جگانا، بیدار کرنا
- Arraign *v.* अिलजाम या दोष लगाना ।  
 الزام یا दोष لگانا
- Arrange *v.* सजाना, आरास्ता करना, ठीकसे रखना, बन्दोबस्त करना ।  
 सजाना، आरास्तہ کرنا، ٹھیک سے رکھना، بندوبस्त کرنا
- Arrant *adj.* पहले दर्जे का, पूरा, पक्का ।  
 پہلے درجے کا، پورا، پکا
- Array *v.* क्रतार बाँधना, सफ़में खड़े होना; ठीक, करना, रचना, पोशाक पहनना ।  
 قطار باندھنا، صف میں کھڑے होना، ٹھیک کرنا، रचना، پوشاک پہنना
- Arrears *n.* बकाया, बाक़ी; कर्ज ।  
 بقایا، باقی; قرض
- Arrears, to be in *v.* पीछे पड़जाना, कामका चढ़ जाना ।  
 پیچھے پڑجانا، کام का چڑھ जाना
- Arrest *v.* रोकना; पकड़ना, गिरफ्तार करना; ध्यान खींचना ।  
 روکنا; پکڑना; گرفتار کرنا; دھیان کھینچنا
- Arrive *v.* पहुँचना, आ जाना ।  
 پہنچना، آجانا
- Arrogant *adj.* अभिमानी, घमण्डी, गर्वित, अकबू ।  
 अभिमानी، گھمنڈی، گروت، اکڑو
- Arrogate *v.* बेजा दावा करना ।  
 بے جا दावा کرنا
- Arrow *n.* तीर, बाण ।  
 تیر، بان
- Arsenal *n.* अस्त्रागार, असलहाखाना ।  
 استرا گار، اسلحہ خانہ
- Arsenic *n.* संखिया ।  
 سنکھیا
- Arson *n.* आग लगा देना, घर जलाना, गृहदाह ।  
 آگ لگا देना، گھر جلانا، گرہ दाہ
- Art *n.* गुण; हुनर; कारीगरी, कला, जुगत ।  
 گن; هنر; کاریگری، کلا، جگت
- Artery *n.* खूनकी रग ।  
 خون کی رگ
- Artesian well *n.* पातालतोड़ या फनवारी कुआँ ।  
 پاتال توڑ یا فواری کواں
- Artful *adj.* चालाक, चतुर, चालबाज़ ।  
 چالاک، چتر، چال باز
- Article *n.* वस्तु, चीज़, शै; दफ़ा; लेख; शर्त ।  
 وستو، چیز، شے; دفعہ; لیکھ; شرط
- Articulate *adj.* साफ़, स्पष्ट ।  
 صاف، سبٹ
- Artifice *n.* तरकीब, चतुराजी, चाल, छल, युक्ति ।  
 ترکیب، چترائی، چال، چال، یکتی
- Artificial *adj.* बनावटी, झूठा, नकली ।  
 بناوٹی، جھوٹا، نقلی
- artillery *n.* तोपें; गोलन्दाज़ फौज, तोपखाना ।  
 توپیں; گولنداز، فوج، توپ خانہ
- Artisan *n.* कारिगर ।  
 کاریگر
- Artist *n.* कलाकार, चित्रकार, सनअतकार ।  
 کلا کار، چترکار، صنعت کار
- Artiste *n.* माहिर, खुस्ताद ।  
 ماهر، استاد
- Artless *adj.* भोला, सीधा-सादा ।  
 بھولا، سیدھا، سادہ
- Arts, fine *n.* فن, विद्या, कला ।  
 فن، ویدا، کلا
- As *adv. conj. pron.* जैसा, जैसेकि, सा, जिस तरह, वैसा, खुतना ही, क्योंकि, जिस तरहके, जब, जो, जौनसा ।  
 جیسا، جیسے کہ، سا، جس طرح، ویسا، اتنا ہی، کیونکہ، اس طرح کہ، جب، جو، جوں سا
- As far as *adv.* जहाँ तक ।  
 جہاں تک
- As long as *adv.* जब तक ।  
 جب تک
- As to, as for, as regards बाबत, सम्बन्धमें, निस्बत ।  
 بابت، سمبندھ میں، نسبت
- As good as गोया ।  
 گویا
- As many, As much जितना ।  
 جتنا
- As often as जब कभी ।  
 جب کبھی
- As well as सी ।  
 سی
- As yet अब तक, अभी तक ।  
 اب تک، ابھی تک
- As if, as though जैसे, मानो ।  
 جیسے، مانو
- As it were जैसा कि ।  
 جیسا کہ
- As usual बदस्तूर, हमेशाकी तरह ।  
 بدستور، ہمیشہ کی طرح
- Asafoetida *n.* हींग ।  
 ہینگ
- Ascend *v.* ऊपर जाना, चढ़ना, ऊँचा होना; गद्दीपर बैठना ।  
 اوپر जानا، چڑھنا، اونچا ہونا; گدی پر بیٹھنا
- Ascertain *v.* पता चलाना, मालूम करना ।  
 پتہ چلانا، معلوم کرنا
- Ascetic *n.* तपस्वी, योगी, संन्यासी ।  
 تپسوی، یوگی، سننیا سی
- Ascribe *v.* किसीके जिम्मे लगाना; आरोप करना ।  
 کسی کے ذمہ لگانا، آروپ کرنا
- Aseptic *adj.* बे-जहूरबाद, न सड़नेवाली ।  
 بے زہریاد، نہ سڑنے والی
- Asexual *adj.* अजाती, बेजिन्स, अयौन ।  
 اجاتی، بے جنس، ایون
- Ashes *n.* राख ।  
 راکھ
- Ashamed *adj.* लज्जित, शरमिन्दा ।  
 لجت، شرمندہ
- Ashore *adv.* तट पर, किनारे पर ।  
 تٹ پر، کنارے پر
- Aside *adv.* एक तरफ, एक ओर, अलग, अलहदा ।  
 ایک طرف، ایک اور، الگ، علیحدہ
- Asinine *adj.* गदहा-सा, मूर्ख ।  
 گدھاسا، مورکھ
- Ask *v.* पूछना; माँगना; सवाल करना; बुलाना ।  
 پوچھنا، مانگنا، سوال کرنا، بلانا
- Askance *adv.* तिरछी नज़रसे; शक या शंकाकी नज़रसे ।  
 تریخی نظر سے، شک یا شکا کی نظر سے
- Askew *adv.* तिरछा, टेढ़ा ।  
 تیرچھا، ٹیڑھا
- Asleep *adj.* नींदमें, सोया हुआ ।  
 نیند میں، سویا ہوا
- Asp *n.* जहरीला साँप ।  
 زہریلا سانپ
- Asparagus *n.* नागदौन, एक तरकारी ।  
 ناگ دون، ایک ترکاری
- Aspect *n.* शकल, सूरत, पहलू ।  
 شکل، صورت، پہلو
- Aspen like *adj.* काँपता हुआ ।  
 کانپتا ہوا
- Asperity *n.* सख्ती, खुरदरापन ।  
 سختی، کھردراپن
- Aspersions *n.* बदनामी, कलंक, तोहमत, अिलजाम ।  
 بدنامی، کلنک، تہمت، الزام
- Aspirant *n.* शुम्भेदवार, शुचाकांक्षी, चाहनेवाला ।  
 امیدوار، اچا کانکشی، چاہنے والا
- Aspire *v.* बहुत चाहना, ऊँचे अिरादे बाँधना, आकांक्षा करना ।  
 بہت چاہنا، اونچے ارادے باندھنا، آکا نکشا کرنا



# WHAT CAN POOR NATIONS DO?

## I

With increasing mechanization, an English writer wrote in 1940, the existence of the small State, and one may add the poor State too, became precarious.

"The small State might survive as an interesting relic, like the blacksmiths' shops, then disappearing slowly from our villages. The future lay with the large Powers. They could afford to have a Krupps or a Creuzot to supply their armies, to have fleets which would protect their nationals abroad . . . The smaller countries might maintain certain standards, as did the older craftsmen, but they were the earthenware pots floating in the stream as the iron pots. In times of stress they would hope to survive under the protection of the Great Powers."<sup>1</sup> . . . "Unfortunately the development of scientific armaments has increased the relative weakness of the small, and especially of the non-industrial, countries."<sup>2</sup>

"The degree of military power," said Oswald Spengler, "is dependent on the intensity of industry. Countries industrially poor are poor all round; they, therefore, cannot support an army or wage a war; therefore, they are politically impotent; and, therefore, the workers in them, leaders and led alike, are pawns in the economic policy of their opponents."<sup>3</sup> Some people even before the outbreak of the war had begun to think in terms of a partition of the world into a few large blocks of political and economic hegemony.<sup>4</sup> Under this dispensation, can the smaller and poorer nations exist except as bond-slaves? That is what has happened to the vanquished and also the smaller nations of Central Europe. Gandhiji foresaw this when he said in 1938: "It does appear to me that small nationalities cannot exist in Europe with their heads erect. They must be absorbed by their larger neighbours. They must become vassals."<sup>5</sup>

## II

What chances have these smaller and poorer nations in violent warfare? In the first place, as Gunther has said, "only highly industrialized countries can profitably manufacture appreciable quantities of arms. These countries sell to those less industrialized. Ninetyeight per cent of the total arms

exports to the world comes from ten countries." Even England and Russia could not have carried on the war without a constant supply of arms from America. These have to be paid for; even Allies do not give them free. "He did not suggest on behalf of India", said the former head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in America on his return to India in 1942, "that these supplies be made as a gift; no country to his knowledge was receiving such material as a gift." And arms have to be purchased in a ceaseless flow, and have to be continually replaced by newer designs if they have to be effective. Arms which were new yesterday are obsolete and out of date today. For example, the rifle with which soldiers of many poorer nations are armed at present, is today no better than the *lathi* or the bow and arrow before the ultra-modern weapons, and is fast being relegated to the limbo. As Calvin Goddard says.

"Another definite trend was toward an increased allotment of heavy weapons (machine guns, anti-tank guns and light mortars) to both infantry and cavalry organizations. One result, rather startling in its implications, was that the infantryman who, ever since the supersession in centuries past of the pike by the firearm, had been first musketeer and later rifleman, relinquished probably for all time his traditional weapon. For, by the end of 1940 two-thirds (during the world war, only one-fourth) of the enlisted personnel of a United States army infantry organization had been deprived of their rifles and assigned to the service of the newer agents of mass destruction. Not only was the old order changing; it was all but unrecognizable in the new."<sup>6</sup>

An idea of how huge the cost of constant replacement of arms would be can be gained from just one instance of what the United States did during the war to meet air-bombing on battleships. "The U. S. Navy, taking stock of happenings overseas, came to the conclusion that its fleet was decidedly lacking in anti-aircrafts arms and armour, and requested a special appropriation of \$300,000,000 to remedy deficiencies."<sup>7</sup> What small or poor country could ever think, or possessed the means, of undertaking such expenses before which even big, militarized nations like England and France quailed?

## III

And the skill to use these arms? It is not acquired in a day. To quote but one instance of the results of unskilled and clumsy handling of modern weapons:

"Compared to the loss of 700 Japanese planes, the Chinese have sacrificed 1,100 bombers and pursuit ships according to American airplane salesmen.

6. Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the year 1941.

7. "Where only a few years back two and three machine guns per aeroplane were considered ample, six, eight and twelve guns, at least half of them 50-calibre supplemented by at least one automatic quick-firing cannon, were considered indispensable." — C. Paul Johnstone. Ibid.

1. G. T. Garratt: *Europe's Dance of Death* (1940), p. 44.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

3. *Man and Technics* (1932), p. 92.

4. "The drift of events will be in the direction of a partition of the world among a small number of gigantic imperialist States or empires, which will show much trade between their various constituent countries, but will be intense rivals of each other, both politically and economically." — P. H. Asher: *National Self-sufficiency* (1939), p. 57.

"In the modern world weak States may be a menace . . . Nations and peoples possessing laws and territories have duties and responsibilities to others as well as rights from others. In the future, any nation that becomes a menace to another through failure to protect its boundaries, will be occupied by other defenders or even lose its sovereignty." — J. O. Downer in *Current History* for July, 1942.

5. *Harijan*, Oct. 8, 1938

At least 40 per cent of the losses were due to crack-ups by incompetent pilots. One batch of eighteen American bombers assembled by Curtiss-Wright mechanics in Hankow was safely flown by Chinese pilots to Chengtu, but the pilots forgot to lower their retraceable landing gear. Every plane had its belly bashed in."<sup>8</sup>

## IV

Nor must we forget that weaker nations cannot always get arms even on payment of money. Abyssinia could not import them during the Italian invasion. Republican Spain could not purchase them from England and France, while her opponents got them from Germany and Italy. China could not, for three years before America's entry into the war, get them from Britain and the U. S. A., while to quote an American journal, "the U. S. A. furnished 56.8 per cent (in value) of all war goods shipped to Japan; and the British Empire chipped in with 22.1 per cent."<sup>9</sup> These Powers would not offend the stronger among the combatants; their so-called neutrality worked to the detriment of the weaker party. As a result, Abyssinia and Republican Spain went under; and Madame Chiang Kai-shek wrote in an agony of disappointment and despair:

"If unhappily for the democracies as well as for China, we were defeated in the end, at least the world ought to know that we were beaten not because of lack of courage—either moral or physical courage—but because, by the concerted action of the democracies, China was strangled to death by an economic noose fashioned by Japan out of British appeasement, American profiteering and French fear."<sup>10</sup>

## V

Again, there is a greater price than money to be paid for the purchase of armaments and armed assistance. The case of the Balkans before the war is an apt illustration of it. The tale may be briefly told. After the world depression, British and American credits and markets that were available to the Balkan countries contracted, and the latter had to sell their food grains to Germany, who paid them a part of the money in cash and kept the balance in credit. Later on, arms were offered for sale to the creditors at much cheaper rates than other goods, and the latter could not resist the temptation, also fearing the loss of the German market if they did not take the armaments. "The Nazis calculate," said an English writer, "that

Dr. Schacht's technique of forced sale of arms to the small countries of South East Europe will have important political and military results." "(These countries) armed by Germany will be dependent on further supplies of arms from there in the event of war. Having bought Nazi cannon, they will be dependent on Nazi goodwill for spare parts from Germany, and the four submarines and destroyers which Greece is contemplating buying from Germany will depend on Nazi training to man them," and thus "political dependence will follow inevitably." "In fact these countries had been virtually reduced to the position of Germany's vassals before they succumbed to her superior prowess. Here is a lesson which no nation lacking arms can overlook except at its own peril."

## VI

Look from any angle as we may, it is obvious that in violent warfare, the smaller and physically weaker nations have no chance to survive except as vassals, or on the sufferance, of Powers which are larger and more skilled in scientific destruction. All honour to the heroic peoples who, counting no cost too great for the preservation of their freedom, challenged the might of the aggressors in an armed combat, and fell fighting against overwhelming odds. But their bravery and valour did not avail them. Smaller and weaker nations may retain their freedom on account of fortuitous circumstances—their peculiar geographical situation, the mutual jealousies of bigger Powers or their inability to gulp down large chunks of territory at a time, etc.—but least of all on the strength of the meagre arms that they may possess. For in an armed conflict, it is Might that will triumph and not Right.<sup>12</sup>

Baroda, 14-6-'46

C. S.

12. "As a tribunal for ascertaining the rights and wrongs of a dispute, war is crude, uncertain and costly. It is true that the world war ended, as I still believe, in a victory for Right. But it was won not on the merits of the case, but on a balance of resources and of blunders . . . chance is the supreme judge in war and not Right. There are other judges on the bench, but Chance presides. . . . But let all who trust justice to the arbitrament of war bear in mind that the issue may depend less on the righteousness of the cause than on the cunning and craft of the contestants. It is the teaching of history, and this war enforces the lesson. And the cost is prohibitive. It cripples all the litigants."—David Lloyd George: *War Memoirs Vol. VI.* (1936), pp. xiii—xv.

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8. Haldore Hanson: *Humane Endeavour* (1939), p. 156.

9. *Fortune* (New York) for February 1942, cf.: "The Japanese airplanes that did the killing were manufactured in the United States." — Edgar Mowrer, *Mowrer in China* (1938), p. 94. "It was indeed sad for an American to realize that this daily slaughter of innocent non-combatants with the single purpose of terrorism was, largely being, accomplished with materials furnished by American companies for a price." — *Ibid.* p. 44. "Anyone with a flair for statistics can compute how many dollars of profit the U. S. received for the death of each Chinese." — Haldore Hanson: *Op. cit.*, p. 369. See also Edgar Snow: *Scorched Earth* (1941), p. 43.

10. *China Shall Rise Again* (1940), p. 335-6.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### IS NOT SERVICE WORSHIP?

*Q.* Would it not be better for a man to give the time he spends on the worship of God to the service of the poor? And should not true service make devotional worship unnecessary for such a man?

*A.* I sense mental laziness as also agnosticism in this question. The biggest of Karmayogis never give up devotional song or worship. Idealistically it may be said that true service of others is itself worship and that such devotees do not need to spend any time in songs etc. As a matter of fact, *bhajans* etc. are a help to true service and keep the remembrance of God fresh in the heart of the devotee.

### HOW TO REMOVE UNTOUCHABILITY?

*Q.* A Madras Harijan writes that while removing the ban on temple entry and on use of public wells, giving scholarships for education etc. are all good in their own way, the real way to remove all traces of the curse of untouchability is to abolish *cheris* and separate living quarters for Harijans.

*A.* It sounds well to say that untouchability will go by the board if Harijans are allowed to live wherever they choose. So far as I am aware there is no general law in existence which relegates Harijans to living in special quarters. It is an evil custom that forces them to do so. The custom is breaking down but very very slowly. Meantime it is the duty of everyone to get rid of it. It is a question of moving the hearts of people. Supreme sacrifice, can achieve the desired result. Has not Tulsidas said:

"Through sacrifice Brahma created the world,

"Through sacrifice Vishnu protects,

"Through sacrifice the whole of creation is sustained,

"Therefore, Bhavani, go and perform sacrifice."

When one with that supreme gift is forthcoming, the taint will disappear and religion will be purified and saved.

### IS RAMANAMA ANOTHER NAME FOR CHARMS?

*Q.* My nephew was ill. His relations did not resort to medicines but to spells and charms for his cure. It cannot be said that these did any good. Your mother too must have indulged in these things. Now you talk of *Ramanama*. Is it not the same as spells and charms?

*A.* I have, in one form or another, answered this question before now. But it is as well to do so again. My mother gave me medicines so far as I remember. But she did believe in spells and charms. Learned friends have faith in them. I have not. And because I have no belief in such things, I can say fearlessly that there is no connection between *Ramanama* of my conception and *jantar mantar*. I have said that to take *Ramanama* from the heart means deriving help from an incomparable power. The atom bomb is as nothing compared with it. This power is capable of removing all pain. It must, however, be admitted that it is

easy to say that *Ramanama* must come from the heart, but to attain the reality is very difficult. Nevertheless, it is the biggest thing man can possess.

New Delhi, 5-10-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

## RURALIZING UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

We often regret that educated people are loath to remain in villages and that rural folk, once they get any education, hanker after urban life. This hankering after town life is there, mainly because the present education, imparted especially in the Universities, leads to urban vocation, trades and industries and has little relation to rural occupations. When graduates set the fashion of migrating from the villages to the towns, other lesser educated persons follow their example, and would rather starve in the towns than live happily in the villages. *If the leading educated people, the graduates, should be enabled to look to decent living in rural parts, the whole system of University education should be ruralized.* Of course, it will be almost an impossible task to ruralize our present Universities because of their too well-established traditions and vested interests. But it should not be difficult for the State as well as private benefactors, to establish new universities in the villages with the avowed object of enabling intelligent village young men and women to pursue higher studies in subjects, which are intimately connected with their immediate living and to conduct research in these subjects, so as to enhance their knowledge of rural occupations and increase their efficiency in carrying them on.

Till recently, we were importing mainly manufactured articles from foreign countries. In recent years we have been importing even the barest necessities of subsistence, namely, rice, wheat and various other grains from abroad. We are depending upon America for dried potatoes too. In a country which produced the celestial cow, we are short of milk and have to depend upon foreign people, to export to our country powdered milk. Is it really impossible for us to grow even enough food in our country with which we can subsist? If we change our institutions of higher learning, so as to subserve rural interests, or rather, start and maintain such institutions in villages, for studying and investigating village occupations and industries and for enabling the graduates produced, to follow these rural occupations and industries throughout their life and thus be leaders of thought and action in villages, a great revolution in our methods of life and work, can be produced in less than a decade. The State should hereafter spend large sums of money towards these ends. Our philanthropists and temples and *maths* should devote their munificence and surplus funds for the same objective. If the temples will not voluntarily part with their surpluses for such humanitarian purposes, legislation should be resorted to compel them to do so. While culture should not be sacri-

ficed, rural colleges and universities should embark upon a rich programme of education in rural vocations.

After the High School (which also should be ruralized), the rural pupils should be given opportunities of studying in rural junior colleges of two years' duration, at the end of which successful students should be granted a degree which may be called the 'Associate in Science' or 'Associate in Arts' (A. Sc. or A. A.), depending upon the optional subjects they study. The medium of instruction should be the chief regional language. Compulsory subjects will be the chief regional language and one foreign language (modern prose only) which, in our present circumstances, will be English. Optional subjects could be any three from either Group A (for A. Sc.) or Group B (for A. A.). Two-thirds of the time should be devoted to the study of the optional group.

#### GROUP A—SUBJECTS FOR A. SC.

1. Agriculture.
2. Horticulture.
3. Sericulture.
4. Dairy Farming.
5. Poultry Farming.
6. Sheep-breeding.
7. Bee-keeping.
8. Fisheries.
9. Rural Textiles.
10. Rural Sanitation and Hygiene.
11. Rural Home Economics including Nursing.
12. Rural Electrical Engineering.
13. Rural Communications including Civil and Mechanical Engineering.
14. Rural Building Trade and Architecture.
15. Rural Manufactures like Pottery, Utensils, Paper, etc.

#### GROUP B—SUBJECTS FOR A. A.

1. Rural Sociology.
2. Rural Economics.
3. Rural Reconstruction.
4. Rural Education.
5. Statistics with reference to rural subjects.
6. Retail Selling and Distribution.
7. Rural Banking and Co-operation.

Wherever possible and necessary, instruction in the designing and construction of the machinery needed for the particular occupations or trades should be arranged for. As far as possible, the machinery needed should be produced in the region itself. In the India of the future, there will be need for a 'lingua franca'. Hindustani should be expected to be this language, which should, therefore, be taught compulsorily, though it may not be an examination subject.

After the two-year junior college course, a two-year senior college course should be set up, the successful completion of which should be marked by the award of the B. Sc. or B. A. degree. Studies on a higher level than for the A. Sc. or A. A. will be pursued here in the very

subjects or in allied subjects of direct utility to the village folk.

Research degrees, M. Sc. and Ph. D., should also be instituted. Particular topics of importance to rural betterment should be taken up for investigation by the graduates, and the results should be published in the form of theses written in the regional language for the immediate benefit of the people engaged in the respective pursuits. Then only will university work be purposive; and *no education is worth much if it is not meaningful and useful to the nation at large.*

*The main object of the preparation of the Associates and Graduates in these rural universities should be to enable them to follow the occupations or trades to eke out a livelihood.* If, however, services of experts are required by the State, for promoting nation-building activities, the alumni of the rural universities should be preferred, because they, having been bred up and educated in rural areas, will be better fitted for the service of the ninety per cent of the population of the country, who reside in villages.

It is estimated that, out of a million people, about 23,000 are of very superior intelligence, who will profit by university education. Assuming that another 27,000 people out of a million could be expected to profit by the higher studies, 50,000 persons can be reckoned to be for higher intellectual work. A tenth of this number, namely, 5,000 may be expected to be in the university classes. A rural university, therefore, for a million population, should not be regarded as extravagant. There are countries like Canada and U. S. A., where there is a university for a much smaller number of people. That is one of the reasons, why people of those countries are economically more advanced than we are.

These rural universities should be open to adults of all ages. Passing by individual subjects, as and when the students desire, should be encouraged. Special classes to suit the time of the village folk before or after their daily work should be organized. No fees should be charged in the rural universities, and the cost incurred should be defrayed from State funds and private benefactions. The expenditure should be regarded as an insurance against famine, pestilence and disease. These colleges and universities should be real community centres. Then and only then, will our rural life be culturally rich and economically efficient.

K. N. KINI

M. A., Ph. D. (Columbia), Bangalore

[There is much truth in what Dr. Kini says. He should put himself in touch with Dr. Zakir Hussain and the Aryanayakams and devote his energies to evolving a workable scheme. I see no difficulty in existing universities conforming to the requirements of the villagers, who are India, instead of turning out indifferent imitators of the West.]

—M. K. G.]

## MUD HUTS

India lives behind mud walls and earth is by far the most common structural material in this country. It is bound to remain so for at least several generations, if not for ever. The problems of food and clothing are being tackled strenuously while the problem of housing is left in abeyance, because it seems to be less urgent. It is much more baffling too.

Yet the health of the people requires a radical solution of the housing problem and the stupendous task of rebuilding the seven lakhs of Indian villages has to be undertaken. The country is not rich enough to think in terms of brick and stone, cement and plywood, asbestos and metal. Commonsense points to earth as the universal building material. But the existing mud houses are not what we would like India to live in. Houses are required to be tall and spacious, bright, harmonious and salubrious. Can such houses be built out of mud?

Fortunately the reply is, in the affirmative. Improved methods of mud house construction exist. There is a very ancient way of building mud walls known all over the world. By this method the Spanish peasants were building their villages at the time of Hannibal and the Colorado settlers are building their houses even now. France has many such houses, built centuries ago and still going strong and so has China and even in India the ancient kings built fortresses on the same principle, although by a different method.

To understand well the advantages of the method described, let us first examine the ordinary method of mud wall construction.

Mud is dug up and after breaking the clods is properly wetted with water and sometimes straw is added. The mixture of mud and water is usually allowed to rest overnight and the walls are erected by adding wet mud layer after layer. The walls are usually made thinner at the top. The quantity of water being very considerable, the water, as it dries, causes innumerable small cracks to appear throughout the thickness of the wall, which reduces very considerably the strength of the wall and facilitates insect penetration.

A slightly improved way of building mud walls is to prepare sun-baked bricks before and build the walls out of such bricks.

In both cases the wall is weak and porous. It is usually left as it is or just plastered with cow-dung or whitewashed.

The method suggested radically differs from the usual in the quantity of water added. Only so much water is added as is required to make the earth stick together when a handful is pressed very hard by hand. Here the minimum is the optimum, all excess of water must be avoided.

The earth is clay sand and gravel. The ordinary red loam is quite good, sandy soil can be improved by adding clay and clay requires an addition of sand and gravel. Usually the best earth is found at the foot of the hill—a mixture of silt, sand and sharp gravel. But the method is applicable to a very wide variety of soils. Organic matter in soil

should be avoided as far as possible and all pieces of roots, straw etc. removed carefully.

The principle consists in compressing the earth very hard by repeated ramming with special tools between parallel planks. The water acts only as a lubricant, and the repeated hammering with a V edged rammer results in converting the mass of earth into a kind of conglomerate similar in consistency to something between laterite and soft limestone. The conglomerate hardens with time and will last for centuries, if protected against direct impact of heavy rain and running water.

The tools are few and simple and can readily be made by the village craftsmen. They consist of a square, a plumb-rule, a set of rammers of various shapes and of a set of wall and corner forms made out of planks and held together by strips of wood or iron.

On a foundation of stone or brick (to protect the bottom of the wall against running water) the planks (10 feet long and 3 feet broad usually) are fitted up and spaced to the thickness of the wall. Softened and slightly moistened earth is thrown between the planks in layers of about 2" thick and rammed very hard till the thickness of the layer is reduced to about half. Then fresh layers are added and a portion of the wall is thus built up. When the space between the planks is filled up, they are shifted and another portion of the wall is built in the same way. Corners and partitions are built by fitting up the mould with special corner pieces.

A mixture of slaked lime with sand thrown on the wall has proved to be a good protection against rain. When the monsoon is very heavy, the walls can be waterproofed from outside with hot tar or asphalt, over which a lime finish can be applied.

The tools and moulds can build many houses. They can be owned by the village *Panchayat* and lent to the villagers who want to rebuild their houses. The work can be done entirely with one's family labour or with the help of the neighbours on the basis of mutuality. The structure is cheap, strong, lasting and can be built high, straight and square, so that after finishing with lime and sand wash it is impossible to make out that the wall is made of mud only.

The walls can take any kind of roof, including the heavy mud roof, which is an interesting subject by itself.

The conglomerate method has a drawback, which in India is a blessing in disguise; it consumes labour only. There is nothing to buy in it, as far as walls go.

Assuming the village *Panchayat* is in possession of a set of moulds and ramming tools, which are lent to the house-holders in rotation, the entire village can be rebuilt in the course of time with the least amount of cost and trouble. The various Provincial Governments may sanction to supply the villages with the necessary equipment at a quite moderate cost of about Rs. 300 per village subject to adherence to a master plan for the village in accordance with its social, economic and sanitary needs.



The conglomerate method of construction lends itself to a vast variety of designs as the same set of moulds and tools can build a house of any shape and size.

The very substantial results obtained with the conglomerate method can be further improved by adding certain substances to the water used for wetting the earth. Also the tools and the construction of moulds can be further improved. Experiments are being carried on and the results will be made known in due course.

MAURICE FRYDMAN

## CATTLE IMPROVEMENT

The following is the gist of a long article by Sardar Datar Singh. He says that inasmuch as India is primarily an agricultural country the improvement of cattle means nothing more nor less than the development of agriculture. India possesses over 29% of the world's cattle population and yet the production of milk per capita is very low. It works out at 7 ounces per head per day here as against 56 and 45 respectively in New Zealand and Australia. 20 to 30 ounces per day is the minimum required according to dietary standards so that our output would have to be more than trebled. The average quantity of milk yield per cow per year is only 750 lbs. which too is sadly below standard. The root cause of this low yield is malnutrition. Against the total estimated annual requirements of 270 million tons roughage and 50 million tons of concentrates only 175 and 3.75 million tons are available respectively. In addition there is wastage in storing, drying, harvesting and preparation of food and fodder.

I. The Sardar makes the following suggestions in regard to proper feeding :

(a) The cultivation of fodder crops must be increased by encouraging cultivators to put more acreage aside for this purpose. The most nutritious and high yielding fodders should be cultivated and in addition a number of perennial grasses can be introduced, such as Elephant, Guinea, Rhodes as also leguminous crops, e. g. Berseem and various types of beans which make good mixtures with non-leguminous crops.

(b) The conservation of fodder crops and elimination of waste through silage, also improved methods of drying fodder.

(c) The provision of good and ample grazing areas. Grazing lands having diminished greatly in area, it is imperative to adopt some system of controlled grazing on existing lands. Pastures available on canal banks can also be utilized with advantage.

In this connection the Sardar emphasizes the importance of utilization of land under forests. It has been estimated that 107 million acres of land is under forests in India as compared to 362 millions of cultivated land. Very little use has been made of this vast forest wealth. For example, out of about 33 million head of cattle in the U. P., only about one million make any use of these grazing areas. The number of cattle in the whole of India is 97 million out of which 8½ million only may be said to be using forest pasture lands. Plans

are afoot which visualize doubling of the present forest area in terms of square miles of forest in British India. The theory that opening of forest areas will have a destructive effect on plantation is quite incorrect. Experiments have shown that grazing in itself when properly regulated is not only not an evil but will even "allow the vegetation to follow out its natural progress towards an ecologically higher type of plant community." The systematic planning of forest lands for grazing on economic and scientific lines is, therefore, a vital necessity.

II. The question of judicious breeding is of very great importance. For this the Sardar suggests :

(a) The supply to each area of a requisite number of bulls of a breed suited to the locality concerned. Caretakers should be appointed to put these animals in an enclosure in the evenings and the villages concerned should be responsible for their feeding. The caretakers should preferably be trained stockmen who can render first aid to the bulls as well as assist in case of cattle epidemics.

(b) The castration of undesirable bulls.

(c) An increase in the number of stud bulls which is ridiculously below India's requirements.

The need is at least one million and if these have to be replaced every four years, as they should be, it means that a quarter of a million bulls have to be supplied every year. This would necessitate the maintenance on special breeding farms of no less than 600,000 cows and 10,000 bulls but as this is neither feasible nor economically sound the Sardar suggests making full use of the existing organizations and institutions such as *goshalas* and *pinjrapoles*. If properly reorganized this could, at a very conservative estimate, provide 25,000 stud bulls annually as well as the same number of bullocks and 50,000 improved female calves every year.

III. The control of contagious diseases is of great import. Over 30 million cattle die annually from rinder pest, haemorrhagic, septicaemia, black quarter and anthrax. Strict attention should be paid to both preventive and curative measures. The average villager should not only be educated in the care of cattle but proper medical aid should also be made available to him.

New Delhi, 27-9-'46

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## HINDU PANI AND MUSLIM PANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A stranger travelling in Indian trains may well have a painful shock when he hears at railway stations for the first time in his life ridiculous sounds about *pani*, tea and the like being either Hindu or Muslim. It would be repulsive now that the Government at the Centre is wholly national and a well-known Indian in the person of Asaf Ali Saheb is in charge of Transport and Railways. It is to be hoped that we shall soon have the last of the shame that is peculiarly Indian. Let no one imagine that Railways being under a Muslim, Hindus may not get justice. In the Central and Provincial Governments, there is or should be no Hindu, Muslim or any other communal distinctions. All are Indians. Religion is a personal matter. Moreover, the members of the Cabinet have set up a wholesome convention that they should always meet at the end of the day's work and take stock of what each member has done. It is team work in which the members are jointly and severally responsible for one another's work. It is not open to any member to say that a particular thing is not his work because it is no part of his portfolio. We have a right therefore to assume that this unholy practice of having separate everything for every community at railway stations will go. Scrupulous cleanliness is a desideratum for all. If taps are used for all liquids there need be no compunction felt by the most orthodox about helping themselves. A fastidious person may keep his own *lota* and cup and receive his milk, tea, coffee or water through a tap. In this there is no interference with religion. No one is compelled to buy anything at railway stations. As a matter of fact many orthodox persons fast for water and food during travel. Thanks we still breathe the same air, walk on the same mother earth.

All communal cries at least at railway stations should be unlawful.

As I have often said in these columns trains and steamers are the best media for the practical education of the millions of travellers in spotless cleanliness, hygiene, sanitation and camaraderie between the different communities of India. Let us hope that the Cabinet will have the courage to act up to their convictions and may confidently expect the hearty co-operation of the Railway staff and the public in making this much needed reform a thorough success.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

## DR. LOHIA AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's letter to the Chief Judge of the Goa High Court deserves more than passing attention. I copy it below from the daily press:

"At the time of my arrest, I had not, so far as I know, violated any Goan law. I may have been intent on doing so but that is irrelevant. The police officer at Collem walked into my compartment, asked me no questions and put me straightaway under arrest. International law, as it stands today, probably empowers the Portuguese Government to arrest and deport anyone whom they consider an undesirable alien but they are surely not empowered to hold him in prison unless he has actually violated some law. The Portuguese Government have in the past declared me as alien and taken up their stand on a provision in International Law with regard to me. They owe me an apology and damages for illegal imprisonment or else they must give up their attempt to apply International Law as between Goa and the rest of Hindustan. Furthermore, between September 29 and October 2, they kept me in a cell, which has probably as much ventilation as just keeps a man alive. They owe me an added apology and damages for this kind of treatment.

"I continue to be held in solitary confinement, although under better conditions and I am not taken out of my cell except for bath and I am held incommunicable. These add to the illegality of my imprisonment."

Let no one laugh at Dr. Lohia's presumption in asking for damages. If he had power behind him, the Goan authorities would quickly apologize and offer to pay damages. It is not an unusual thing for big powers to ask for damages and obtain them for injury or insult done even to insignificant subjects. Dr. Lohia is not a little man. Well, India has a National Government. I am sure they are as sensitive as any can be. I should not be surprised if they have lodged their protest and asked the Goa Government to mend their manners. Anyway, let the force of public opinion be behind the National Government and the injured Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. The injury done to him is injury done to our countrymen in Goa and through them to the whole of India.

New Delhi, 13-10-'46

## THE DAIRY INDUSTRY OF INDIA

The following points worthy of serious consideration, most of which have not already been printed in these columns, are taken from Mr. Pepperall's report last year on the dairy industry of India.

The vastness of the problem will be evident from the following figures :

Number of producers of milk in both village and urban areas is 210 and 1.8 lakhs respectively.

Milch cattle in India are one third of the world total ( 219 million ).

Similarly, the consumer population is 400 million.

Mr. Pepperall recognizes at the outset that the question of the cow must be looked at from the point of view of village India. The requirements for India are different from Europe inasmuch as, for example, the cow must continue to be a dual purpose animal.

I. In the matter of *milk production* his conclusions are :

(a) the buffalo must be considered complementary to and not as a substitute for the cow upon whom falls the double duty of producing males for draught work as well as milk,

(b) the increase of milk must come from the better management of indigenous stock rather than by importing foreign bulls. Cross breeding with the latter has not been justified by experience. Dr. Pepperall commends the results achieved at Sevagram with the Gaolao breed. He also recommends more use of bulls bred in Government farms. Bulls must be of selected breeds and placed under competent control as far as care and use of them are concerned,

(c) on the assumption that existing village conditions will prevail with minor modifications for at least the next decade and bullocks will be required for irrigation, agriculture, transport purposes etc., the cow must continue to be a dual purpose animal.

II. Great stress is laid on *proper feeding*. Dr. Pepperall says: "Accepted standards of animal nutrition would place the bulk of India's dairy cattle in the category of acute malnutrition."

(a) The proper feeding of cattle is a science in which villagers should be educated.

(b) Berssem possesses great advantages over Lucerne grass and enough attention has not been paid to its potentialities.

(c) Fodder grown on pasture land should be cut rather than allow daily peregrination of cattle over a comparatively small area which involves much waste. When green fodder is available, oil cake, cotton seeds and other concentrates should be used sparingly.

(d) Concentrates may not be sold and a ban on export of all such needs rigid enforcement.

III. Animal management is not given due attention.

(a) "Whilst the position of actual milking animals is rarely satisfactory, the situation of dry stock is one of absolute neglect." The remedy lies in increase of grazing areas and the ban on export of cattle food. Economic means will, however, have to be found to enable owners of cattle to buy the additional food supply. Much loss of milk accrues

by the practice of preventing animals from getting in calf for a long period.

(b) Mr. Pepperall refutes the Indian claim from experience in other countries that calves cannot be weaned within a day or two after birth. As other suitable foods are available for calf-rearing, endeavours should be made to encourage the practice of early weaning.

(c) The producer of milk must get a satisfactory price for his produce. At the moment there are the widest fluctuations in price varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 per maund. This must be remedied in order to inspire general confidence.

IV. *Methods of production* imply clean, airy sheds with impervious floors combined with hygienic methods of drawing, storing and handling milk. Mr. Pepperall was rightly appalled at "the squalor, filth, ignorance and indifference towards hygienic principles and revolting personal habits, allied to official apathy". Apart from no proper housing, the animals have no pure water supply provided for them. Their surroundings are horribly insanitary; the milk is brought to market in open galvanized cans; the milk market is crowded with people chewing betel nut, smoking, chewing and spitting. Milk is tested by the prospective buyer dipping his hand in it to judge the amount of fat (or added water). This applies to many large cities which were visited by Mr. Papperall as also villages. There is no understanding of the fact that milk is a highly valuable food, subject to easy contamination. It is just as any other merchandise. Small wonder then that an official report on a test of milk in Bombay shows a bacteria count of 36 millions per c. c. These pages of the report make sad reading.

V. *Adulteration* needs no comment. It is a universal evil and needs drastic remedies. It goes hand in hand with corruption. Adulteration also bans 'pasteurization' which would enable milk to be transported some distance, without injury. Since milk cannot be kept more than 5 to 6 hours in its raw state, it has to be disposed of with the minimum of delay. Suitable areas within transportable distance from cities should be explored for milk production on a large scale and a special rail service may be provided.

VI. With the exception of military dairy farms and some concerns such as that of Dayalbag and probably a few private-owned ones, dairies do not really exist in India. They should come into being. All the simpler items of equipment can easily be produced in the country.

Mr. Pepperall condemns the expansion of the military dairy farms at the expense of civilian supplies. Their activities should be fitted into a general food policy for the country.

VII. He considers that *manufacture of milk* products such as evaporated and powdered milk should be undertaken in remote rural areas. "Large irrigation projects in the Punjab and Sind Province represent the best location for manufacture because of the intensive cultivation and density of milk production which would result." He is wholly against the export of cattle from the Punjab. He

advocates the stimulation of manufacture of ghee in villages as a village industry and holds it wrong to deliver milk to distant centres for manufacture and thereby deprive the rural population of valuable by-products and further lower their nutritional standards. Mr. Pepperall does not, however, advocate the manufacture of butter in India as the milk thus utilized is required for liquid consumption. Cheese and butter should be imported from Australia and New Zealand.

VIII. Mr. Pepperall is in favour of *Standardization of milk* but only by responsible organizations.

IX. He advocates *cheap milk schemes* and would place the question of cost as secondary when the health and well-being of the population is a consideration. "The present cattle population, if properly fed, should be capable of providing the whole community with a daily supply of milk on the basis of 1 lb. for each nursing mother and child and 8 oz. for adults."

X. Regarding *price of milk* no uniformity exists. It is worthy of note that the retail price of milk in Bombay and Calcutta is exactly double that of England. He recommends a fixed price for the producer which need not necessarily be high, so long as it is assured and the lowest price that can be arranged for consumers.

XI. In the matter of *subsidies*, Mr. Pepperall suggests financial assistance on a large scale, but in the shape of loans.

XII. Finally he stands for *research* which has been sadly neglected in India. In this sphere he would give priority to "immediate investigation into the causes of and a search for a remedy for the loss of stamina of cattle maintained in wet areas" as also to scientific study in the matter of "manufacture from some indigenous raw material of a suitable and cheap milk container to replace the imported bottle".

The result of Mr. Pepperall's investigations reveal :

- (a) stock in a state of semi-starvation,
- (b) animal management very poor,
- (c) milk production steadily decreasing,
- (d) producers mostly illiterate, indebted and poverty-stricken,
- (e) price of milk the highest in the world,
- (f) average income amongst the lowest in the world,
- (g) widespread adulteration of milk,
- (h) total ignorance of sanitation and complete indifference to hygienic standards,
- (i) corruption and a low standard of integrity, generally speaking,
- (j) apathy of the general public,
- (k) serious neglect of their duties by the public bodies, and
- (l) dairy equipment almost non-existent.

The definite and urgent need for a milk policy has been clearly demonstrated. It is up to the Governments, both Central and Provincial, to take up the matter at once if the health of the population and the cattle wealth of an agricultural country are not further to deteriorate.

New Delhi 4-10-'46

A. K.

## HOW TO MAKE THE WHEEL GO

Certain things catch the fancy of the public from time to time and become the rage. This is as applicable to the spinning wheel as to many other things. It has been sold by the lakh. But where are these *charkhas* today? Why are they not plying? That is the question we have to ask ourselves. How to make the *charkha* go is the problem. It will be a good plan to examine the main causes of why spinning has not become universal and examine the remedies for removing the apathy.

1. The *charkhas* that are for sale are not always in good working order.

2. When they go wrong there is no one to put them right.

3. After selling the *charkha* the seller loses all contact with the buyer.

4. Good slivers are not available.

5. There is no arrangement for weaving of yarn given in.

The above defects naturally damp the enthusiasm of the spinners. How can they be remedied?

1. Every sales depot should be able either to put right any defect in a spinner's *charkha* or replace it with a new one. Charges should be maintained at a minimum. At the same time every spinner should be enabled to acquire the knowledge of putting his own spinning wheel in order.

2. The *bhandar* should register in its books the name and address of every buyer.

3. A printed leaflet of instructions as to how and where to remedy defects should accompany every wheel sold.

4. Reduction in price should be made if there is any defect discovered in the *charkha* sold. Such repairs should be done without charge. Often it would be wise to give a new *charkha* for a damaged one brought to a *bhandar*.

5. *Tunai* should be taught. The sale of ready-made slivers should be stopped. Instead, cotton with the seed should be sold.

6. So long as a loom does not ply in every home the *bhandar* must be able to arrange for weaving yarn brought to it.

The upshot of it all is that *Khadi Bhandars* must give up being sales depots and instead become workshops having true servants of the nation.

KANU GANDHI

[Shri Kanu Gandhi's note is worth study. It should be borne in mind that the *charkha* is not like either the small or large machines of the West. There crores of watches are produced in a few special places. They are sold all over the world. The same tale applies to the sewing machine. These things are symbols of one civilization. The *charkha* represents the opposite. We do not want to universalize the *charkha* through mass production in one place. Our ideal is to make the *charkha* and all its accessories in the locality where the spinners live. Therein lies the value of the spinning wheel. Anything that goes wrong with it should be put right on the spot and the spinners should be taught how

to do so. To teach them is the duty of the Charkha Sangh. Unless we proceed in this manner Khadi will not be able to replace mill cloth. M. K. G.]

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

(From the original in Hindustani)

## HARIJAN

October 20

1946

### REAL INDIA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If my frequent wanderings throughout India of the villages have not deceived me, it can be confidently asserted that the 700,000 villages get and want no police protection. The solitary Patel to a village is a terrorist lording it over the villages and is designed for helping the petty revenue collector to collect revenue due to the *Ma-Bap*. I am not aware of the policeman having aided the villagers in protecting their goods or cattle against depredations of man and beast. The Police Patel is not to be blamed for what he is. He has been chosen for his task which he does well. He has not been taught to regard himself as the servant of the people. He represents his master the Viceroy. The change at the top has not yet permeated the most distant village. How can it? It has not come from the bottom. The Viceroy still retains legal and military powers to remove and even to imprison his ministers. The latter have no power, legal or other, to imprison the Viceroy. Even the Civil Service is still under his control. It is not suggested that the Viceroy does not mean to shed all power nor that he does not wish the most distant village to realize that he is determined under instructions from Whitehall to shed every vestige of British control in the quickest time possible.

The relevance of all this writing is for showing that we do not yet learn from the village in which India lives that every Indian, man or woman, is his or her own policeman. This he or she can only do when neither harbours mischief against his or her neighbour, no matter what religion he professes or denies. If unfortunately the politically minded will not or cannot go as far as suggested here, he must at least shed all fear and resolutely deny himself all protection whether from the military or the police. I am positive that India will not come into her own unless every home becomes its own castle not in the sense of the ages known as dark but in the very ancient true sense that everyone has learnt the art of dying without ill will, or even wishing that since he cannot someone else will do away with the would-be assassin. How nice, therefore it would be if every one of us had this lesson burnt into us. There is much proof in support of the lesson, if we will take the trouble to examine the proof.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

### FIFTH FREEDOM

To four freedoms promulgated by President Roosevelt during the World War II, the Rt. Hon'ble J. H. Hofmeyer, in his address as the Chancellor at the Graduation Ceremony of the University of Witwatersrand added a fifth, viz., freedom from racial and colour prejudice. Said the Rt. Hon'ble Hofmeyer:

"It is a mockery for us to talk of ourselves as a free people, to acclaim ourselves as the inheritors of a tradition of freedom, while we are as a nation to so large an extent the slaves of prejudice, while we allow our sense of dislike of the colour of some of our fellow South Africans to stand in the way of dealing fairly with them, while we let ourselves become the victims of the anti-Semitic doctrines which were a most important part of the Nazi ideology that we have fought to destroy. By way of illustration of what prejudice means in South Africa, I cannot do better than refer to the growing tendency to describe as a Communist — and therefore one who should be condemned by bell, book and candle — anyone who asks for fair play for all races, or who suggests that non-Europeans really should be treated as the equals of Europeans before the law.

"The plain truth, whether we like it or not, is that the dominant mentality of South Africa is a *Herrenvolk* mentality — the essential feature of our race problems is to be found in that fact. The true solution of those problems must be sought in the changing of that mentality. Ten years ago it was announced with a great flourish of trumpets that we had found a solution of our native problem — but there was no change of our *Herrenvolk* mentality. I said then, in an address delivered at this University, that it was futile to make such a claim. Today there are few people who would not agree that I was right. At this time when we are dealing with the Indian problem, though we may be able to settle certain aspects of it, it would be just as futile to claim that we can solve it, while in relation to it also that mentality continues to prevail to so great an extent as is obviously the case today.

"Freedom from prejudice — that is not the least of the freedom for which we must fight. We are paying a heavy price for our sub-servience to it today. Part of that price is material — undoubtedly we are the poorer as a nation because of our unwillingness to make full use of all our human resources. Part of it is being paid in the form of loss of international esteem and goodwill. We cannot hide our prejudices away in a cupboard from inspection by others. More and more the searchlight of the nations is being directed at us. More and more South Africa is suffering because its policies and dominant attitudes of mind do not measure up to what are coming to be accepted internationally as standards of values. But our chief loss is moral loss.

"As long as we continue to apply a *double* standard in South Africa, to determine our attitude towards, and our relationships with, European and non-European on different ethical bases, to assign to Christian doctrine a significance which varies



with the colour of men's skins, we shall suffer as a nation from what Plato would have called the lie in the soul—and the curse of the Iscariot may yet be our fate for our betrayal of the Christian doctrine which we profess!"

He ended with the exhortation: "May you be prepared to say with Thomas Jefferson: 'I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man'."

One only hopes these sentiments will not be forgotten by the speaker and his Chief General Smuts when the case of Indians in South Africa comes up before the U. N. O.

New Delhi, 13-10-'46

PYARELAL

## WEEKLY LETTER

### STATE OWNERSHIP V. CONTROL

The annual meeting of the A. I. S. A. which was held on the 8th, 9th and 10th inst. at Harijan Colony, Kingsway, brought home the fact that with the advent of the National Government several things that were so far regarded from a theoretical plane have entered the realm of practical possibility. About 80 members participated in the proceedings. One of the questions discussed was about the exclusion of mill cloth from certain areas and laying an embargo on the erection of new textile mills in order that mill cloth should not compete with and kill Khadi. Gandhiji had suggested that in certain areas where the people are prepared to try out the experiment of self-sufficiency in cloth, the Government should prohibit the entry of mill cloth. He had also advised the Provincial Governments that if they were serious about making Khadi universal, they should not erect new textile mills nor permit them to be erected. They could not spend crores on new mills and yet expect the villagers to take their Khadi schemes seriously. The villager was a shrewd person. He would at once begin to suspect their *bona fides*, if they talked to him of self-sufficiency in cloth and at the same time allowed new textile mills in their province.

A member suggested that the A. I. S. A. might pass a resolution requesting the Government to nationalize all new textile mills and the existing ones also as soon as practicable. Gandhiji demurring to the suggestion explained that they could not ask the Government to nationalize new textile mills when they were telling them that Khadi and the erection of new mills could not go together. Shri T. Prakasam the Premier of Madras had already made an announcement to the effect that no new textile mills would be erected in the Madras Presidency. They might ask for the nationalization of the existing mills but he himself preferred putting them under strict State control to taking charge of and running them as a State concern. As a believer in non-violence he believed in trusteeship. He wanted a peaceful conversion of mill owners, so that the mill owners and their employees would all come under social control voluntarily. That meant that though, for instance, X might continue to be the legal owner, he would only take such commission out of the profits for himself as was

warranted by his services and sanctioned by the people. The real owners would be the labourers in the mills. In one of the Tata concerns the labourers were reported to have become profit-sharers. Shri J. R. D. Tata's speech in that connection was worthy of perusal. He (Gandhiji) considered such solution to be the best. Several mill-owners had assured him that they were ready to co-operate in any such scheme, if required, and would prevent further expansion of their textile mills. He deprecated the idea of joint control of the mill industry by the Government, the A. I. S. A. and the mill owners. "Our job is not to run mills but to ply the little wheel by the hand. Why should we spend time in discussing a thing which lies outside our sphere of action. I would not shed a single tear if all the mills were to close. If mills flourish, Khadi must die. It might still function as a supplementary occupation for the relief of the poor. But for that you do not need a big organization like the Charkha Sangh." He would, he concluded, be perfectly satisfied if the State exercised control over the textile mills in consultation with them and so far as possible according to their advice.

### QUESTION OF SUBSIDY

The question of giving subsidy to Khadi also came up for discussion. The weaving of hand-spun yarn is becoming more and more difficult. The handloom weavers prefer to weave mill yarn. The weaving charges are so high as to render even self-sufficiency Khadi too expensive. "Would it not be advisable," asked Shri Jajuji, "to ask the Government to give those who spin for themselves a subsidy so as to reduce the charges of weaving for self-spinners?" Gandhiji's reply was that they should not ask for subsidy but ask the Government to help in supplying cotton, the necessary implements and the services of teachers and technical experts to those who would take to spinning for their own cloth requirements. He did not want to have it said that the Charkha Sangh was cashing its influence to make the Government squander money on the whims of cranks and faddists. He wanted no favour for the Charkha Sangh which must stand or fall on its merits. He wanted everybody to feel that nothing had been given, at the instance of the Charkha Sangh, which had not been paid back tenfold.

### NO COMPULSION

Another member suggested that the weavers should be required to weave a certain amount of hand-spun yarn and unless they did that the quota of mill yarn should not be given to them. Any kind of compulsion, replied Gandhiji, would only create a revulsion against Khadi. It would then cease to be 'the livery of freedom'. "The spirit of independence is in the air. The weaver might well refuse to be compelled."

"There is control in everything—food, cloth, etc.," argued Jajuji. Why cannot joint control be introduced with regard to weavers?"

"I do not like the idea," replied Gandhiji. "We do not use compulsion with regard to spinners,

We cannot use it for weavers. Let us go to the root of the difficulty. Our initial mistake was that we took to spinning, but neglected weaving. If we had adopted universal weaving along with spinning, all these difficulties would not have arisen. The remedy is to improve the yarn so that the weavers have as little difficulty in weaving as possible. We should reason with the weavers and explain to them that dependence on mill yarn must kill their avocation in the end. Mill owners are no philanthropists. They would draw the noose tight round the handloom weaver's neck the moment they come within effective range of competition with mill cloth.

"If we have faith in the *charkha*, we must forge ahead undismayed by these temporary bottlenecks. The number of handlooms weaving hand-spun will increase in due course. We have got enough artisans and indigenous skill in our country to produce all the cloth that we require for ourselves."

#### SNAIL'S PACE?

Jajuji: "This means that the work must go on as before at snail's pace. Our scheme of making 4 lakhs of people self-sufficient in cloth in a short time in this way will not succeed."

Gandhiji: "If it does not, the fault will be ours."

Jajuji: "That is right in the ultimate sense. But circumstances also count."

Gandhiji: "It is man's privilege to overcome adverse circumstances. Is not conquest of nature the slogan of the age we are living in? If circumstances alone had counted, Germany and Japan would have won the war. Let us in this respect take a leaf out of the book of the English people who do not know what it is to admit defeat. We have to cultivate austerity and penance in our life. There is nothing that the power of penance cannot achieve."

#### UNCERTIFIED KHADI V. MILL CLOTH

"You have taught us to be straight and above board in everything," asked another member. "Is it not dishonest to wear uncertified Khadi and be known as a Khadiwala when one does not fulfil the conditions of wearing Khadi? Is it not better to be honest and use mill cloth instead?"

Gandhiji replied that he did not approve of uncertified Khadi, but he was of opinion that Khadi, so long as it was genuine stuff, was preferable to mill cloth. All uncertified Khadi was not dishonest. For instance, people who spin for themselves or their family and have their yarn woven do not use certified Khadi. Yet such Khadi is of the highest merit. Certified Khadi carries the guarantee that the rules of the A. I. S. A. have been observed, as for instance paying to the spinners a certain minimum wage. Khadi, even when the spinners were not paid the standard A. I. S. A. wage, was preferable to mill cloth. The higher wages paid to labourers in the spinning mills were more apparent than real. Mill cloth was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times cheaper than Khadi today. Experts had told him that if the mill industry did not receive special privileges and concessions in several ways, which it today enjoyed,

mill cloth would not sell cheaper than Khadi. For instance, we provide cheap transport facilities to the mills to enable raw materials and mass produced finished goods to be taken from one place to another. Again, enormous sums have been spent on growing long-staple cotton or on starting technical institutes and on research work. No one had bothered to do anything for any of the seven lakhs of India's villages. So the mills were today actually being subsidized in some shape or other. "Remove all that and then see whether mill cloth is cheaper than Khadi."

He could not possibly encourage uncertified Khadi, continued Gandhiji, but mill cloth should be absolutely taboo. "A day might come when the A. I. S. A. might stop issuing certificates. Anybody would then be free to sell Khadi. That would be inevitable when Khadi becomes universal. The Charkha Sangh will then function as the custodian of the ethics and the general policy of Khadi. Its business activities will cease. People must become honest by habit and insist upon meticulous honesty on the part of the producers of and dealers in Khadi so that only genuine stuff is sold and bought.

"I have called Khadi and the *charkha* the symbols of non-violence. But it is said there is dishonesty even in certified *bhandars*. I wish it were not so. But there is no denying the fact that it is true of some.

"I have objected to the term vegetable ghee because it is not ghee. It should be labelled as vegetable oil. Similarly, I cannot tolerate that cloth which is not Khadi, i. e. is not hand-spun and hand-woven, should pass as such. The ultimate remedy lies in the buyer's hands. "Buyer beware" is a sound legal maxim for all to remember."

#### A HARD TESTING GROUND

In one of his public addresses, Gandhiji once described public life of his conception as a testing ground and probation for the cultivation of the highest spiritual qualities in man. How hard a testing ground it can prove was brought home to him and us all the other day when in the course of his delicate mission during the week he found himself nodding. His nod consisted in being over-hasty, in reading a paragraph hurriedly though there was no occasion for hurry. He fancied it was alright when it was not. Luckily the mistake was detected in time and no harm came out of it. But it shook him to his depths. It was the first experience of its kind in his long life, he remarked. Was it a sign of creeping senility in his 78th year? Then he had no business to be in public life. He arraigned himself before the tribunal of his conscience and accused himself of gross negligence "which is criminal in a public man." Not satisfied with it he made a confession of his error before the evening prayer gathering when he explained to them the anatomy of his error through a befittingly high-powered lens.

#### IMPORTANCE OF CONFESSION

"I have ever followed the maxim," he began, "that one should not let the sun to go down upon one's error without confessing it. No mortal is proof against error. Danger consists in concealing one's

error, in adding untruth to it in order to gloss it over. When a boil becomes septic you press out the poison and it subsides. But should the poison spread inwards, it would spell certain death. Years ago, in Sabarmati Ashram, we had several cases of small-pox. All those in which the eruption came out escaped. But in one case it did not come out, the whole body became red and inflamed and the poor patient died. Even so it is with error and sin. To confess an error or sin as soon as it is discovered is to purge it out."

According to his life's practice, proceeded Gandhiji, as soon as he had discovered his mistake in the present case he had admitted it to his friends. But he could not rest till he had blazoned it to the whole world by speaking to them. "Friends may say that it was no sin but mere oversight—a trivial mistake. I draw no distinction between error and sin. If a man commits a *bona fide* mistake and confesses it with a contrite heart before his Maker, the merciful Maker sterilizes it of all harm. Throughout my long life I do not remember a single instance of anybody having suffered harm as a result of my *bona fide* mistakes."

"What penance shall I make for it?" asked Gandhiji of himself and replied: "To resolve never to let it happen again. This is the only way to really expiate for an error."

#### DEATH-BED REPENTANCE

"There is a saying in English that there is none so fallen but can redeem himself, if only he has the will. We have the promise that no matter how far gone in sin the sinner may be, God will forgive him, if he confesses his sin and repents of it even with his last breath. I believe in future life and in the continuity of *Karma* through successive births. What we sow here we must reap elsewhere—there is no escape. But if one repents, even on one's death-bed the repentance will burn away sin and sterilize it of consequences. Pray for me, therefore, that I may never commit such a mistake again in my life."

He ended by expressing the hope that they would all learn a lesson from his example and never be hasty or careless in their actions. Whilst the confession had relieved his mind of a burden, it had badly shaken his confidence in his ability to live up to 125 years and it might be a long time before his self-confidence would return. As an aid to introspection and in order to conserve his energy he has since taken to indefinite silence for all normal purposes and breaks it only to address the evening prayer gatherings or whenever it may be necessary for his present mission to Delhi.

#### HIS SILENT PRAYER

What fills the depth of his silence? A fleeting glimpse was afforded today when he scribbled out a short Monday message to be read out at the evening prayer gathering. "Man should earnestly desire the well-being of all God's creation and pray that he may have the strength to do so. In desiring the well-being of all, lies his own welfare; he who desires only his own or his community's welfare is selfish and it can never be well with him." Gandhiji

said that it is essential for man to discriminate between what he may consider to be good and what is really good for him.

#### PLENTIFUL HARVEST

If the results of Shri Kanu Gandhi's third spinning class which concluded after six days on Saturday last is an indication, the harvest is verily plentiful, the lack is only one of labourers.

22 women and 28 men attended as it was decided not to admit a larger number. The speciality about the examination this time was that entrants came from two other classes that were held in other places. One of these was for Harijan women, twenty of whom attended. Seven of these went in for the examination. 12 women were taught in another centre, 3 of whom came for the examination which was conducted for 1½ hours and included all the processes up to spinning. The results were as follows:

22 persons span over 50 rounds including all the processes, 9 span over 80 rounds, 4 span over 100 rounds. The count was from 12 to 30.

Among those who took the full course were Mr. Norman Cliff of the News Chronicle, London, and Mr. Andrew Freeman of the New York Post. Both of them resolutely learnt to squat on the ground and to draw a fairly even thread from slivers of their own making. Both of them have purchased *charkhas* and hope to keep up their spinning.

No more classes will be held in the Bhangi Colony. But some of those who have learnt the art are opening classes in their own localities. The District Committee of Ward No. 9 is opening a Charkha Club and a class from the 16th October.

New Delhi, 15-10-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### English-Hindustani Dictionary

A friend asked me the other day as to why the above-named glossary does not appear in the *Harijan Sevak*. I told him it appeared only in the *Harijan* and he was very disappointed. I explained to him that it was meant for the English-knowing public and, therefore, was not published in either the Gujarati or Hindustani editions. But anyone who wished to, could buy the glossary page by remitting postage stamps worth one and a half annas. They could buy the back numbers too.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

M. K. G.

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

### Wrong

A correspondent from Madras writes that Congressmen in many places collected funds for Gandhi Jayanti celebrations. People subscribed largely. But the accounts of the money collected have not been audited and the public are not aware how the money has been spent.

If this is true, it is wholly wrong. Money given for charity belongs to the public. Gandhiji has again and again said that such money is a public trust. It should be carefully guarded and spent for the public good. It goes without saying that accounts of every pie should be kept.

New Delhi, 11-10-'46

A. K.

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### ONENESS OF COSTUME A CURE?

*Q.* "In these last four weeks, I have seen so much bloodshed and firing that it has left a bitter taste in my mouth. Every day since the riots started, I have been on duty as a magistrate trying to maintain the peace. Now, more than ever before, I am convinced of the necessity that we should insist on every Indian wearing the same nationalist dress—as you remember I had broached the subject before but at the time you had not approved of the idea. Why is it that none of the stabbings have been of people wearing a shirt and pant? This should be conclusive proof that the dress causes the difference in religion to be accentuated. Your reply to this through the *Harijan* for others like me who think that communal riots would disappear within a short time on our wearing the same kind of dress would be most appreciated."

*A.* I publish this as from a well-versed, well-meaning friend. These three qualities combined do not necessarily make for clearness of thought. What is wanted is not oneness of costume but oneness of hearts. We have only to look at Europe to demonstrate the emptiness of the idea that oneness of costume will enable us to get out of the mess we are in. Ill will is like an ill wind. It must go and be replaced by the fresh and bracing wind of good will.

### THE SMOKING EVIL

*Q.* While you have all along written very strongly in favour of prohibition, you have not spoken either often enough or with equal emphasis in the matter of smoking. This evil is increasing with alarming rapidity and even children are increasingly getting addicted to it. The crores that are literally burnt by smoking could be so well utilized in wise ways in our poor land.

*A.* The taunt is true but not new. The reason for want of equal emphasis is to be sought in the fact that smoking has attained alarming respectability. When a vice reaches that state it becomes difficult to eradicate. This admission does not mean that we should not agitate for abatement of the nuisance. How to do so and when is the question. I am sorry to have to confess my inability to answer it.

### THE CURSE OF DOWRY

*Q.* The demand for dowries in the marriage market is growing. None is immune from this injustice. The richer the parent of the prospective bridegroom, the heavier is the demand of the dowry. The problem, now is such that many marriageable girls cannot be married and the state of their parents can better be imagined than described. Popular Governments should help to check the evil through the law.

*A.* It is a curious phenomenon the questioner notices. Education not only does not improve the situation but makes it worse. The affected class has to wake up before the curse destroys the class which in its terrible weakness shamelessly betakes

to it. Let them ceaselessly and restlessly agitate. I know no other way.

### WHY THIS SECRECY?

*Q.* Can you say why, when mutual slaughter between brother and brother is going on, the names of the respective communities should be withheld?

*A.* I confess that the question has often occurred to me. There seems to me to be no reason for this hush hush policy save that it is a legacy from the autocracy which, let us hope, the national Governments have displaced. Those who ought not to know, know who stabs whom. And those who should know are kept in the dark. I am sure there are many Hindus and Muslims and even members of other communities taking pride in being Indians first and last without ceasing to be devoted followers of their own religions and who love to do their best to dissuade blind fanatics from making mischief. I know many such. They have no means of ascertaining facts except through the press. Let darkness be exposed to light. It will be dispelled quicker.

New Delhi, 12-10-'46

## DEADLY EMBRACE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In Bombay a Hindu gave shelter to a Muslim friend the other day. This infuriated a Hindu mob who demanded the head of the Muslim friend. The Hindu would not surrender his friend. So both went down literally in deadly embrace. This was how it was described to me authentically. Nor is this the first instance of chivalry in the midst of frenzy. During the recent blood bath in Calcutta, stories of Muslims having, at the peril of their lives, sheltered their Hindu friends and *vice versa* were recorded. Mankind would die if there were no exhibition any time and anywhere of the divine in man.

Shri Balasaheb Kher, the Premier of Bombay, has described in glowing terms the instance of two youths rushing to still the wrath of a Muslim mob and meeting what they knew was certain death. They met Death as their true friend. Let no scoffer deny the inestimable value of such sacrifice—sacred deed. It would be mock sacrifice, if every such act ended in success, so-called. The certain moral is that, if such instances are sufficiently multiplied, the senseless slaughter on either side in the name of religion will stop. One indispensable condition is that there should be no hypocrisy, no mock heroism. Let us appear as we are.

New Delhi, 15-10-'46

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 38

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## BRIJKISHORE BABU

The death of Brijkishore Babu after a prolonged illness removes a seasoned and war-worn fighter from Gandhiji's Old Guard of *Satyagrahis*. His name recalls one of the most glorious chapters in the history of *Satyagraha* in India. It was during the Champaran mass *Satyagraha* struggle that Gandhiji first contacted him. As yet comparatively an obscure figure in Indian politics, he had gone to Champaran at the importunity of an equally obscure man — Rajkumar Shukla. There was a general outcry against the tyranny of the notorious compulsory indigo plantation which reduced the cultivator to a virtual serf of the European indigo planter. It was a century-old evil, well entrenched behind powerful vested interests and the false tradition of White prestige. Before entering into the fray Gandhiji consulted the local leaders connected with the movement. Besides the late Brijkishore Babu there was Rajendra Babu, who had already won his laurels at the Bar and was tipped for a High Court Judgeship, and a band of half a dozen lawyers. Brijkishore Babu was regarded by them all as their chief.

After a night's full discussion Brijkishore Babu and his followers threw in their lot with Gandhiji.

"But you will have to cease to regard yourselves as lawyers or leaders," Gandhiji told them. "You will have to become copyists and translators. Your main job will be to interpret and translate."

"We shall take time to consider," replied Brijkishore Babu, speaking for them.

The next day he communicated their decision to Gandhiji. They never wavered. Paying a glowing tribute to his memory in his after-prayer discourse the other day, Gandhiji told his audience how instead of sending a message of condolence, he had said in his wire to the deceased's relatives that they should rejoice that Brijkishore Babu had been relieved of his suffering by merciful death. He referred to his firm, unwavering faith and iron will. "Once his mind was made up, he never changed or looked back." He had strong, saving common sense. A shrewd politician, the shrewdest perhaps in Bihar, he had earned the reputation of being a skilful manager of the party machine before he came into contact with Gandhiji. His devotion to Gandhiji was boundless. He sent his daughter Prabhavati even before she became the wife of Shri Jaiprakash Narain to the Sabarmati Ashram. She became as

Gandhiji's own daughter. Brijkishore Babu was a star of no mean lustre in the firmament of Bihar and his memory would ever be cherished.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

PYARELAL

## Notes

### How to Combat Unholy Boycott

A correspondent from Mercara (Coorg) writes to say that many youthful reformers do not believe in animal sacrifice offered to the village gods. Therefore, he says, the villagers have threatened to boycott them. What are the reformers to do?

Reformers all over the world have no easy task. The threatened boycott should have no meaning for the reformers. They must be ready and willing to submit to the hardships entailed by the boycott. They should on no account be angry with the villagers who honestly believe in superstitious practices. It is a question of the real education of the people. These village gods have no existence except in the villagers' imagination. Unmindful of the boycott, they should calmly persevere in their reasoning with the villagers, rendering them all the time such services that the villagers may be in need of. Patience and perseverance will overcome the mountains of difficulties that may face the reformers. The reformers may not summon police assistance against the villagers.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

### Ways of Violence

A straight line is one. Non-violence is a straight line. Lines that are not straight are many. A child who has learnt how to handle a pen can draw as many lines as he wishes. He won't draw a straight line except perhaps by chance. Several readers ask me whether in the violence "permitted" by me several things mentioned by them could be included. Strange to say all the letters received are in English! The writers should re-read my article and they will at once know why I cannot answer those questions. I am unfit probably for the simple reason that I have never practised violence. Above all I have never permitted violence. I have simply stated two grades of bravery and cowardice. The only thing lawful is non-violence. Violence can never be lawful in the sense meant here, i. e. not according to man-made law but according to the law made by Nature for man. Though violence is not lawful, when it is offered in self-defence or for the defence of the defenceless, it is an act of bravery far better than cowardly submission. The latter befits



neither man nor woman. Under violence, there are many stages and varieties of bravery. Every man must judge this for himself. No other person can or has the right.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

### The Coming Congress Session

A basketful of letters are before me in connection with the Meerut Congress session to be held shortly. The correspondents complain of the 'lavish' expenditure that is advertised to be incurred in connection with it. I must refuse to sit in judgment upon the doings of the Reception Committee. I have neither the wish nor the required leisure for study in facts. The following however, I can say without the necessity of studying facts and figures. It may be of some use to the Committee.

There should be no *tamashas*. The Congress session is any day a serious business to be tackled seriously. There can be no side-shows. Crowds should not be attracted. The fact of the Congress session being held is by itself enough attraction.

All illuminations should be strictly avoided. Food to be provided should be of the simplest kind requiring little or no fat and sugar in its preparation. Uninvited guests should bring their own provisions or refrain from coming.

Sanitary arrangements should be perfect and serve as a lesson to all comers. Sight-seers should be discouraged.

New Delhi, 19-10-'46

### Why These Tears ?

In his letter of birthday greetings to me, Principal Kalelkar relates an interesting and instructive Chinese story, of which I give below the following translation for the benefit of the readers of the *Harijan* :

"Dr. Wellington Koo, at one of his meetings in London, once narrated a sweet story about a Chinese family. The eldest member of the family was considered, as with us, the head of the family. As such he had the right to use an ancient family stick by way of punishment whenever necessary. Once a hundred-years-old man used the stick on the back of his seventyfive-years-old son. Tears ran down the withered cheeks of the son. The father asked the cause of the tears which he had never before seen him shed on a similar occasion. The son replied, "Father, your stick has lost its original force. Your feebleness hurts me. Hence the tears."

Kakasaheb was present when the letter was received. I gave it to him to read and he gave me the following story as having been told to him by a Tamil friend :

"One day a High Court judge of Madras is said to have gone out with a friend at the end of the day's work instead of going home as usual. When, therefore, he reached home late in the evening he met his mother standing in the doorway waiting for him. "Why have you come late ?" asked the old lady with a slap on his face. Tears rolled down the son's cheeks.

The friend remarked that it was but natural that a grown-up learned man like him should feel

insulted on being slapped like that. It was strange on the mother's part to have slapped him.

"No, there was no insult in that slap," promptly replied the judge. "It is my proud privilege to receive a slap from my revered mother now and then. My eyes became wet only because I missed this time the strength that used to be in her slap. Evidently she has grown old and weak. Should not that hurt a dutiful son ?"

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

### Fireworks during Diwali Days

I have received several letters complaining of the use of fireworks to celebrate *Diwali*. The complaints are justified. I wrote against this practice in the columns of the now extinct *Navajivan*. I do not know whether the writing had any effect. At present when fire surrounds us, surely there can be no *Diwali*. It is sinful to have fireworks of joy or illuminations or parties consuming sweets and the like while millions are starving.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

### What About Dakore ?

A friend from the Kheda District, who keeps *bhangis* men and women in his house as his own brothers and sisters, writes : "Big temples in Madras are being thrown open to Harijans. Is it not strange that the deluded Gujarat should not throw open the Dakore temple ?" If the deluded Gujaratis become sane, Dakore temple can be thrown open today. But if Gujarat must find joy in hugging a shameful custom, who can prevent her ?

On the Trustees of the Dakore temple rests a heavy responsibility.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

M. K. G.

### Errata :

In the article "Some Posers" in the *Harijan* of 6-10-'46, page 339, column 1, para 2, line 3, "trouble-shooting" should read "trouble-making."

On page 350 in the *Harijan* of 13-10-'46, column 2 line 6 for *self-suppressive* read *self-expressive*. In column 2, para 3, line 2, after 'arts' add 'and crafts.'

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OR

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## RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE A. I. S. A. ON 10-10-'46

1. The A. I. S. A. believes out of its own experience that the means of bringing about conditions in which there will be no scarcity of cloth as is now prevailing in India and other countries of the world such as Malaya etc., lies in the utilization of the spinning wheel and the handloom. India is the only country where the manufacture of Khadi from hand-spinning and hand-weaving has been going on from ancient times and where today, in the face of the extensive existence of cotton mills, pure hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi is being produced through the A. I. S. A.. During twentyfive year's working of the A. I. S. A. nearly seven crores of rupees have been distributed as wages to the poor spinners and weavers.

2. Those Governments that realize the importance of village industries and want to do Khadi work will have to work along the following lines :

(a) A five year plan should be made in which all the students of all the primary, middle and normal schools should be taught spinning. At least one handloom should work in every school. Basic education should be introduced in these schools in the quickest possible time and on the largest possible scale.

(b) Multi-purpose co-operative societies should be started through which the Khadi programme should be executed as a part of village reconstruction work.

(c) Steps should be taken to grow cotton in those areas where it is not a cultivated crop at present. Proper arrangements should be made so that spinners may easily get *kapas*, and all spinning accessories.

(d) Khadi experts should be trained and research work should be conducted for the improvement of Khadi work.

(e) In some form or other spinning should form a part of village uplift work and therefore the employees of the Co-operative, Education and Agriculture departments as also of the District Boards, Local Boards, Village Panchayats, etc. would have to pass the preliminary examination in Khadi (Khadi Pravesh). No fresh appointments should be made unless the applicant passes the above examination.

(f) There is no control at present on hand-woven cloth made from mill yarn. This should be controlled.

(g) Only hand-spun yarn should be used in the looms of the Textile Department and in weaving schools. Spinning and weaving should be conducted in jails.

3. Provincial Governments and States are, therefore, requested to universalize the use of Khadi by the adoption of the above measures along with others. The A. I. S. A. and its branches are ready to help to the fullest extent in carrying out the above programme.

4. Mill owners are requested to help in the carrying out of this important work. The Governments and mill owners in consultation with the Charkha Sangh should so arrange that mill cloth should not be sent to those areas where spinning and hand-weaving work is possible. In addition to this, they should see that no new mills are set up and that no new spinning and weaving machinery is indented for the existing mills. The management of the cotton mills should be conducted under the advice of the Charkha Sangh and the Government. There should be no import from abroad of any cotton yarn or cloth. The Governments should make the necessary enactments to give effect to the above and carry them out.

## CULTURAL CONQUEST

For over 20 years I have seen little of fashionable Indian society or Government circles. All my life in India has been spent amongst Indian Indians. But last spring, when, in the hope of being able to bring some benefit to the peasantry, I took up the job of Honorary Special Adviser to the U. P. Government, "Grow More Food", I found myself plunged into new surroundings. Strange looking people, each trying to look more English than the other, were on all sides. I looked in despair at my office staff. Mill cloth everywhere, shirts tucked inside ugly English-cut trousers, foreign style coats on, in spite of oppressive heat, and Bata shoes tightly fitting the feet. This was bad enough, but when I began to ask their names I found they were all Misters; Mr. Sharma, Mr. Varma, Mr. Gupta and so on, and when they spoke of anyone they all said Mister so and so. Then came the peons and *chaprasis*, obsequiously saying '*Hazur, hazur*', and my discomfiture was complete!

The embarrassment was mutual. When I refused to be called "Miss" or "Madam", they groped like foreigners for Indian forms of address, and when I began to dictate letters, and, eliminating "Mister", substituted "Shri" and "Saheb", it necessitated re-typing many pages, because the foreign habit had become too deeply engrained to disappear forthwith.

After a few days I started out on a long tour of western U. P., and then a new set of troubles faced me. The Inspection Bungalows and Circuit Houses were all furnished in purely English (in India) style. Stuffy smelling sofas and chairs, quantities of tables, large fashionable beds, with rails or parrels along the top, so that you could not throw your arms above your head on a hot night—and the nights were hot enough in May and June—bad smelling carpets on the floors harbouring years of dirt and dust, gauze in the windows keeping out all fresh air, and worst of all unsteady commodes (which are a nightmare for those who do not like to sit in European style) placed in every bathroom, and always in close proximity to the living rooms. As to the kitchens the less said about them the better.

Is it not time that these unsuitable customs in speech, dress and mode of living, quit India along with the *raj* they represent?

MIRABEHN

# HARIJAN

October 27

1946

## HAND-SPUN V. MILL CLOTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Premier of Madras has fallen foul of the big capitalist interests such as the Chamber of Commerce and even some Congressmen. I have had cuttings sent to me from the Madras Press. I am sorry to say that the criticism seems to me to be interested and ignorant.

My name has been dragged in the controversy. That I sponsor the Premier's scheme should not affect a dispassionate discussion of the very simple problem.

The simple question is merely this: Can Khadi become universal in Madras if encouragement is given by the Madras Government to new mills being erected or old ones being so expanded as to enable them to double production? Are the villagers expected to be so simple as not to understand that it would be merely playing with Khadi, if mill cloth heavily aided is to be dumped down in their midst, probably at a rate cheaper even than cotton required to weave a particular length of Calico? This happened when Japan sent her Calico to India.

The Madras Scheme is undoubtedly meant to utilize a part of the idle hours of the villagers for spinning sufficient yarn to clothe themselves. Is it chimerical to induce and expect the people to utilize their idle hours to do useful, national, honest labour?

It will be time to declaim against the Madras Government when there is a feasible scheme to find useful and more remunerative employment for all who need work. It is hardly an honourable pastime to dismiss from consideration honest servants of the nation by dubbing them idealists, dreamers, fanatics and faddists.

Let not capitalists and other entrenched personages range themselves against the poor villagers and prevent them from bettering their hard lot by dignified labour.

The great flaw about new mills in the Madras scheme was detected by me. It was when the Textile Commissioner was convinced of the absurdity of the two things running side by side and the feasibility of the scheme as envisaged by the A. I. S. A. that he ventured to recommend it to the Madras Government. His reputation will be at stake if it is impracticable or unworkable, not the critics.

This is work for democracy by a democratic Government.

Hence the scheme must be popular at least where it is to be tried.

It must not be one man's scheme but the whole Government's.

It must have the backing of the Legislature.

In no case may it smack of compulsion.

It must be intrinsically practicable and of benefit to the masses.

These conditions of success are all reduced to writing. The Government have accepted them *in toto* after, I understand, full discussion with experts and among themselves.

Let it be remembered that the existing Madras mills will not be touched at present. That the whole mill industry will be affected, if the scheme spreads like wild fire as I expect some day such a thing must, goes without saying. Let not the largest capitalist rue the day when and if it comes.

The only question then worth considering is whether the Madras Government are honest and competent. If they are not, everything will go wrong. If they are, the scheme must be blessed by all and must succeed.

New Delhi, 17-10-'46

## THE TRAVAIL

A friend was discussing with Gandhiji the other day the recent gruesome happenings in Calcutta. His sensitive and refined spirit shrank from the very idea of narrow communalism. What filled him with anguish was not the loss of life so much, deplorable as it was, as the degradation of the human spirit that had resulted from the Calcutta happenings. "Even those who never thought in terms of communalism are now becoming communal-minded. But that was not all. The madness has spread."

As Gandhiji sat listening to the stories that came from Bengal, his mind was made up. "If I leave Delhi," he remarked, "it will not be in order to return to Sevagram but only to go to Bengal. Else, I would stay here and stew in my own juice."

He consulted two friends from Bengal that evening about it. "Allow us to go there first and report," said they. "Give us a chance to do our bit and then, if necessary, you can come." Gandhiji agreed.

In the course of the talk, one of them asked Gandhiji whether he would recommend fasting to check the orgy of communal madness that was spreading in Bengal. Gandhiji's reply was in the negative. He narrated how a valuable colleague from Ahmedabad had invited him to immolate himself. "We believe in the non-violent way but lack the strength. Your example would steady our wavering faith and fortify us." The logic was perfect and the temptation great. "But I resisted it and said 'no'. There is no inner call. When it comes, nothing will keep me back. I have reasoned with myself too about it. But I need not set forth my reasons. Let people call me a coward if they please. I have faith that when the hour arrives God will give me the strength to face it and I won't be found unready."

## THE WAY OF THE CROSS

"Fasting cannot be undertaken mechanically," he proceeded. "It is a powerful thing but a dangerous thing if handled amateurishly. It requires complete self-purification, much more than what is required in facing death with retaliation even in mind. One such act of perfect sacrifice would suffice for the whole world. Such is held to be Jesus' example."

"The idea is," he continued, "that you appropriate to yourself and assimilate the essence of his sacrifice, symbolically represented by the bread and wine of the Eucharist. A man who was completely innocent offered himself as a sacrifice for the good of others, including his enemies and became the ransom of the world. It was a perfect act. 'It is finished' were the last words of Jesus, and we have the testimony of his four disciples as to its authenticity.

"But whether the Jesus tradition is historically true or not I do not care. To me it is truer than history because I hold it to be possible and it enshrines an eternal law—the law of vicarious and innocent suffering taken in its true sense."

He then proceeded to show how the lesson of Jesus could be applied to the present situation. "A Hindu and a Mussalman braved the fury of the maddened crowd in Bombay and went down together literally clasped in a fatal embrace but refused to desert each other. Rajab Ali and Vasantrao Hegishte similarly fell to mob frenzy in the attempt to quell it. "What came out of it?" people might ask, "the fire still continues to rage." I do not think for a moment it has gone in vain. We may not see the effect today. Our non-violence is as yet a mixed affair. It limps. Nevertheless, it is there and it continues to work like a leaven in a silent and invisible way, least understood by most. It is the only way." As a further illustration of his remarks he recalled the history of the Champaran *Satyagraha*. There had been several bloody risings within half a century preceding it against the infamous compulsory indigo plantation. But each attempt had only resulted in fastening the rivets tighter than ever before. Then came the Champaran mass *Satyagraha*, untainted by acts of violence, and a century-old evil was overthrown in less than six months.

"Go forth, therefore," he concluded. "I have done. I won't detain you for a day longer. You have my blessings. And I tell you there will be no tears but only joy, if tomorrow I get the news that all the three of you are killed."

"It will be pure joy to be so killed," they echoed.

"But mark my words," he resumed. "Let there be no foolhardiness about it. You should go because you feel you must and not because I ask you to."

"That goes without saying," they answered together as they took leave to go forth and face the flames.

#### IN GOD'S HANDS

Remarked Gandhiji at the evening prayer gathering that day that he had received numerous messages from Bengal inviting him to go there and still the raging fury. Whilst he did not believe that he had any such capacity, he was anxious to go to Bengal. Only he thought it was his duty to wait till Pandit Nehru's return and the meeting of the Working Committee. But he was in God's hands. If he clearly felt that he should wait for nothing, he would not hesitate to anticipate the date. His heart was in Bengal.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

PYARELAL

## ELOQUENT FIGURES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When Shri S. Venkateswaran, the Provincial Textile Commissioner, was in Delhi specially for the purpose of the Madras Khadi scheme, I asked him to give me his own figures on the assumption that Madras had no mills and had to clothe the whole Presidency in Khadi.

Here are the figures which speak for themselves :

"Population of Madras Province 53 millions  
Number of families in the Province

$\frac{53,000,000}{4} = 13.25 \text{ millions}$

Quantity of handspun yarn that each spinner can spin every day, working 1 hour per day  $3/8$  of a hank

Total quantity of yarn that will be produced per family per month of 30 working days  $11-1/4$  hanks  
 $\frac{3}{8} \times 30 = 90/8$

(One spinner for each family)  
Production of handspun yarn per family per annum = 135 hanks  
 $= 12 \times 11-1/4 = 9-9/4 = 9.64 \text{ lbs.}$   
or 10 lbs. roughly  
equal to 30 yds. of cloth  
(width 44' average)

Total production of Khadi cloth in the Province  $30 \times 13.25 = 397.5$  million yards

Quantity of Khadi cloth required for clothing the entire population at 20 yds. per adult and 10 yds. per child

$37 \text{ millions} \times 20 = 740 \text{ million yards}$   
 $16 \text{ " } \times 10 = 160 \text{ " "}$   
 $900 \text{ million yards}$

Percentage of production to the requirements of cloth 44.1%

"It seems to follow that we cannot get enough hand-spun yarn for meeting the cloth requirements in full unless each family contributes a spinner working, in the average, for about 2-1/2 hours daily, or unless we can secure about five spinners for every two families in the Province.

"*Handlooms required*: On the assumption that an average weaver, even after due training, cannot weave more than five yards daily, or 125 yards per month (allowing five days, every month, for festivals and other days of rest), the number of looms required for the production of 900 million yards is 6,00,000. The number of handlooms weaving cotton yarn in this Province now is only a little over 5,00,000. The number of cotton yarn looms will, therefore, have to be increased by at least 75,000 to make the Province self-sufficient in terms of Khadi."

Is it extravagant to expect every five persons out of eight to spin one hour per day, say for love of the country of their birth?

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

## THE ORGY OF MADNESS

The week's events were not calculated to lift the darkness that had descended on Gandhiji's spirit and to which I referred last week. "I am trying to take my bearings, to see where I stand," he casually remarked the other day in the course of a conversation. He has since been pouring out his anguish in a series of prayer gathering addresses. There was first the flood havoc in Assam. Thousands had been rendered homeless, property worth lakhs had been destroyed and many lives lost. That was an act of God. But far worse than the news from Assam was the fact that an orgy of madness had seized a section of humanity in Bengal. Man had sunk lower than the brute. Reports were coming through that the Hindus, who are in a very small minority there, were being attacked by Mussalmans. Ever since he had heard of the happenings in Noakhali he had been furiously thinking as to what his own duty was. God would show him the way. He knew that his stock had gone down with the people's so far as the teaching of non-violence was concerned. They still showered affection upon him. He appreciated their affection and felt thankful for it. But the only way in which he could express his thanks and appreciation was to place before them and through them the world the truth which God had vouchsafed to him and to the pursuit of which his whole life was devoted, even at the risk of forfeiting their affection and regard. At the moment, he felt prompted to tell them that it would be wrong on the part of the Hindus to think in terms of reprisals for what had happened in Noakhali and elsewhere in East Bengal. Non-violence was the creed of the Congress. It had brought them to their present strength. But it would be counted only as a coward's expedient if its use was to be limited only against the British power which was strong and while violence was to be freely used against our own brethren. He refused to believe that they could ever adopt that as their creed. Although the Congress had an overwhelming majority of the Hindus on its membership rolls, he maintained that it was by no means a Hindu organization and that it belonged equally to all communities. He had told Acharya Kripalani, who had succeeded Pandit Nehru in the Presidentship of the Congress, that it was going to prove no feather-bed for him. If the Chief Minister of the Cabinet had to wear a crown of thorns the Congress President would have to lie on a bed of thorns. The late Sir Syed Ahmed had called Hindus and Mussalmans the two eyes of India. The Congress President could not possibly discriminate between the two. He was pledged to equally serve both. He, the speaker, had therefore asked him to proceed on a mission of peace to East Bengal to teach people the art of dying without killing. It should be his privilege to demonstrate it by his personal example. He was going there with his wife not to protect one party

but to stop the fratricide which threatened to overwhelm India. It was a good beginning for Acharya Kripalani and his wife. Sarat Babu, the brother of the late Subhas Babu, was going with them. He knew no barriers of caste or creed. Some years ago he was staying at Sarat Babu's house. He came to know how Subhas Babu used to look up to Sarat Babu.

The fair name of Bengal was being tarnished — Bengal that had given them so much, Bengal the home of Gurudev whose *bhajan* they had just heard sung. That hymn asked God to make the devotee wide-hearted and fearless. It was with that hymn on their lips that they were going and it was the audience's duty to wish them every success.

## A WORD TO THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

He appealed to the Muslim League too to turn the searchlight inward. They had decided to come into the Interim Government. He hoped they were coming in to work as brothers. If they did, all would be well. And just as he had exhorted Hindus not to slay Mussalmans nor harbour ill-will towards them, so he appealed to the Muslim League, even if they wanted to fight for Pakistan, to fight cleanly and as brothers. The Qaid-e-Azam had said that minorities would be fully protected and everyone would receive justice in Pakistan. It was as good as Pakistan where they were in the majority and he implored them to treat Hindus as blood brothers and not as enemies. It boded ill for Pakistan if what was happening in East Bengal was an earnest of things to come. He hoped both Hindus and Muslims respectively would stand mutually as surety and pledge themselves to see that not a hair of the head of the minority community in their midst was injured. Unless they learnt to do that, he would say that their assumption of the reins of power was a mere blind. What was going on in Bengal was not worthy of human beings. They had to learn to be human beings first.

## NOT STRAIGHT

Gandhiji's hope that the coming of the Muslim League into the Interim Government would prove to be a good augury was, however, destined soon to receive a rude shock by the inclusion of a Scheduled Caste name in the list of the Muslim League's nominees. It might be supposed, Gandhiji remarked after the evening prayer on Wednesday last, that a man like himself ought to be glad that another seat had been given to a Harijan. But he would be deceiving himself and Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah if he said so. The latter had said that the Muslims and Hindus were two nations. The League was a purely communal organization. How then could they nominate a Harijan to represent them? Gandhiji feared their whole mode of entrance into the Cabinet had not been straight. He could not sense any generosity in the nomination of a Harijan in their quota of five seats especially when he read what was happening in East Bengal. He was, therefore, forced to wonder whether they had come into the Cabinet also to fight. He hoped, neverthe-



less, that his fears would prove to be wrong and that they would work there as brothers, out to serve India as a whole. He hoped too that the Harijan member would prove a worthy son and servant of India.

#### WOMEN'S ORDEAL

"It is not death that matters but how you meet death," he remarked on another occasion. To die at the hands of one's brother is a privilege, provided you die bravely. But what about women who were being abducted and forcibly converted? That no one could be 'converted' forcibly was here beside the point. "And why should Indian women feel so helpless? Is bravery the monopoly of men only? Women of course do not generally carry swords though the Rani of Jhansi did and outdid all her contemporaries in the valour of the sword. Still all cannot become Ranis of Jhansi. But all women can emulate the example of Sita whom even the mighty Ravana dared not touch. Ranis of Jhansi could be subdued."

"Let no one dismiss the example of Sita as legendary," he proceeded and gave the example of Olive Doke who dared to go and live among the unclad primitive Negro tribes in the heart of Africa without fear of molestation. It was that higher type of valour which he wanted Indian womanhood to cultivate. The military and police might protect them from abduction but what about those who had already been abducted or who might be abducted in spite of the police and the military. They ought to learn to die before a hair of their head could be injured. He averred that it was possible for a woman to put an end to herself by choking or biting the tongue.

#### DEATH BEFORE DISHONOUR

The next evening he had to revise the technique suggested above. Dr. Sushila who had heard him the day before had told him—and Dr. B. C. Roy who saw him the next morning confirmed her statement—that one could not end his life by choking or biting one's tongue. The only way known to medicine for instant self-immolation was a strong, poisonous dose. If this was so, he, the speaker, would advise every one running the risk of dishonour to take poison before submission to dishonour. He had, however, heard from those given to *yogic* practices that it was possible by some *yogic* practice to end life. He would try to inquire. His was not an idle idea. He meant all he had said. The very fact of steeling oneself for death before dishonour braced one for the struggle. Woman in our country was brought up to think that she was well only with her husband or on the funeral pyre. He would far rather see India's women trained to wield arms, said the speaker, than that they should feel helpless. The vogue of carrying daggers and revolvers by women was on the increase. He knew, however, that arms were a poor weapon when it came to the matter of defending one's honour against odds. Arms were a symbol of one's helplessness, not strength. When one was deprived of them, generally there was nothing left but surrender.

He then referred to a letter received from a Muslim friend to the effect that he (Gandhiji) was ready to condemn atrocities by Muslims but preferred to be silent when Hindus committed them. He could only say that the charge was baseless. To him all human beings were like his blood brothers.

#### DECENTRALIZING KHADI ORGANIZATION

I wrote at length last week about the various questions that were discussed at the last meeting of the Charkha Sangh. Another question that was discussed was about the devolution of the authority of the Charkha Sangh to local Khadi organizations. It was suggested that the formulation of Khadi policy for each unit of area should be left entirely to local bodies which should be completely independent of the central organization. Gandhiji, while he was entirely in favour of the maximum decentralization of initiative and responsibility, was opposed to the creation of local committees of untrained men and women to take the place of Khadi workers. For organization of Khadi work, what was needed was a body of technicians and experts, men endowed with business talent and filled with the spirit of service. There was no room in it for personal ambition or power politics. The latter had become the bane of the Congress. To get rid of corruption in the Congress organization he had suggested that it should convert itself into an organization of workers. To introduce an element of democracy into Khadi work would be to kill Khadi. The Charkha Sangh was not a democratic organization in the sense the Congress was. It was an organization created by the Congress for the building up of democracy. Like the Directorate of the Bank of England, it was a business organization first and last. Only it was motivated by an altruistic, not profit motive. A business organization of a democratic body could not be bound by the procedure of the democratic vote.

"We want to disperse in the villages," proceeded Gandhiji. "A Khadi worker can have no use for any other sanction save such as persuasion and service can command. The moment he seeks to arm himself with any other, he kills Khadi."

"To make Khadi universal," finally asked a friend, "you need to inspan the co-operation of everybody."

Gandhiji replied that since Khadi workers were expected to be full servants of the people, their worth if there was any could create public opinion in their favour. The need was not for a committee of members who may be a hindrance rather than help, whereas if service drew supporters they would be a powerful help.

"What would be the authority of the A. I. S. A. after Khadi became decentralized?" was another question.

The answer came quick. It was that the authority of the Sangh would be merely moral and, therefore, more potent than at present. Its function would not be to provide money or material but only to smooth the way for Khadi work by the creation of a moral sanction. It would lend the Khadi workers the use of its name but not seek to impose its will upon

them. Its moral authority would be available to anybody who accepted its policy. Even its present assets would be put at the disposal of any unit that was ready and considered fit to claim autonomy, provided only that it guaranteed the right use of the assets allotted to it and bound itself to return the same after a certain period. The Charkha Sangh would have the right of inspection but even that would be at the will of the autonomous unit.

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

PYARELAL

### CHARKHA MANDAL

1. Members of the Charkha Mandal will give six hanks of yarn per year or 320 rounds per month. The condition is that the yarn should be spun on the days fixed by the Mandal and at the place fixed for community spinning. The members will have to make their own slivers by *tunai* and spin them. They will be called Associates.

2. An Associate will pay Re. 1 as admission fee and further give 320 rounds of yarn per month, spun as in clause 1. He will remain an Associate so long as he gives the monthly quota of yarn.

3. The Mandal should make rules as to the time and frequency of community spinning. Anyone who fails to give the quota of yarn for 2 months will be struck off the roll. If he wishes to become a member again, he will have to pay the admission fee a second time. No one will be able to become a member a third time in the same year.

4. Efforts should be made to open such *mandals* in every *mohalla*, village and small town. There may be a central office for each district or province.

5. It is the intention to fix a national day for every month in the whole country, when community spinning should be held at the respective *mandals* at one and the same time.

6. Efforts are being made to start spinning classes along with the *mandals* in various places. At these classes the various processes beginning with hand-ginning with a rolling pin, *tunai*, slivering and ending with spinning will be taught. The admission fee will be one rupee. Those who join the Mandal within a month of learning these processes in the Charkha class will not have to pay an additional rupee for admission to the Mandal. They will only have to give 320 rounds of yarn.

7. Although the yarn spun every month will belong to the Mandal, the spinner in question will be able to buy Khadi with that yarn. The Associates will have the first preference in getting Khadi.

KANU GANDHI

[The Charkha Mandal has evolved out of the three spinning classes held in the Bhangi Colony. How I wish such *mandals* would spring up all over the country! Before that can happen a number of *mandals* should be opened in Delhi. There are several clubs for play and enjoyment. Why not have many *mandals* for national work? —M. K. GANDHI]

New Delhi, 18-10-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

### AN ATTRACTIVE PICTURE

There is a tiny national *Grama Vidyalaya* in the village of Gambhira in Gujarat. Eight students of this school aged from 13 to 17 observed Gandhiji's birthday anniversary by spinning among themselves 36,920 rounds or 578 hanks of yarn in 1,275 man-hours from the 16th of August to the 21st of September. Generally they spin for one hour every day. Besides this, on Gandhiji's birthday, six wheels were kept plying without a break for 24 hours, turning out 43 hanks, while one spinning wheel was kept going non-stop for 77 hours producing 30 hanks. In all 651 hanks of 20 to 32 counts were spun.

The spinners have all written letters to Gandhiji giving a charming account of their school and surroundings.

The students of the *Nutan Rashtriya Grama Vidyalaya* themselves sweep the school and clean their latrines. Off and on they do scavenging in the village itself. They are proud of it too. Writes one of them: "I have always felt that even if we can render no other service to the country, we can contribute our mite by keeping the school building and its surroundings neat and clean. It is pure joy." Another takes pride in the fact that they are all taught to be above narrow prejudices and the feeling of distinction between man and man. They wear Khadi woven from yarn of their own spinning. They have laid out a flower garden for themselves. A girl student describes how on Gandhiji's birthday they built a model of Gandhiji's hut which they decorated with yarn spun by themselves and how they swept clean the village on that day. But to their sorrow they found, while returning after the flag salutation ceremony, that the villagers had already spoiled the roads and footpaths. "They do not seem to realize the importance of cleanliness and sanitation," she bewails.

Other letters indicate a keen interest on the part of the students in the various local problems such as the Harijan question, deterioration since the last five or six years of the village land owing to floods, erosion and so on.

New Delhi, 14-10-'46

PYARELAL

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—V

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Aspiration *n.* सॉस अन्दर खींचना या लेना; तमन्ना, आकांक्षा, सान्स अन्दर कहेचना या लीना, तन्ना, आकांक्षा, चाह ।  
 Ass *n.* गदहा, मूख, बेवकूफ ।  
 Assail *v.* हमला करना, धावा करना ।  
 Assassin *n.* गुप्तघाती, खूनी ।  
 Assault *n.* हमला, चढ़ाबी, आक्रमण, धावा, मारपीट ।  
 Assemble *v.* जमा या अिकट्ठा होना या करना ।  
 Assembly *n.* सभा, मजलिस; मजमा, जमघट ।  
 Assent *n.* हॉ, मंजूरी, स्वीकृति, सम्मति ।  
 Assert *v.* जोर से कहना, हक जताना ।  
 Assess *v.* कर लगाना, मोल या निर्वि ठहराना ।  
 Assets *n.* जायदाद ।  
 Asservate *v.* सौगन्ध खाकर कहना ।  
 Assiduity *n.* जीतोड़ मेहनत, तनदेही, लगन ।  
 Assign *v.* सौंपना, सिपुर्द करना, सुकरर करना ।  
 Assimilate *v.* अेकसा करना या होना, मिल जाना (हचम होकर) ।  
 Assist *v.* मदद करना, सहायता देना ।  
 Associate *v.* साथी बनना या बनाना; शामिल होना या करना; मिलाना ।  
 Association *n.* संघ, अंजुमन; मेल, सोहबत ।  
 Assort *v.* छॉट कर रखना ।  
 Assuage *v.* कम करना, ठण्डा करना ।  
 Assume *v.* मान लेना, समझ लेना; अपने सुपर लेना, अकड़ना ।  
 Assure *v.* यक़ीन दिलाना, भरोसा दिलाना ।  
 Asterisk *n.* सितारा ।  
 Astern *adv.* पीछे — जहाज़का पिछला हिस्सा ।  
 Asthma *n.* दमा ।  
 Astir *adv.* चलता-फिरता; जागा हुआ; हिलता हुआ ।  
 Astonish *v.* अचम्भेमें डालना, हक्का-बक्का होना या करना ।  
 Astound *v.* देखो, Astonish ।  
 Astral *adj.* सितारे का, नक्षत्र-सम्बन्धी ।  
 Astray *adv.* भटकता हुआ, भूला-भटका, गुमराह ।  
 Astride *adv.* दाँगे चौर कर (जैसे घोड़े पर) ।  
 Astringent *adj.* सुकेरु, कब्ज करनेवाली दवा ।

- Astrology *n.* ज्योतिषविद्या ।  
 Astronomy *n.* आकाशविद्या ।  
 Astute *adj.* चतुर, चालाक ।  
 Asunder *adv.* अलग-अलग, टुकड़ा-टुकड़ा ।  
 Asylum *n.* आश्रम, पनाहघर ।  
 At *prep.* में, पर, से; तरफ, ओर ।  
 At all बिल्कुल, जरा ।  
 At all events हर हालत में ।  
 At any cost हर सूरत में ।  
 At all times हर दम, हर समय या वक़्त ।  
 At any rate जिस तरह हो सके, जिस तरह बन पाये ।  
 At best अच्छी-से-अच्छी हालतमें ।  
 At ease चैनसे, आरामसे ।  
 At first पहले ।  
 At first sight देखते ही ।  
 At hand पास, नज़दीक ।  
 At home घरमें, घरका-सा ।  
 At last अन्तमें, आखिरमें ।  
 At least कम-से-कम ।  
 At most ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा ।  
 At once अभी, अकदम, इसी वक़्त ।  
 At peace अमन-चैन में, आराम में ।  
 At pleasure जब जी चाहे ।  
 At present अभी, फ़िलहाल ।  
 At random अटकलपट्टू ।  
 At sea समन्दर पर; ख़ुलझन में ।  
 At times कभी-कभी ।  
 At war लड़ाई में ।  
 At worst बुरी-से-बुरी हालतमें ।  
 At, to be *v.* पीछे पड़ना ।  
 At it, to be *v.* भिड़ा या जुटा हुआ रहना ।  
 Atheist *n.* नास्तिक, काफ़िर ।  
 Athirst *adj.* प्यासा ।  
 Athlete *n.* पहलवान, कसरती ।  
 Atlas *n.* नक्शोंकी किताब ।  
 Atmosphere *n.* वायुमण्डल, फ़िज़ा ।  
 Atom *n.* कण, ज़र्रा ।  
 Atone *v.* प्रायश्चित्त करना, हरजाना या दण्ड देना, कफ़ारा देना ।  
 Atony *n.* कमजोरी ।  
 Atrocious *adj.* बहुत बुरा, बेरहम, निर्दय, घोर ।  
 Atrocity *n.* महापाप, बेरहमी, निर्दयता, पाज़ीपन ।  
 Atrophy *n.* सूख जाना ।  
 Attach *v.* बाँधना, नत्थी करना; कुक़्त करना, जव्त करना ।  
 Attache *n.* राजदूतका सहकारी, अेलची ।  
 Attache case *n.* कागज़ रखनेका छोटा बक्स ।

Attachment *n.* मोह, प्यार, प्रेम; कुर्की ।

मोह, प्यार, प्रेम; कुर्की

Attack *n.* हमला, आक्रमण । حملہ, آक्रम

Attain *v.* पाना, पहुँचना, पूरा करना । پانا, پہنچنا, پورا کرنا

Attainder *n.* शहरी अधिकार या हकसे महसूस होना (शहरी के लिये) । شہری ادھکار یا حق سے محروم ہونا (غداري کے لئے)

Attempt *v.* कोशिश या जतन करना । کوشش یا جتن کرنا

Attend *v.* ध्यान देना, चित्त, मन या कान लगाना; सेवा करना; साथ जाना, साथ होना, हाजिर रहना ।

دھیان دینا, چت, من یا کان لگانا; سیوا کرنا; ساتھ جانا, ساتھ ہونا, حاضر رہنا

Attention *n.* ध्यान; खातिर, आदर; सेवा ।

دھیان, خاطر, آدر; سیوا

Attenuate *v.* पतला करना, बारीक करना, कम करना ।

پتلا کرنا, باریک کرنا, کم کرنا

Attest *v.* सही या दस्तखत करना; साक्षी या गवाह होना ।

سہی یا دستخط کرنا; साक्षी یا گواہ ہونا

Attic *n.* अटारी, कैची । اثاری, قینچی

Attire *v.* कपड़ा पहनना या पहनाना; सजाना ।

کپڑا پہنا یا پہنانا, سجانا

Attitude *n.* रंग-रंग, रुख, बरताव । رنگ, ڈھنگ, رخ, برتاو

Attorney *n.* वकील । وکیل

Attract *v.* खींचना, लुभाना, पसन्द आना । کھینچنا, لہانا, پسند آنا

Attribute *v.* लगाना । لگانا

Attribute *n.* गुण, सिद्धांत । گن, صفت

Attrition *n.* घिसाव । گھساو

Attune *v.* सुर मिलाना; ऐकतान होना । ایک تان ہونا

Auburn *adj.* सुर्खी मायल भूरा । سرخی مائل بھورا

Auction *n.* नीलाम, लीलाम । نیلام, لیلام

Audacity *n.* दिलेरी, साहस; गुस्ताखी । دلیری, ساهس; گستاخی

Audible *adj.* जो सुननेमें आ सके । جو سننے میں آسکے

Audience *n.* श्रोता, हाजरीन जलसा । شروتا, حاضرین جلسہ

Audience, to give *v.* दर्शन या मुलाकात देना ।

دَرشن یا ملاقات دینا

Audit *n.* हिसाबकी जाँच । حساب کی جانچ

Augean *adj.* मैला, गन्दा । میلا, گندہ

Auger *n.* बरसा । برما

Aught *n.* कुछ, जरा । کچھ, ذرا

Augment *v.* ज्यादा करना, बढ़ाना । زیادہ کرنا, بڑھانا

Augur *v.* पेशीनगोशी करना, शयन होना या देना ।

پیشین گوئی کرنا, شگن ہونا یا دینا

August *n.* अंग्रेजी सालका आठवाँ महीना — अगस्त ।

انگریزی سال کا آٹھواں مہینہ — اگست

August *adj.* बुजुर्ग, महान् । بزرگ, مہان

Aunt *n.* पूंजी, बुआ, मौसी, चाची, मामी, ताजी ।

پوچی, بوآ, موسی, چاچی, مامی, تاجی

Aura *n.* ज्योति-मण्डल, रुहानी रोशनीका हल्काह ।

جیوتی منڈل, روحانی روشنی کا حلقہ

Aural *adj.* کان के बारेमें । کان کے بارے میں

Aureate, Auric *adj.* सुनहरा । سنہرا

Aurist *n.* कानकी बीमारीका खास डॉक्टर ।

کان کی بیماری کا خاص ڈاکٹر

Aurora *n.* शुषादेवी, शुषा, नूरका तड़का ।

اوشادیوی, اوشا, نور کا تڑکا

Auscultation *n.* वक्ष-परीक्षा, दिल व फेफड़ोंकी हरकत सुनना ।

وکش پریکشا, دل و پھیڑوں کی حرکت سننا

Auspicious *adj.* शुभ, सुबारक । شہ, مبارک

Austere *adj.* सख्त; सादगी-पसन्द । سخت; سادگی پسند

Authentic *adj.* असली, सही । اصلی, صحیح

Author *n.* लेखक, ग्रन्थकार, मुसशिक, बानी ।

لیکھک, گرنتھ کار, مصنف, بانی

Authorize *v.* अिजाजत देना, अधिकार देना ।

اجازت دینا, ادھکار دینا

Authority *n.* अिख्तियार, अधिकार; हाकिम, हुक्मत ।

اختیار, ادھکار; حاکم, حکومت

Autobiography *n.* आत्मकथा, आपबीती । آتم کہنا, آپ بیتی

Autocrat *n.* स्वेच्छाचारी, खुद-मुख्तार ।

سویچھا چاری, خود مختار

Autograph *n.* दस्तखत, सही; अपने हाथका, दस्ती ।

دستخط, سہی; اپنے ہاتھ کا, دستی

Automatic *adj.* अपने आप चलनेवाला; सुचाल; मशीनकी

तरह, बिना सोचे-समझे ।

اپنے آپ چلنے والا; سوچال; مشین کی طرح, بنا سوچے سمجھے

Automaton *n.* खुद चलनेवाली मशीन; बैलकी लकीर पर

خود چلنے والی مشین, بیل کی لکیر پر چلنے والا

Automobile *n.* मोटरगाड़ी । موٹر گاڑی

Autonomy *n.* खुद अिख्तियारी, स्वराज । خود اختیاری, سوراچ

Autonym *n.* लेखकका असली नाम । لیکھک کا اصلی نام

Autotype *n.* दृबद्ध नकल, सच्ची नकल । دُوبدھ نکل, سچی نکل

Autumn *n.* खिजौं, शरद ऋतु; पतझड़, पानखर ।

خزاں, شرد رتو, پت جھڑ, پان کھر

Autumn crop *n.* खरीफ । خریف

Auxiliary *adj.* मददगार, सहायक । مددگار, سہاک

Avail *v.* मदद देना, फायदा पहुँचाना; फायदा खुठाना; काममें

لाना; काम आना ।

مدد دینا, فائدہ پہنچانا; فائدہ اٹھانا; کام میں لانا; کام آنا

Available *adj.* जो मिल जाय; अिस्तेमालके लायक ।

جو مل جائے, استعمال کے لائق

Avalanche *n.* (बर्फका) गिरता हुआ ढेर ।

(برف کا) گرتا ہوا ڈھیر

Avarice *n.* लालच; लोभ (पैसेका) । لالچ, لوہ (پیسے کا)

Avaunt *Inter.* दूर हो ! चलो ! دورहो ! چلو !

Avenge *v.* बदला लेना । बदला لینا

Avenue *n.* रास्ता, राह; सायादार सड़क का रास्ता, बीथि ।

راستہ, راہ; سایہ دار سڑک کا راستہ, بیٹی

Aver *v.* दावेसे कहना, सच मानकर कहना ।

دعوے سے کہنا, سچ مان کر کہنا

Average *n.* औसत, मध्य-मान; मामूली, आम ।

اوسط, مدھیہ مان, معمولی, عام

Averse *adj.* विरुद्ध, खलाफ । وردہ, خلاف

Avert *v.* टालना, हटाना, बचाना, फेरना । ٹالنا, ہٹانا, بچانا, پھرنا

Aviary *n.* चिड़ियाखाना, चिड़ियाघर । چڑیا خانہ, چڑیا گھر

Aviation *n.* हवाबाजी । هوا بازی

Aviculture *n.* चिड़ियापालन । چڑیا پالن

Avidity *n.* शौक, अिच्छुकता; लालच । شوق, اشکنا; لالچ

Avocation *n.* पेशा, धन्धा । پیشہ, دھندا

Avoid *v.* بचना، کینارا کرنا، دُور رہنا؛ ڈالنا ।  
 بچنا، کنار کرنا، دور رہنا؛ ڈالنا  
 Avow *v.* ساک یا स्पष्ट कहना؛ भिकरार करना ।  
 صاف یا سپشت کہنا؛ اقرار کرنا  
 Await *v.* राह देखना, ठहरे रहना । राह دیکھنا، ٹھہرے رہنا  
 Awake *adj.* जाग्रत, बेदार; जगा हुआ । जाग्रत، بیدار؛ جگا ہوا  
 Award *n.* पंच-क्रैसला । پنج فیصلہ  
 Aware *adj.* जानता हुआ, आगाह, वाकिफ; चौकस, सुचेत ।  
 جانتا ہوا، آگاہ، واقف؛ چوکس، سوچیت  
 Away *adv.* गैरहाजिर; बाहर; अलग । غير حاضر، باہر، الگ  
 Away *Inter.* जाओ ! दूर हो ! ! ! जाؤ ! دور हो ! ! !  
 Away with, to make *v.* नाश करना; छुटा ले जाना ।  
 ناش کرنا؛ اٹھا لے جانا  
 Away with, to do *v.* मार डालना, खतम करना ।  
 مار ڈالنا، ختم کرنا  
 Away, to explain *v.* बातों में झुझना । باتوں میں: झुझنا  
 Away, to fall *v.* हट जाना, छोड़ देना । हट جانا، چھوڑ دینا  
 Away with, to get *v.* ले भागना । لے بھاگنا  
 Away, to go *v.* चले जाना । چلے جانا  
 Away, to work *v.* काम करते रहना । काम کرتے رہنا  
 Awe *n.* डर, भय, खौफ । ڈر، بھے، خوف  
 Aweary *adj.* थका हुआ, थका-मोड़ा । थکا ہوا، تھکا-موندہ  
 Awfully *adv.* बहुत, निहायत । بہت، نہایت  
 Awhile *adv.* थोड़ी देरके लभे । थوڑی دیر کے لئے  
 Awkward *adj.* भद्दा, बेढंगा, बेढब; मुश्किल ।  
 بھدہ، بے ڈھنگا، بے ڈھب؛ مشکل  
 Awl *n.* सूआ, सुतारी । سوا، سوتاری  
 Awning *n.* शामियाना, पाल । शामیانہ، پال  
 Awry *adj.* टेढ़ा । ٹیڑھا  
 Axe *n.* कुल्हाड़ी । کلہاڑی  
 Axe, to grind *v.* मतलब निकालना, झुल्लू सीधा करना ।  
 مطلب نکالنا، الو سیدھا کرنا  
 Axilla *n.* बगल । بگل  
 Axiom *n.* स्वयंसिद्ध सत्य, जाहिर सच; (माना हुआ) झुसूल  
 یا نیہم (مانا ہوا) اصول یا نیہم  
 Axis *n.* धुरी, महवर । محور، دھوری  
 Axle *n.* देखो Axis । Axis دیکھو  
 Ay *inter.* हाँ । हाں  
 Aye *adv.* हमेशा । ہمیشہ

## B

Baa *n.* में-में (मेड़की आवाज) । میں (میڑ کی آواز)  
 Baal *n.* फिनीशियाका देवता । फینیشیا کا دیوتا  
 Babble *v.* बच्चोंकी तरह बोलना; बड़बड़ाहट ।  
 بچوں کی طرح بولنا؛ بڑبڑاھٹ  
 Babble, secrets *v.* मेद खोलना । مہد کھولنا  
 Babe, Baby *n.* बच्चा; भोला आदमी । بچہ؛ بھولا آدمی  
 Babel *n.* ऊँची भिमारत; जवानोंका अखिल्लाफ या गड़बड़ ।  
 اونچی عمارت؛ زبانوں کا اختلاف یا گڑبڑ  
 Baboon *n.* लंगूर । لنگور  
 Babylon *n.* बाबल (पुराने जमानेकी अक बड़ी सलतनत) ।  
 بابل (پرانے زمانے کی ایک بڑی سلطنت)  
 Bacchus *n.* यूनानका सुरा-देव, शराबका देवता ।  
 یونان کا سرادیو، شراب کا دیوتا  
 Bachelor *n.* कुआरा । کنوارا

Bachelor of Arts *n.* फाजिल, विशारद । فاضل، وشارد  
 Bacillus *n.* जारासीमकी अक किस्म, कीटाणुकी अक किस्म ।  
 جرثیم کی ایک قسم-کیٹانو کی ایک قسم  
 Back *n.* पीठ, पुस्त, कमर । کمر، پشت، پیٹھ  
 Back *v.* सहारा देना, पीठपर होना; पीछे हटना ।  
 سہارا دینا، پیٹھ پر ہونا؛ پیچھے ہٹنا  
 Backbite *v.* चुगली खाना, निन्दा करना । चुغلی کھانا، ندا کرنا  
 Backbone *n.* रीढ़की हड्डी । ریڑھ کی ہڈی  
 Backdoor *n.* चोर दरवाजा; पीछेका दरवाजा ।  
 چور دروازہ؛ پیچھے کا دروازہ  
 Background *n.* पसंजर, भूमिका । پس منظر، ہومیکا  
 Backhanded *adj.* झुलटे हाथसे । اٹتے ہاتھ سے  
 Backside *n.* पीठ, पीछेकी तरफ । پیٹھ، پیچھے کی طرف  
 Backslide *v.* गिर जाना, फिर जाना । گر جانا، پھر جانا  
 Backstairs *n.* चोर सीढ़ी, पीछेकी सीढ़ी ।  
 چور سیڑھی، پیچھے کی سیڑھی  
 Backstitch *n.* बखिया । بخیه  
 Backwash *n.* समुद्र या पानीका पीछेका बहाव ।  
 سمندر یا پانی کا پیچھے کا بہاؤ  
 Backwater *n.* बन्द खाड़ी । بند کھاڑی  
 Backwoods *n.* जंगल (जो काश्त की जमीन से दूर हो) ।  
 جنگل (جو کاشت کی زمین سے دور ہو)  
 Back of, to be at the *v.* पुस्तपर, पीठ पर होना ।  
 پشت پر، پیٹھ پر ہونا  
 Back of, to be on the *v.* किसी पर सवार होना ।  
 کسی پر سوار ہونا  
 Back out, to *v.* मुँह मोड़ना; निकल जाना, खिसक जाना ।  
 منہ موڑنا؛ نکل جانا، کھسک جانا  
 Back of, to break the *v.* ज्यादा बोझ डालना; कामका  
 زیادہ بوجھ ڈالنا؛ کام کا بڑا حصہ کر لینا  
 Back, to cast behind the *v.* भूल जाना । بھول جانا  
 Back, to put up the *v.* नाराज करना या गुस्सा करना ।  
 ناراض کرنا یا غصہ کرنا  
 Backbone, to the *adv.* पूरी तरह से । پوری طرح سے  
 Back, behind one's *adv.* पीठ पीछे । پیٹھ پیچھے  
 Back, to the wall *adv.* बहादुरीसे, वीरतासे ।  
 بہادری سے، ویرتا سے  
 Backwards *adv.* पिछड़ा हुआ । پیچڑا ہوا  
 Backward *adj.* पीछे । پیچھے  
 Backward and forward *adv.* आगे-पीछे । آگے پیچھے  
 Bacon *n.* सुअरका नमकीन गोश्त या मांस ।  
 سور کا نمکین گوشت یا مانس  
 Bad *adj.* बुरा, खराब, गलत । برا، خراب، غلط  
 Bad blood *n.* द्वेष, दुश्मनी । دوش، دشمنی  
 Bad debts *n.* वसूल न होनेवाला कर्ज ।  
 وصول نہ ہونے والا قرض  
 Bad faith *n.* विश्वासघात, दगा । دغا، و شواس گھاٹ  
 Bad form *n.* बुरा बरताव । برا برتار  
 Bad, to go *v.* सड़ जाना । سڑ جانا  
 Bad, to go to the *v.* बिगड़ जाना, चौपट हो जाना ।  
 بگڑ جانا، چوپٹ ہو جانا  
 Bad grace, with *adv.* दिलसे नहीं, तंगदिलीसे ।  
 دل سے نہیں، تنگ دلی سے



Badge *n.* نشان، چہ، بلا | نشان، چہ، بلا  
 Badger *n.* بیجڑ | بجر  
 Badger *v.* تنگ کرنا، دیکھ کرنا | تنگ کرنا، دیکھ کرنا  
 Badinage *n.* ہڈا، ہنسی، دلگی | ہڈا، ہنسی، دلگی  
 Badminton *n.* بدمینٹن، چیدیا اور بڈکا खेल | بدمینٹن، چیدیا اور بڈکا खेल  
 Baffle *v.* بھکانا، دھوکا دینا؛ مات کرنا؛ ڈرنا | بھکانا، دھوکا دینا؛ مات کرنا؛ ڈرنا  
 Bag *n.* بھلا، بورا؛ شکار | بھلا، بورا؛ شکار  
 Bag *v.* بھلے میں رکھنا؛ لینا، شکار؛ کرنا | بھلے میں رکھنا؛ لینا، شکار؛ کرنا  
 Bagman *n.* فیری والا | فیری والا  
 Bag and baggage *adv.* بیستر بوریسا، خاٹ-خٹولا | بیستر بوریسا، خاٹ-خٹولا  
 Bag of bones *n.* बहुत दुबला, पिंजर ही पिंजर | बहुत दुबला, पिंजर ही पिंजर  
 Bag of bricks, the whole *n.* हरभेक तरकीब या अुपाय | हरभेक तरकीब या अुपाय  
 Bag, to let the cat out of the *v.* मेद खोल देना, भण्डा फोड़ना | मेद खोल देना, भण्डा फोड़ना  
 Bagatelle *n.* निकम्मी चीज या वस्तु | निकम्मी चीज या वस्तु  
 Baggage *n.* सामान, असबाब | सामान, असबाब  
 Bagpipe *n.* शहनाजी | शहनाजी  
 Bah *Inter.* छि | छि  
 Bail *n.* आइ गुल्ली; जमानत | आइ गुल्ली; जमानत  
 Bail *v.* जमानत देना; पानी निकालना | जमानत देना; पानी निकालना  
 Bailiff *n.* नाजिर, अमीन | नाजिर, अमीन  
 Bait *v.* लालच देना, लुभाना; जाल बिछाना, सताना | लालच देना, लुभाना; जाल बिछाना, सताना  
 Bake *v.* पकाना, तन्दूर में पकाना | पकाना, तन्दूर में पकाना  
 Baker *n.* रोटीवाला, नानबाजी | रोटीवाला, नानबाजी  
 Balance *n.* तराजू, कौटा; बराबरी, समता; बाक्ती | तराजू, कौटा; बराबरी, समता; बाक्ती  
 Balcony *n.* बारजा, छज्जा | बारजा, छज्जा  
 Bald *adj.* गंजा, मुण्डा, रूखा | गंजा, मुण्डा, रूखा  
 Balderdash *n.* बकवास, बेमानी बात | बकवास, बेमानी बात  
 Bale *n.* गठरी | गठरी  
 Bale *v.* देखो Bail *v.* | देखो Bail *v.*  
 Baleful *adj.* दुःखदायी, तकलीफदेह | दुःखदायी, तकलीफदेह  
 Baulk, Balk *v.* रोकना, बिगाड़ना; वंचित या महरूम करना | रोकना, बिगाड़ना; वंचित या महरूम करना  
 Ball *n.* गोला, गेंद; नाच | गोला, गेंद; नाच  
 Ballad *n.* गीत, गाथा, कविता, शायरी | गीत, गाथा, कविता, शायरी  
 Ballast *n.* बोझ, भार (जो जहाज को स्थिर या कायम रखे) | बोझ, भार (जो जहाज को स्थिर या कायम रखे)  
 Ballet *n.* नाच | नाच  
 Balloon *n.* गुबारा, हवासे भरी हुअी कोअी चीज | गुबारा, हवासे भरी हुअी कोअी चीज  
 Ballot *n.* गुप्त या पोश्तीदा राय | गुप्त या पोश्तीदा राय  
 Balm, Balsam *n.* सुगन्धित या खुशबूदार रोगन; शान्ति, सुगन्धित या खुशबूदार रोगन; शान्ति  
 Balustrade *n.* जंगला | जंगला  
 Bamboo *n.* बाँस | बाँस  
 Ban *n.* बन्दिश, मनाही | बन्दिश, मनाही

Banal *adj.* तुच्छ, मामूली | तुच्छ, मामूली  
 Banana *n.* केला | केला  
 Band *n.* बन्द, बन्धन; पट्टी, फीता; जत्था, दल, मण्डली | बन्द, बन्धन; पट्टी, फीता; जत्था, दल, मण्डली  
 Bandage *n.* पट्टी | पट्टी  
 Bandana *n.* रंगीन रुमाल | रंगीन रुमाल  
 Bandit *n.* डाकू, लुटेरा | डाकू, लुटेरा  
 Bandy *v.* अिधरसे अुधर फेंकना; चर्चा करना | अिधरसे अुधर फेंकना; चर्चा करना  
 Bane *n.* जहर, विष; नाश, आफत, विपत | जहर, विष; नाश, आफत, विपत  
 Bang *n.* धमाका, खटका | धमाका, खटका  
 Bang *v.* जोरसे मारना या बन्द करना | जोरसे मारना या बन्द करना  
 Bangle *n.* चूड़ी, कड़ा | चूड़ी, कड़ा  
 Banian } *n.* बड़, बरगद; कुरता | बड़, बरगद; कुरता  
 Banyan }  
 Banish *v.* दूर करना, निकालना; जलावतन या निर्वासित करना | दूर करना, निकालना; जलावतन या निर्वासित करना  
 Banister *n.* कठहरा | कठहरा  
 Bank *n.* किनारा, तट, बंक, सराफा | किनारा, तट, बंक, सराफा  
 Bank *v.* ढेर लगाना; बंकमें रुपया रखना; साहूकारी करना | ढेर लगाना; बंकमें रुपया रखना; साहूकारी करना  
 Bank on *v.* भरोसा रखना, अुम्मेद रखना | भरोसा रखना, अुम्मेद रखना  
 Bankrupt *adj.* दीवालिया | दीवालिया  
 Banner *n.* झण्डा | झण्डा  
 Banns *n.* शादी या विवाहका अैलान या सूचना | शादी या विवाहका अैलान या सूचना  
 Banquet *n.* दावत, भोज | दावत, भोज  
 Banter *n.* दिलगी, हंसी, लुठ्ठा, मजाक | दिलगी, हंसी, लुठ्ठा, मजाक  
 Banting *n.* अैसी खूराक खाना, जिससे जिस्म दुबला हो | अैसी खूराक खाना, जिससे जिस्म दुबला हो  
 Baptism *n.* बप्तिस्मा, अीसाअी बनानेकी रीति; नामकरण | बप्तिस्मा, अीसाअी बनानेकी रीति; नामकरण  
 Baptism of fire *n.* सिपाहीकी पहली जंग | सिपाहीकी पहली जंग  
 Bar *n.* सीख, छड़; बिल्ली; रोक, बाड़, मनाही; सोने या चाँदी की आँट; खाने या पीनेकी चीजोंके बिकनेकी जगह; वकीलोंका जुमला, वुक्ला; नदीके मुँहका बन्द | सीख, छड़; बिल्ली; रोक, बाड़, मनाही; सोने या चाँदी की आँट; खाने या पीनेकी चीजोंके बिकनेकी जगह; वकीलोंका जुमला, वुक्ला; नदीके मुँहका बन्द  
 Bar, to pass the *v.* वकील नियत होना, वकालतकी सनद पाना | वकील नियत होना, वकालतकी सनद पाना  
 Barmaid, Barman *n.* साक्ती | साक्ती  
 Barb *n.* खार, नोक, कान्ठा | खार, नोक, कान्ठा  
 Barbed wire *n.* काँटेदार तार | काँटेदार तार  
 Barbarian *n.* जंगली, वहशी, असभ्य | जंगली, वहशी, असभ्य  
 Barber *n.* नाअी, हज्जाम | नाअी, हज्जाम  
 Bard *n.* कवि, गवैया, शायर | कवि, गवैया, शायर  
 Bare *adj.* नंगा, खुला हुआ; कम; सादा | नंगा, खुला हुआ; कम; सादा  
 Barely *adv.* केवल, सिर्फ; मुश्किलसे | केवल, सिर्फ; मुश्किलसे  
 Bare faced *adj.* खुले मुँह, बेशरम, ढोठ | खुले मुँह, बेशरम, ढोठ

# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## WHO CAN BE A TRUSTEE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The task that the A. I. S. A. has undertaken is so vast and great that it calls for a most careful consideration of the qualifications required for a trustee of the A. I. S. A. In my opinion they should be as below:

1. No one should be a trustee merely in name or for the sake of name.

A trustee should have the faith that in a country like India where crores remain unemployed for 4-6 months in the year, everybody can easily be clad in self-spun cloth and need not touch any other if all those who are physically fit spin for a reasonable time every day, say on an average an hour per day.

2. A trustee who has this unshakable faith would spin regularly to set a good example to others and for the satisfaction of contributing his or her mite to the service of the country.

3. He or she will try his or her best to attune his or her life with the life in the villages of India.

4. India is made of villages, but our intelligentsia has neglected them. A trustee of the A. I. S. A. would try his or her utmost to remedy the handicaps from which our village life suffers. In doing so he or she should remember that village life must not become a copy or appendage of city life. The cities have to adopt the pattern of village life and subsist for the villages.

5. If a trustee's husband is connected with the mill industry, she should engage a weaver out of her personal money to weave yarn spun by herself or her friends and relatives and use the cloth thus produced.

6. A trustee should read all the literature about hand-spinning and hand-weaving and understand the economic and moral significance of these crafts. He or she should further understand how they can be universalized and explain it to others.

7. A trustee should study and understand the history of the A. I. S. A. from the beginning to date and how it has revolutionized the various processes of cloth manufacture.

These are my ideas. They cannot be obligatory unless the Sangh approves them. I shall welcome all helpful suggestions by way of amendment or addition.

New Delhi, 27-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati).

## Notes

### Abducted Girls

Q. You have called attention to the fact that girls who are forcibly abducted have not erred and that society would be wrong in penalizing them. In further exposition of your views, would you tell us, if any ceremony purporting to be one of marriage forced on unwilling victims of such outrage, should be considered binding in any way, against the will of the girls concerned? Is it not right that both society and the family should be broad-minded enough to receive them back? In the case of unmarried girls abducted or forced to undergo such mock ceremonies of marriage, should not a special effort be made by society not only to reclaim them, but to help them to contract marriage in the normal manner and thus be completely vindicated and restored to the fold?

A. You are right. All you say follows from my remarks referred to by you. I have no doubt that girls forcibly abducted have committed no crime, nor incurred any odium. They deserve the pity and active help of every right-minded man. Such girls should be received back in their homes with open arms and affection and should have no difficulty in being suitably matched.

New Delhi, 24-10-'46

### English into Hindustani

This fortnightly attempt is proving its use. Its defects are not unknown to me. It is a labour of love for the Rajkumari. Insistence on such an effort was mine. I was anxious to give to the lovers of the blend of Hindi and Urdu something ready-made. The hope then was that the vocabulary will be the joint effort of perhaps half a dozen co-workers. But it could not be. It had to be made where I was. My lot happened to be cast in Delhi. The attempt was not to be interrupted. The Rajkumari took it up with rare passion. But she is no scholar of Hindustani. She produces every fortnight what labour of love can. When and if the labour is completed and the time comes to publish the vocabulary in book form, it will undergo revision and errors and defects will be removed. Friends will therefore please continue to send their corrections and suggestions which where acceptable will be adopted at the time of revision. The chief thing to be borne in mind is that the student may have by him a ready though not scholarly companion to refer to in case of need.

New Delhi, 25-10-'46

M. K. G.

## A TIMELY INTERVIEW

[The following is the text (as published by the Associated Press of America) of an interview which Gandhiji gave to Mr. Preston Grover on October 21, 1946 at the Sweepers' Colony, New Delhi.]

### EAST BENGAL

Mahatma Gandhi declared in an interview today that the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal should be able to control the outbreak of disorders in East Bengal in which a good few thousands have been driven from their homes and an undetermined number killed or kidnapped.

"Control will depend on the Ministry," he said, referring to the Bengal Ministry of which the Muslim Leaguer H. S. Suhrawardy is head. "If the Muslim League wanted to control it, I should think that it could." He recalled that the Muslim League "has the overwhelming percentage of Muslim voters on their side."

He described the Bengal outbreak as "heartbreaking".

His comments on the outbreak of robbing, burning and looting in East Bengal were made in his small room in the Untouchable Colony where he has lived most of the time since the arrival of the British Cabinet Mission in March. He sat on a thin mat with a small sloping desk before him and I sat on the floor while he talked of many things including America; the New Government in India, South Africa and his own health.

He announced again his intention of visiting the troubled areas in Bengal after his meeting on October 23 with Pandit Nehru and the Working Committee where they will discuss problems created by the entry of the Muslim Group into the Central Ministry.

"The fact that I go there will satisfy the soul and may be of some use," he said.

"Will the Muslims listen to you?" he was asked.

"I don't know," he said. "I don't go with any expectation, but I have the right to expect it. A man who goes to do his duty only expects to be given strength by God to do his duty."

To a question as to when this type of disturbances would end in India he replied:

"You may be certain that they will end. If the British influence were withdrawn they would end much quicker. While the British influence is here, both parties, I am sorry to confess, look to the British power for assistance."

### RECONSTITUTING THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Turning to the affairs of the Interim Government, Mahatma Gandhi regretted the statement of Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Muslim League selection for the Central Government. To Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan's statement that the League was going into the Interim Government to fight for Pakistan, Mr. Gandhi said:

"That is an extraordinary and inconsistent attitude. The Interim Government is for the interim period only and may not last long. While it is in office it is there to deal with the problems that face the country — starvation, nakedness, disease, bad communications, corruption, illiteracy. Any one of these problems would be enough to tax the best minds of India. On these there is no question of Hindu or Muslim. Both are

naked. Both are starving. Both wished to drive out the demon of illiteracy and un-Indian education.

"There is not much time to elapse between this Government and that to be set up by the Constituent Assembly. The time will be shortened if both apply their will to the completion of the work on the Constituent Assembly.

"The Constituent Assembly is based on the State Paper. That Paper has put in cold storage the idea of Pakistan. It has recommended the device of "grouping", which the Congress interprets in one way, the League in another and the Cabinet Mission in a third way. No law-giver can give an authoritative interpretation of his own law. If then there is a dispute as to its interpretation, a duly constituted court of law must decide it."

"But if the Muslim League do not accept the court interpretation?"

"They cannot impose theirs on others. If they do, they put themselves in the wrong box. The alternative is to come to blows. We are all savages and come to blows often when we don't agree. Yet we are all gentlemen. This is so whether in America or Europe."

### MADRAS KHADI PLAN

Asked for his reaction to the decision of the Madras Ministry which has decided against any expansion of the cotton mills industry in the Province in order to promote the Gandhian plan for home spinning and weaving, the Mahatma said:

"I think it is the finest thing going. If you want to follow this logically, then you must follow it through."

Asked whether it would then be logical to 'follow through' to the extent that mills presently in the Province would be stopped, he replied that if in time, through the progressive programme, the mills came to have no customers, then they would quit — "unless they chose to sell outside India."

He assailed the Natal Sugar Mills industry as responsible for bringing indentured Indians there to work and thus creating the segregation problem.

### FUTURE OF BRITISH CIVILIANS

To a question as to what would become of Englishmen in the service of the Government of India, Gandhi said:

"I think that India has use for every one of them who is loyal to India and to Indian traditions and conditions and who will be above temptation and corruption. I don't want to say that they should be disloyal to England. That is not the point. They should not be disloyal to India. These things should not conflict, but it has happened in history. Most have come here to serve the country of their birth by exploiting India. That is hypocrisy. It is dishonest. There is no room for dishonesty in any service or outside it."

### A MESSAGE TO AMERICA

Asked if he had any message for America, he said: "Dislodge the money God called Mammon from the throne and find a corner for poor God. I think America has a very big future but in spite of what is said to the contrary, it has a dismal future if it swears by Mammon. Mammon has never been known to be a friend of any of us to the last. He is always a false friend."

Mahatma Gandhi, who has passed 77 years of age, said today that he was "shaken" in his belief that he would live to be 125 years, as he had so often said.

He attributed his uncertainty to loss of "equanimity" a few weeks ago because of an unwarranted use of fruits which his co-workers had contemplated during a ceremony in connection with his birthday. He said that he was feeling as well as he had a right to feel, but was uncertain of attaining his goal of 125.

"I am shaken in that belief, although not because it is illegitimate. But there are well defined limits to the fulfilment of that wish. If you do not fulfil those limits, then you may not attain the wish. For the time being, I feel dislodged. I have not attained the necessary equanimity. I don't want to live 125 years or even one year on nostrums, medicines and that kind of thing. I want to live a life of service in my present way.

"That is possible provided you have equableness under every circumstance. Nothing should irritate you. I am not able to say today that nothing irritates me, or has irritated me."

He said he had thought calmly of living until 125 "until a few days ago," when he had a "rude shock". It was on the occasion of his birthday by the Hindu calender, which came this year ten days ahead of October 2, the day of his birthday by the ordinary calender. Rajendra Prasad, the Food Member in the Cabinet, had come to preside at a flag raising in connection with the birthday, and on that occasion, I was told, "monkey nuts, raisins etc. were to be served to the Harijan children and volunteers in the camp."

"I flared up, madly," the Mahatma said. "I lost my balance. You can use any adverb or adjective you like to describe it."

He said he considered it an insult to the Food Minister to give food needlessly in his presence to children and others "who were not in need."

"It was then I discovered my failure. This loss of self-control has cost some years of my life—which it will be possible to regain if I regain my equanimity—or gain it. That is the humbler way to say it."

His anger flared up, he said, because "every morsel of food has to be husbanded. If we do it, there will be no shortage."

"India is the last country in the world that should be short of food if our rulers knew their business—and there was no black-marketing."

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## SINDH BANS SATYARTH PRAKASH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

One had thought that the ban on *Satyarth Prakash* had lapsed, never to be renewed. But the hope was a dupe. Here is the renewed ban:

"Whereas it appears to the Government of Sindh that Chapter XIV of the book in Sindhi entitled "*Satyarth Prakash*" contains matter which promotes feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects—

"Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 99 A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Government of Sindh hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty every copy wherever found of the book in Sindhi entitled "*Satyarth Prakash*" written by Swami Dayananda Saraswati and published by Professor Tarachand D. Gajra, M. A. on behalf of the Pratinidhi Sabha, Sindh, Karachi, and all other documents containing copies, reprints or translations of, or extracts from Chapter XIV of the said book on the grounds that in the said chapter the author,

(a) ridicules some of the religious beliefs of the Muslims;

(b) misrepresents and reviles the teachings of the Quran;

(c) attacks and belittles the authority of the Prophet Mohammed; and

(d) generally contains matter calculated to hurt and which hurts, the religious susceptibilities of Muslims."

It is wider in application than before. The lapsed ban made it criminal to print or publish the book containing Chapter XIV. The renewed ban makes the possession of such a copy a crime. I cannot help feeling that the ban is senseless and is calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the Arya Samajists all the world over. *Satyarth Prakash* enjoys the same status for 40 lakhs of Arya Samajists as the Quran for the Muslims and the Bible for the Christians. It is possible to understand a ban on contemporaneous controversial literature, though at this time of the day popular Governments are reluctant even then to use their power. But it seems to be mischievous to ban a scriptural book. I would, therefore, urge the Sindh Government to withdraw the ban in question. The Sindhi translation of *Satyarth Prakash* is not a new publication. Is it to be contended that a book that has passed through so many editions and has been translated in most of the languages of the world has been now found to contain matter "which promotes feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects"? The virtue of toleration is never strained, especially in matters of religion. Differences of religious opinion will persist to the end of time; toleration is the only thing that will enable persons belonging to different religions to live as good neighbours and friends. Religion never suffers by reason of the criticism fair or foul of critics; it always suffers from the laxity or indifference of its followers.

New Delhi, 26-10-'46

# HARIJAN

November 3

1946

## A WISE STEP

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri G. D. Tapase, Minister for Backward Classes (Bombay) has sent me a copy of the Bombay Harijan (Removal of Social Disabilities) Act just passed by the Bombay Legislature. I give below the most relevant clauses :

"3. Notwithstanding anything contained in any instrument or any law, custom or usage to the contrary, no Harijan shall merely on the ground that he is a Harijan —

(a) be ineligible for office under any authority constituted under any law; or

(b) be prevented from —

(i) having access to or using any river, stream, spring, well, tank, cistern, water-tap or any bathing place, burial or cremation ground, any sanitary convenience, any road, or pathway which the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus have a right to use or have access to;

(ii) having access to or using any public conveyance licensed by the Provincial Government or any local authority to ply for hire;

(iii) having access to or using any building, well, cistern or place used for charitable or public purposes maintained wholly or partially out of the revenues of the Province or the funds of a local authority;

(iv) having access to a place of public amusement or a place of public entertainment;

(v) having access to a shop which the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus have a right to have access to;

(vi) having access to or using any place set apart or maintained for the use of Hindus generally but not for the use of any particular section or class thereof;

(vii) enjoying any benefit under a charitable trust created for the benefit of Hindus generally but not for the benefit of any particular section or class thereof.

"3A. No person in charge of any of the places referred to in sub-clauses (i), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) or any conveyance referred to in sub-clause (ii), or clause (b) of section 3 shall impose any restrictions on a Harijan or act in a manner as to result in discrimination against him.

"4. No court shall in adjudicating any matter or executing any order recognize any custom or usage imposing any civil disability on any Harijan merely on the ground that he is a Harijan.

"5. No local authority shall in carrying out the functions and duties entrusted to it under any law recognize any custom or usage referred to in section 4.

"6. Whoever —

(a) prevents any person, by reason of his being a Harijan, from having access to or using any of

the places referred to in sub-clauses (i), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) or any conveyance referred to in sub-clause (ii) of clause (b) of section 3 or from enjoying any benefit under a charitable trust referred to in sub-clause (vii) of clause (b) of the said section or abets the prevention thereof; or

(b) imposes any restriction on a Harijan or acts in a manner so as to result in discrimination against him or abets any person to impose such restriction or to act in such manner

shall, on conviction, be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 200 or with both.

"7. If any person who has been convicted of any offence punishable under this Act is again guilty of the same offence he shall be punished on the second conviction with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 500 or with both and if he is again so guilty shall be punished on the third or any subsequent conviction with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year and shall also be liable to fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000."

The author of the measure has kindly supplied me with the text of his speech delivered on his introducing the measure. From it I note below the most poignant passages.

"This untouchability amounts to irrationality. As soon as a Harijan is born, untouchability applies to him. . . . As a Harijan he is born, as a Harijan he lives all through his life and as a Harijan he dies. . . . However clean he may be, however wise he may be, however superior he may be, to the so-called orthodox Hindus he is not a superior being. The worst of it is that even after his death his dust and ashes are not allowed to mingle with the dust and ashes of the others. . . . The agonies of the Untouchable are further aggravated by the fact that he is treated as an Untouchable not only by the caste Hindus but even by Christians, Muslims and others. . . . To my mind the Bill gives a *sanad*, a charter, to the Harijans for the exercise of certain social, civic, fundamental rights."

It is worthy of note that the Bill was passed without opposition worth the name from the Hindu side. That is a good augury for the successful working of the Act. And yet it would not do to be over-sanguine about it. Unfortunately for us, we know that we pass resolutions by acclamation and allow them to become dead letter. The greatest vigilance will have to be exercised by the Government and the reformers in the strict enforcement of the law.

It is no use blinking the fact that the reign of irrationality referred to by the author of the relief bill is still very much to the fore in India. It is not merely in regard to untouchability but many other things. Reformers, therefore, have to watch the demon and utilize their watchfulness, courtesy and tact in dealing with those who are possessed by the demon.

New Delhi, 25-10-'46



## PLUCKY STAND

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Papers received from Natal contain among other things a remarkable correspondence between the Mayoral Secretary of Durban and the Natal Indian Congress Secretary. A committee has been formed for making arrangements for the royal visit to Durban proposed to take place in the month of March next year. The main committee has established a sub-committee to deal with the question of joining the coloured and non-European sections of the population of Durban. For the purpose, the Committee invited the Natal Indian Congress to appoint two representatives to serve on the sub-committee so as to give their advice and assistance to enable the Indian community to see Their Majesties and the Royal Princesses.

To this invitation the Joint Hon. Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress (Meer Saheb) sent the following plucky reply on the 11th September last :

"I am directed by my Executive to state that while the Indian community has the greatest respect for Their Majesties and the Royal Princesses, it must be noted that the Indians of South Africa are at the present moment passing through the most critical period in their history. A series of colour discriminatory Acts depriving us of our elementary human rights during the last half century has culminated in the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, passed in the teeth of the strongest opposition ever voiced by our community. The action of the Union Government in thus oppressing a voteless section of its population has plunged the whole Indian community in a state of grave unrest. Recent trends in colour legislation leave no room for doubt as to what is in store for people of colour in this country. The colour of a man's skin has become the sole criterion of judging human qualities.

"As a result of all this the Indian community of South Africa resolved on the 13th June 1946 to launch a campaign of passive resistance against colour discrimination in the laws of this country. This peaceful protest still goes on and 627 of our people, including National leaders like Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker have been sent to jail where they are treated like common criminals. Some of them have served their sentences and have been released after being subjected to inhuman treatment, but hundreds still remain behind prison bars and many more continue to be sent to prison daily.

"While the Indian community finds itself in such an unhappy situation in a part of His Majesty's Empire, it is most unreasonable to expect Indians to participate in any rejoicing or celebrations in honour of Royalty. In the circumstances we cannot but suggest that you advise Their Majesties to postpone their visit until such time as there is peace and goodwill in South Africa between the rulers and the ruled, the White and the non-White, the represented and the unrepresented, the privileged

and the under-privileged, so that all who constitute the South African nation can equally share, not only its burdens, but also its rewards."

The Natal Indian Congress Executive is to be congratulated on the reply. The Royal visit can evoke no feeling of joy among those who are fighting for their self-respect in South Africa in the making of which they have had no mean share. Let us hope that the Royal visit will be postponed to a more propitious time when the colour bar has become a thing of the past. Such self-denial on the part of Their Majesties will be quite in keeping with the direction which the King and Queen recently issued to substitute in the National Anthem the following new verses :

"Nor on this land, but be God's mercies known,  
from shore to shore.

"Lord make the nations see, that men should  
brothers be,

and form one family, the wide world over."

for the antiquated and indefensible verses :

"Oh, Lord our God arise, scatter his enemies,  
and make them fall.

"Confound their politics, frustrate their knavish  
tricks.

"On Thee our hopes we fix, God save us all!"

New Delhi, 25-10-'46

## UN-ISLAMIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sheikh Saheb Hassan-ud-Din, former President of the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar has issued the following to the Press :

"The news of awful and inhuman occurrences which are coming from East Bengal cannot be welcomed by any true Muslim nor can these deeds be considered praiseworthy or Islamic. Compare the actions of the majority of the Muslims of this territory with the injunctions given to the Chief Commander at the time of leaving Medina by the first Caliph. In these the protection of the civil population, the respect for the chastity of the non-Muslim women and the veneration of the places of worship is dwelt upon. On the other hand abundance of slaughter, arson and forcible conversion of young women and their shutting up in the harems are such shameful actions as cannot be tolerated by any civilized people. I really feel a heart-felt sorrow that this state of affairs is the consequence of political dishonesty and bungling by which, for the attainment of a particular end, the emotions of a people have been infuriated, but eyes have been shut as to the responsibility regarding their control. Certainly no Government can tolerate such a state of affairs for any length of time.

"A question arises at this stage whether the power of the army and the police is its remedy or the mutual respect, confidence and co-operation between the people living in a country. I consider that for the creation of a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere in Bengal, the Muslims of India generally and the Muslims of Bengal especially should come to the front as there is a Muslim majority in the

province. To keep the minority satisfied and to prepare them for a life free from worry and tension is the first duty of the Muslim majority.

"Unfortunately in Bengal the leadership of the Muslims has fallen to the lot of a group dissociated from moral virtues and gentlemanliness. In the light of the golden principles inculcated by Islam, other Muslims should come forward and face all the dangers to wean the misled and excited brethren in this region into good and sympathetic neighbours. It is emphasized that the work cannot be accomplished by a free use of rifles and machine guns, nor by turning the non-Muslim houses into forts for protection in self-defence. The common people must be freed from the dominance of the *goonda* element and the people made to live a peaceful and gentle life by softening their hearts by reason. This can be accomplished better by the Muslims themselves.

"For this end the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam is ready to send its parties of disciplined volunteers at once to the affected places so that the misguided brethren may be brought round to the right path as early as possible and the foundations of a permanent peace be laid in the province.

"I know that in this path there are various difficulties to be faced, but to true Muslims in the carrying out of the duty hardships and tribulations have never counted nor would now be any obstacles. For the accomplishment of necessary arrangements I have started talks with Maulana Ataulah Shah Bukhari, President, All India Majlis-e-Ahrar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni, President, All India Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Hind. By the grace of God the first batch would be leaving Delhi very soon."

Maulana Saheb himself issued the following four days ago :

"Hopes that Bengal would be able to recover early from the tragedy of the Great Calcutta Killing have been shattered by the terrible events now taking place in Eastern Bengal. The non-official report of arson, murder, pillage and oppression makes horrible reading. The Government communique states that incidents have taken place but does not accept all the details contained in the non-official report.

"The Government account is bad enough, but if these details are proved, it constitutes a terrible indictment of the people responsible for the outrage. All civilized society is based on the protection of the life, property and faith of its members. This applies even more to the protection of the honour of women. Anybody who fails to respect women's honour condemns himself to the charge of bestiality. Minorities have a special claim in all these respects, and it is the duty of the majority so to act that all fears of the minority are allayed. There is neither bravery nor credit if a majority tyrannizes over a minority.

"What is most regrettable is that the name of religion has been dragged in for committing atrocious deeds. There are reports of forcible conversions and forced marriages. No religion, least of all, Islam,

permits the use of force and violence in matters of faith. The days of the early Caliphs who represented the spirit of Islam in its pristine purity were remarkable for toleration, security and protection guaranteed to minorities like the Jews and the Christians. In fact, the Jews who were prosecuted in all the Christian countries of Europe throughout the Middle Ages, could find safety and security in the Muslim kingdom of Spain and later in Turkey.

"Calumniators of Islam have at times tried to suggest that its phenomenal expansion was due to the use of compulsion and force, but they are refuted by the unequivocal injunction of the Quran that there shall be no compulsion in the matter of faith. Those who act against that teaching are, therefore, guilty of the worst possible disservice to the cause of Islam and the Mussalmans.

"I would urge all Mussalmans and Hindus who love their country and community to ponder calmly and dispassionately on the situation. They have to live together in this land and no Government can tolerate lawlessness and disorder for long. If there are any communal riots, sooner or latter the Government would put them down by the use of the police and if necessary the army. But this would only suppress the disease, not cure it.

"The only method of eradicating these evils is for the majority in an area to guarantee the security of the minority. If, instead of waiting for the police and the army to come and forcibly suppress disorder, responsible men of the major community stand against the miscreants and protect the life, property and honour of the minority in that area, the whole atmosphere of the country will change.

"I would make a special appeal to Muslim brethren in East Bengal. Islam enjoins the protection of one's neighbour as one's religious duty. In Noakhali and other districts of Eastern Bengal, Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. Let men of goodwill in these areas unite and declare that they will protect their neighbours with their lives, and that nobody shall harm a single Hindu except over their dead bodies."

The value of these statements lies not so much in the numbers of Muslims supporting it, but in the fact that these Muslims of undoubted reputation in Islam have no hesitation in condemning in unmeasured terms the nefarious deeds of the Muslims in East Bengal. It would be wrong to stigmatize the doers as *goondas*. These perpetrators of wrong are undoubtedly misled by men who should know better. There is little wonder that the atrocities have taken place when one bears in mind the poison that is instilled into the credulous minds of simple-minded Muslims.

In order to meet the evil, the sane element in Islam must not only speak out its mind, but act accordingly and promptly. It would be interesting to know whether the former President of the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar has been able to send the contemplated body of volunteers to undo the mischief.

New Delhi, 23-10-'46

## WEEKLY LETTER

## FORCIBLE MARRIAGES AND CONVERSIONS

"What about those who have been abducted or forcibly converted or married under duress against their will?"—the question has been deeply exercising Gandhiji's mind as it must have been of thousands of people. Replying to questions that had been put to him on this subject during the last 24 hours Gandhiji in his prayer address on Sunday the 20th of October said that he had no hesitation in maintaining that forcible conversion was no conversion at all nor abduction a bar to the return to her home of the abducted girl. He held that no purification or penance was necessary in such cases. Hindu society was wrong when it imposed penance on such persons. They had not erred. He had lived for years among Muslims and Christians. They had all assured him that there could be no compulsion in religion. Those who resorted to it did not deserve to be called men of religion. In one sense he and his audience who believed that God was one and that there was no other and who believed that Mohammed was one of His messengers were Muslims. But if any one forced them or him to recite the *Kalma* they would flatly refuse to obey and take the consequences.

It was his fervent hope that all good Muslims would stand up against the practices reported from the affected area in East Bengal.

## A HYSTERICAL DEMONSTRATION

Excitement is natural when passion runs high. But let not our indignation, however righteous, get the better of our logic and reason and lead us into self-contradictory courses. Just before the evening prayer on Thursday last, a crowd of excited youngmen carrying placards and shouting slogans, came to demand redress for East Bengal and invaded the prayer ground in the Sweepers' Colony. They wished their voice to reach the members of the Working Committee which was meeting in his room. Gandhiji told them that it had already reached them. His own place, he knew, was in Bengal. He assured them that the heart of every man and woman who believed in God was bleeding for Bengal. He admonished them for creating a disturbance at prayer-time and asked them to be clam and join in the prayers.

Somebody shouted that they could not pray when their house was burning. Gandhiji made that the subject of his prayer address.

The regular prayer was not recited. Gandhiji said their minds were not calm enough for it. *Ramadhuna* was sung and as usual had a calming effect on the gathering. Although the regular prayer had to be given up it was in his heart, said Gandhiji, and he was sure it would reach God.

Referring to the remark of the young man who had used the metaphor of a house on fire, Gandhiji said that the duty of the owner of the house or his servant was that when the house was burning he should concentrate on putting out the fire and not lose his head. He alluded to the legend about King Janaka who remained calm and unperturbed

when the report was brought to him that his capital was burning, because he had done all he possibly could before and after the accident and therefore could rest secure in his faith in God. If he had lost his head and run to the place of accident he would only have assisted the flames by distracting attention. They were pained at the news of women's suffering in East Bengal, said Gandhiji. But they had so lost their heads that they had themselves failed to be considerate towards the women in the audience. They had scared them away from the prayer ground. They had occupied the place where women sat every day. It was a strange way of demonstrating their sympathy with the outraged womanhood of East Bengal. He hoped that they would see the irony and inconsistency of it.

Our women were easily scared away. It was so more or less all the world over. He wanted our women to learn to be brave. His advice to them to commit suicide rather than allow themselves to be dishonoured had been much misunderstood. They could keep a dagger for self-defence if they wished to. But a dagger was no use against overwhelming odds. He had advised them to take poison and end their lives rather than submit to dishonour. Their very preparedness should make them brave. No one could dishonour a woman who was fearless of death. They had two ways of self-defence—to kill and be killed or to die without killing. He could teach them the latter, not the former. Above all he wanted them to be fearless. There was no sin like cowardice.

But there was a moral code even for those who believed in violence. He did not wish them to copy the methods said to have been adopted in East Bengal. They must have read Maulana Saheb's statement and the statement issued by the ex-President of the All India Majlis-e-Ahrar. They had said that Islam did not permit forcible conversions or abduction and molestation of women.

## A SERMON ON FAKIRI

Thakkar Bapa, the near octogenarian, and Shri Balasaheb Kher, the Premier of Bombay, have more than one thing in common. Both have dedicated themselves to the service of lost causes—Harijans, *Bhils*, *Dublas* and other *Adivasis* and so on. Few people are perhaps aware that even while he was practising as a solicitor Shri Balasaheb Kher was rendering yeoman service to the tanners and leather-workers in the suburbs of Bombay. He is also associated with the activities of the *Adivasi Seva Mandal* in Bombay. Both of them attended Gandhiji's prayer gatherings and at Gandhiji's request sang hymns after the prayer. Shri Thakkar Bapa who seems to have stolen the secret of perennial youth and refuses to allow years to dry up the "genial current of his soul", sang a *bhajan* whose refrain was: "My mind is set on *fakiri*." Using that as text of his after-prayer address Gandhiji remarked that if they were to follow out what he had been saying during the two previous evenings and prefer death to dishonour, they had

to have the heart of a *fakir*, not the *fakir* of old who went about with a staff and a beggar's bowl. That was a time when there were rich and poor. Then there was room for beggars. Society's thought had advanced since, though practice had not kept pace with the thought. The society of the future was to be a society in which there was to be no distinction between rich and poor, or colour and colour, or country and country. In that society what was needed was purity of heart and purity of the spirit. Thakkar Bapa was such a *fakir* who had dedicated his life to the down-trodden classes, Harijans and *Adivasis* such as *Bhils*, *Santhals*, *Khasis* and those who were described as aboriginals. If the audience could imbibe that spirit, they would never be found guilty of suffering dishonour. He did not have in mind merely the dishonour of women. He would want them to regard black-marketing and cheating the poor also as a species of dishonour and would like them to prefer suicide to dishonour. He knew he horrified some people by expressing these views. But he would be guilty of wrong-doing if he suppressed from them what he believed implicitly. They could not defend their honour, if they had not the purity and austerity of which Bapa had sung so soulfully and of which he was an incarnation.

Equally characteristic of the singer was Tukaram's hymn sung by Shri Balasaheb Kher the evening following. In it the devotee says that he would prefer blindness to vision which could enable him to harbour evil thoughts. Similarly, he would prefer deafness to hearing evil speech. The devotee winds up by saying that his soul yearns only for one thing namely, the name of God.

#### A DARK DIWALI

The festival of *Diwali* has come upon a people in mourning. Thousands of homes in Bengal have been darkened by arson, pillage, death of near and dear ones and worse. Fratricide has degenerated to a sub-human level. Things have been done in the name of religion which make one hang down one's head in shame and lose faith in human nature itself. How could there be feasting or illuminations when the atmosphere is rent with wailing, lamentation and woe of helpless and martyred innocence? Starvation and nakedness stalked the land, Gandhiji grimly remarked, in his written message to the prayer gathering on Monday last. On top of that they were quarrelling amongst themselves. He had written and said enough on the subject. Yet he could not help repeating that in these days those who were pure should become purer, those who were sinners should wash off their sins. All should save as much food as possible and spin as much as they could, so that there might be more cloth. To save food was as good as producing it. To spin was to help reduce the nakedness of India. He who was truthful took the world a step forward. "Let these things engage all our energies," he concluded. "It should

be clear to us that these are not days of festivity or merry-making."

#### A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

He followed it up with New Year's message on Friday following. "India is passing through a difficult time," he remarked. "As a matter of fact the whole world is passing through a crisis and India is no exception.

"What help do we need to meet this crisis?" he asked. According to the teaching of the Gita the first requisite for spiritual conduct was fearlessness. On New Year Day people made some good resolve. He wanted them to make a firm resolve to shed all fear. Without fearlessness all other virtues were turned into dust. Attainment of truth or non-violence was impossible without fearlessness.

Fearlessness did not mean arrogance or aggressiveness. That in itself was a sign of fear. Fearlessness presupposed calmness and peace of mind. For that it was necessary to have a living faith in God.

In the song that had been sung before them, Gandhiji concluded, the devotee says that divorced from God, he is a most worthless creature. God is his refuge all along. He who takes refuge in God has no fear.

#### "EKLA CHALO"

He again emphasized that moral after the evening prayer yesterday, the text for his discourse being provided by Mrs. Nandita Kripalani who tunefully sang Gurudev's celebrated song "*Ekla Chalo Re*." The burden of that hymn, commented Gandhiji, was that the devotee should have the strength to walk alone in the face of difficulties however great. If he realized that God was ever with him, he would not feel lonely. The *bhajan* was not meant for evil-doers. They could not walk alone.

The League members, he continued, had come into the Cabinet. He hoped that they had come with the firm resolve to make a success of their business. The Government of the country lay in the hands of these fourteen men. They had to find food and clothing, provide for the education of the crores and fair transport facilities for them and be responsible for peace and order in the country. "Let us all pray that they will be able to work as one team, all their dealings will be above board and corruption and jobbery will be things of the past."

New Delhi, 27-10-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## A FRIENDLY OVERTURE

"We are today suffering from a double evil—suppression of facts and concoction," remarked Gandhiji to a Director of an influential British daily paper who had come to see Gandhiji at New Delhi and told him that his paper was anxious to do a friendly turn to India. "It does not pay to emphasize news about riots. My paper does not," he had remarked. But Gandhiji told him that he and his paper would be doing a real service to India not by suppressing relevant facts but by presenting them truthfully, without bias or prejudice. "Truth never damages a cause that is just," he said.

Replying to another question as to when the present trouble would end, Gandhiji remarked that it was bound to go, though he did not see any signs of abatement just yet. "There are interested parties fomenting it."

"Mine may be a voice in the wilderness today," he added, "but I maintain that so long as British troops are here, both Hindus and Mussalmans will continue to look up to them for help and the trouble will continue. Nothing worse could happen to a people struggling to be free."

### BRITISH TROOPS AN OBSTACLE

This shocked the British conscience of the friend. "The Britisher would like his troops to go out quicker. Who obstructs?" he asked.

"Who else but the British themselves, unless you can show that it is physically impossible to effect immediate withdrawal," replied Gandhiji.

After some parrying the friend admitted that the British commercial and other vested interests in India and their henchmen stood in the way of their withdrawal. He was, however, still doubtful as to the function of British troops in the maintenance of law and order. "You say, there can be no peace while they are here. Yet everyday there is an increasing demand for them for the maintenance of peace. The complaint is that they are not sufficiently used."

"That is the very reason," replied Gandhiji, "why they should be withdrawn. Their presence, in my opinion, does not act as a preventive measure but becomes punitive. Where they are used to maintain law and order, it is after the trouble. Future historians will bear this out. Order will be restored in East Bengal too. But after what slaughter, what suffering?"

"No," he continued. "The British troops are in India not to protect India but to protect British interests which were imposed on India and which

are now so well entrenched that even the British Government cannot dislodge them. The British did not come here as philanthropists, nor is there any altruism in their continued stay here or the continuation of their troops, all that might be claimed to the contrary notwithstanding."

### TO END WAR

The conversation then turned on the question of war. "How do you think the succession of wars such as we have witnessed of late can be stopped?" he asked.

"I have no doubt," replied Gandhiji, "that unless big nations shed their desire of exploitation and the spirit of violence of which war is the natural expression and atom bomb the inevitable consequence, there is no hope for peace in the world. I tried to speak out during the war and wrote open letters to the British people, to Hitler and to the Japanese and was dubbed a fifth columnist for my pains."

"But non-violence might take a long time to act. But for the second front there probably would have been no Russia," argued the friend.

"All these are arguments dictated by reason," replied Gandhiji. "It is not permitted me to think in these terms or else I would be denying my faith which today burns brighter than ever in spite of all the bitter experiences that I have had. History provides us with a whole series of miracles of masses of people being converted to a particular viewpoint in the twinkling of an eye. Take the Boer War. It has given to the English language the word 'Maffeking'. People went mad on the Maffeking Day. Yet inside of two years the whole British nation underwent a transformation. Henry Campbell Bannerman became the Premier and practically all the gains of war were given up." The recent Labour victory at the polls was another instance in point. "To me it is a sufficient miracle that in spite of his oratory and brilliance, Churchill should cease to be the idol of the British people who till yesterday hung on his lips and listened to him in awe. All these instances are enough to sustain the faith of a believer like me that when all other powers are gone one will remain, call it God, Nature or whatever you like." His own faith in the triumph of non-violence he likened to that of the witnesses in the Second Coming of Christ. It was to take place within the lifetime of the witnesses though it has taken two thousand years and yet remains a distant dream. Faith could think in no other terms.

Sodepur, 30-10-'46

PYARELAL



## HARIJAN SERVICE IN CENTRAL INDIA, 1944-45

So far as Harijan service is concerned, Central India is exceptionally fortunate in its ruling princes, at least three of whom, Maharaja Yeshwantrao Holkar of Indore, Maharaja Jivajirao Shinde of Gwalior and Maharaja Gulabsingh of Rewa, have issued proclamations making a declaration of Harijan rights. The Gwalior proclamation was made on 4th May last year. These three States alone have a population of about 70 lakhs and cover an area of over 50,000 square miles. Thus Central India is more progressive than Kathiawad where in Lathi alone the State has made such an announcement. Is it too much to expect in 1946 that other States will not think it below their dignity but will deem it a privilege to follow the example set by tiny Lathi?

The Indore Branch of the Sangh observed Harijan Day on 1st March 1945, when Harijans were admitted to temples and to two Hindu restaurants. Rai Bahadur Sheth Hiralalji has on behalf of the mill-owners announced that they would spend five per cent of their profits in building houses for the workers including Harijans. Let us hope that this sum which now amounts to about 75,000 rupees will be spent before the next report is out. Land to the extent of 250 *bighas* was obtained for Harijan settlers. The Branch has established a hand-made paper factory employing several Harijan families and the report under review is appropriately printed on Indore-made paper. It has also installed two new-model oil *ghanis* worked by Harijans. Every place where waste paper is readily available should have a hand-made paper industry and pure oil *ghanis* of course must be there in every place, large or small, without exception.

The Gwalior Branch conducted well-directed propaganda at the *Sinhastha* Fair in Ujjain and received the very welcome support of Acharya Janakidasji of Hanuman-gadhi, Ayodhya, among other Sadhus. Shri Krishnadas Date who had taken to politics last year has returned to his old love, Harijan service, to which he devoted the purse presented to him.

The Bhopal branch under Lala Mulkrajaji and Shri Mehnot financed itself independently of the Central India organization.

Badwani State has declared the public schools and wells open to Harijans and will now, it is hoped, take active steps to implement its declaration. Panna and Ajaygadh authorities must see to it that Mehtars and Basors are permitted to exercise their right of travelling by public buses. Ajaygadh, Bijawar and Charkhari have still to arrange to give maternity leave to Harijan women workers.

In Tikamgadh there was an inter-dinner attended by *Savarna* Hindus and Harijans.

We shall close this review with a final comment. The statement of accounts shows that while about 11,000 Rs. was spent on schools, hostels, scholar-

ships and medical aid to Harijans, as much as 6,000 Rs. was spent on administration and propaganda. It should be our aim to increase the former figure and reduce the latter from year to year.

V. G. D

## PROHIBITION IN C. P.

According to the report of the Excise Commissioner for C. P., in the latter half of 1937, the Congress Government in C. P. decided to adopt the policy of total prohibition of liquor including *toddy*. To implement this policy the Central Provinces and Berar Prohibition Act was passed and brought into force from April 1938. In the year 1940, the area under Prohibition totalled 22,285 sq. miles representing approximately one-fourth area of the whole province. Prohibition was withdrawn from Katni-Murwara town from 1st January, 1945, but it has been decided by the present Government to reintroduce it with effect from 1st October, 1946 and to extend it, so as to cover an additional total area of 17,360 sq. miles.

The total area under prohibition thus is 39,645 sq. miles and covers a little less than half the province, the total provincial area being 98,369 sq. miles.

During the current financial year Government will lose about 45.5 lakhs on account of extension of prohibition. Government further proposes to make the whole province dry within a very short period, thus sacrificing a revenue amounting to about Rs. 1½ crores from liquor and *toddy*.

The Excise staff have been instructed to take help, if necessary, from local M.L.As. and Congress Committees in the prevention and detection of offences under the Prohibition Act. To prevent illicit distillation, rules have been framed restricting the possession of *mahura*, the most important base for the distillation of liquor, to not more than 5 seers and requiring permits and licenses for its possession and sale in larger quantities. These rules have already been enforced in the Wardha and Akola districts from 15-8-'46 and will be extended to other Prohibition areas after experience has been gained of their working in these districts.

Other proposed measures to make Prohibition effective are :

1. To set up new Anti-Drink Committees in dry areas and revitalize old ones and establish temperance committees in the wet areas to prepare the ground for prohibition. It is further proposed to organize caste *panchayats* and recreation centres to further temperance work.

2. To carry on anti-drink propaganda by magic lantern slides, anti-drink posters and by issuing prohibition literature. A sum of Rs. 50,000 has been sanctioned for this purpose.

3. 75,000 leaflets explaining the provisions of the prohibition Act of 1938 and 15,000 large size notices, specifying the areas in which prohibition has been introduced, have been printed in various languages.

## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—VI

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

Bargain *n.* सौदा; सस्ता सौदा । سودا; सस्ता سودाBargain, into the *मुफ्तमें* । मुफ्त मेंBargain, to make the best of a *v.* निभाना । नभानाBargain, to strike a *v.* अच्छा सौदा करना ।

अच्छा سودा करना

Barge *n.* बजरा, माल लादनेकी नाव या किस्ती ।

बजरा, माल लादने की नाव या किस्ती

Bark *n.* छाल, छिलका । छाल, छिलकाBark *v.* भौं-भौं करना, भौंकना; छाल छुतारना; खॉसना ।

भौंकना, छाल छुतारना; खॉसना

Bark ) *n.* छोटी नाव या किस्ती । किस्ती

Barque)

Barley *n.* जौ । जौBarn *n.* कोठा (अनाज भरनेके लिये), खरार ।

कोठा (अनाज भरने के लिये), बखार

Barometer *n.* हवानाप । हवानापBaron *n.* तालुकदार, जागीरदार (विलायतमें) ।

तालुकदार, जागीरदार (विलायत में)

Baronet *n.* 'बैरन' से नीचेका पद (विलायतमें) ।

'बैरन' से नीचे का पद (विलायत में)

Baroque *adj.* अनोखा, गैरामूली (जेवरके लिये)

अनोखा, गैरामूल्य (जेवर के लिये)

Barrack *n.* सैन्यावास, सिपाहीकी कोठरी, बारक

सैन्यावास, सिपाही की कोठरी, बारक

Barrage *n.* बाँध; गोलियोंकी बाढ़ या बाँछार ।

बाँध; गोलियों की बाढ़ या बाँछार

Barrel *n.* पीपा, बन्दूककी नाल । नालBarren *adj.* बौझ, निष्फल, बंजर, निस्सन्तान ।

बान्ज, निष्फल, बंजर, निस्सन्तान

Barricade *n.* कच्ची मोरचाबन्दी, रोक । रोकBarrier *n.* रोक, घेरा, चुंगीकी जगह या नाका

रोक, गेहरा, चुंगी की जगह या नाका

Barrister *n.* वकील (विलायत में पास हुआ) ।

वकील (विलायत में पास हुआ)

Barrow *n.* ढेला । ढेलाBarter *v.* अदल-बदल करना, बदलेका व्यापार करना ।

अदल बदल करना, बदले का व्यापार करना

Base *n.* पैदा, तला, बुनियाद, नींव; अड्डा ।

पैदा, तला, बुनियाद, नींव; अड्डा

Base *adj.* कमीना, नीच । नीचBasement *n.* मकानके नीचेकी मंजिल । मकान के नीचे की मंजिलBashful *adj.* शरमीला, लजीला । लजीलाBasic *adj.* मौलिक, बुनियादी । मौलिकBasin *n.* चिलम्पी, तसला, जलपात्र; निचली जमीन ।

चिलम्पी, तसला, जल पात्र; निचली जमीन

Basis *n.* बिना, बुनियाद, आधार; जड़, मूल; पहला सुसूल ।

बना, बुनियाद, आधार; जड़, मूल; पहला सुसूल

Bask *v.* धूपखाना, तापना । तापनाBasket *n.* टोकरी, टोकरा, पिटासी । टोकरा, टोकरीBastard *n.* नाजायज औलाद, हरामी बच्चा, जारज सन्तान ।

नाजायज औलाद, हरामी बच्चा, जारज सन्तान

Baste *v.* ठोकना, मारना (लकड़ीसे); धी लगाना (पकानेमें); कच्ची सिलायी करना ।

ठोकना, मारना (लकड़ी से); धी लगाना (पकाने में); कच्ची सिलायी करना

Bastion *n.* बुर्ज । बुर्जBat *n.* चमगादड़; बल्ला; बल्लेसे खेलनेवाला (क्रिकेटमें) ।

चमगादड़; बल्ला; बल्ले से खेलने वाला (क्रिकेट में)

Batch *n.* जत्था, टोली, टुकड़ी । टुकड़ीBath *n.* गुसलखाना; स्नान या गुसलका नौद या कुण्ड ।

गुसलखाना; स्नान या गुसलका नौद या कुण्ड

Bath chair *n.* बीमारोंकी कुरसी । बीमारों की कुरसीBathroom *n.* गुसलखाना, स्नानघर । स्नानघरBath, turkish *n.* हमाम । हमामBath, blood *n.* खूनकी नदी, खूनका गुसल, रक्तस्नान ।

खून की नदी, खून का गुसल, रक्त स्नान

Bathe *v.* गुसल या स्नान करना, नहाना, नहलाना; तर करना ।

गुसल या स्नान करना, नहाना, नहलाना; तर करना

Bathos *n.* सूँचेसे नीचे गिरना । नीचे से ऊँचे गिरनाBaton *n.* सिपाहीका डण्डा; ताल देनेकी छड़ी ।

सिपाही का डण्डा, ताल देने की छड़ी

Batten *v.* मोटा होना; मजबूत करना (लकड़ीकी पट्टीसे) ।

मोटा होना; मजबूत करना (लकड़ी की पट्टी से)

Batten *n.* लकड़ीकी पट्टी । लकड़ी की पट्टीBatter *v.* कूटना, मार-मारकर गिराना, तोड़ना ।

कोत्ता, मार-मार कर गिराना, तोड़ना

Batter *n.* अण्डे, दूध या आटेकी लपसी ।

अण्डे, दूध या आटे की लपसी

Battering ram *n.* किलेकी दीवार तोड़नेका यंत्र ।

किले की दीवार तोड़ने का यंत्र

Battery *n.* तोपें; तोपफौज; बिजली पैदा करनेका यंत्र; यंत्रका

समूह या मजमूआ

तौपें, तोप फौज; बिजली पैदा करने का यंत्र; यंत्र का समूह

Battle *n.* लड़ाई, जंग, युद्ध, रण । युद्धBattlement *n.* किलेकी दीवार, फ़सील । फ़सीलBauble *n.* खिलौना, निकम्मी चीज़ । खिलौनाBawdy *adj.* गन्दा । गन्दाBawl *v.* चिल्लाना, शोर मचाना । शोर मचानाBay *adj.* लाखा रंगका, कुमैद रंगका; अिस रंगका घोड़ा ।

लाखा रंग का, कुमैद रंग का; अिस रंग का घोड़ा

Bay *n.* खाड़ी, खलीज; तेजपात; बाहर निकली हुई खिड़की ।

खाड़ी, खलीज; तेजपात; बाहर निकली हुई खिड़की

Bay *v.* भौंकना (शिकारी कुत्तोंका) । भौंकनाBay, to keep at *v.* तंग होकर मुकाबला या सामना करना ।

तंग होकर मुकाबला या सामना करना

Bay, to stand at *v.* डटे रहना, डटकर खड़े रहना ।

डटे रहना, डट कर खड़े रहना

Bayonet *n.* संगिन । संगिनBe *v.* होना । होनाBeach *n.* समन्दरका किनारा, समुद्रतट । समुद्रतटBeacon *n.* रोशन मीनार, आकाशदीप (खतरेकी निशानी) ।

रोशन मीनार, आकाश दीप (खतरे की निशानी)

Bead *n.* मनका, पोत । पोतBeads, to tell one's *v.* माला जपना, तसबीह पढ़ना ।

माला जपना, तसबीह पढ़ना

Beak *n.* चोंच; टोंटी; तोते की-सी नाक ।

چونچ؛ ٹوٹی؛ طوطے کی سی ناک

Beaker *n.* चोंचदार या टोंटीदार प्याला ।

Beam *n.* कड़ी, शहतीर; किरण, शुआकी पट्टी; बम ।

کڑی، شہتیر؛ کرن، شعاع کی پٹری؛ بم

Bean *n.* सेम, सेम जातिके पौधे, लोबिया ।

سیم، سیم جاتی کے پودے، لوبیا

Bear *v.* झुठाना, सँभालना; ले जाना; सहना, झेलना; जनना, फल लाना, फलना ।

اٹھانا، سنبھالنا؛ لیجانا؛ سہنا، جھیلنا؛ جتنا پھل لانا، پھلنا،

Bear out *v.* सच्चा बताना, साबित करना ।

Bear with *v.* सहना, बरदाश्त करना ।

Bear down *v.* दबाना ।

Bearings, to lose one's *v.* सुध खो बैठना, होश गुम होना ।

سدھ کھو بیٹھا، ہوش گم ہونا

Bear in mind *v.* याद रखना, मनमें रखना ।

یاد رکھنا، من میں رکھنا

Bear the brunt *v.* पूरा वार झुठाना; वार या टकर झेलना ।

پورا وار اٹھانا، وار یا ٹکر جھیلنا۔

Bear *n.* भालू, रीछ; शेयर बाजार में भाव कम करनेवाला ।

بھالو، ریچھ، شیئر بازار میں بھاؤ کم کرنے والا۔

Bear, Great, Little *n.* सप्तिर्षि; खटोला, छोटा खटोला ।

سپت رشی؛ کھٹولا، چھوٹا کھٹولا

Bear garden *n.* हंगामा या कोलाहलकी जगह ।

ہنگامہ یا کولاہل کی جگہ

Beard *n.* दाढ़ी; अनाज या घासका बाल ।

داڑھی؛ اناج یا گھاس کا بال

Beard *v.* सामना करना ।

Beast *n.* पशु, चौपाया, हewan; बेरहम या निर्दय आदमी ।

بشو، چوپایہ، حیوان؛ برہم یا نردے آدمی

Beat *v.* ठोकना, मारना; हराना ।

Beat, dead *adj.* चूर-चूर ।

Beat about the bush *v.* गोल-गोल बातें करना ।

گول گول باتیں کرنا

Beat down *v.* दाम या भाव घटाना ।

Beat a drum *v.* ढोल बजाना, डौंड़ी पीटना ।

ڈھول بجانا، ڈونڈی پیشا

Beat the air *v.* स्वाहमस्वाह लड़ना ।

Beat up *v.* अचानक हमला या आक्रमण करना ।

اچانک حملہ یا آکرمن کرنا

Beat up eggs *v.* फेंटना ।

Beat a retreat *v.* पीछे हटना ।

Beat time *v.* ताल देना ।

Beatify *v.* परम आनन्द देना; सन्त बनाना ।

برم آند دینا؛ سنت بنانا

Beatitude *n.* रुहानी, खुशी, आत्मिक सुख; आसीका आशीर्वचन ।

روحانی خوشی، آتمک سکھ؛ عیسیٰ کا آشر وچن

Beauty *n.* खूबसूरती, सुन्दरता ।

Becalm *v.* शान्त करना, दिलासा देना ।

Because *adv. Conj.* असलिये कि, क्योंकि, कारण कि,

اسلئے کہ، کیونکہ، کارن کہ، اس کارن سے۔

Beck *n.* बिशारा ।

Beck and call, to have or be at one's *v.* किसीके

किसी के आशारे पर चलना व चलाना ।

Beckon *v.* बिशारेसे बुलाना ।

Become *v.* हा जाना, बन जाना; सजना, मुनासिब होना ।

ہو جانا، بن جانا؛ سجننا، مناسب ہونا

Becoming *adj.* शुचित; मुनासिब; सुहावना ।

Bed *n.* पलंग, खाट, चारपायी; क्यारी, तह ।

بڈنگ، کھاٹ، چار پائی، کھاری، تہ۔

Bedding *n.* बिछौना, बिस्तर, बिस्तर ।

Bedrok *n.* जमीनके नीचेकी चट्टान, (असलिये) नींव,

زمین کے نیچے کی چٹان، (اسلئے) نیو، بنیاد

Bedsread *n.* पलंगपोश ।

Bed and board *n.* रोटी व कमरा (धर्मशाला या सरायमें) ।

روٹی و کمرہ (دھرم شالہ یا سرای میں)

Bed of down or of roses *n.* औश या आराम की जगह,

فूलوں کی سبج، عیش یا آرام کی جگہ، پھولوں کی سبج

Bed pan हाजती ।

Bed, to lie in the, one has made *v.* अपने कमोंका

फल भोगना ।

Bedaub *v.* छेप करना, धब्बा डालना ।

Bedeck *v.* सिंगार करना ।

Bedew *v.* छिड़कना, छींटे डालकर भिगोना ।

Bedim *v.* धुंधला करना ।

Bedlam *n.* पागलखाना, शोर या कोलाहलकी जगह ।

باگل خانہ، شور یا کولاہل کی جگہ

Bedraggle *v.* कीचड़मेंसे घसीट कर गन्दा करना ।

کیچڑ میں سے گھسیٹ کر گندا کرنا

Bedouin *n.* बड़दु, खानाबदोश ।

Bee *n.* शहदकी मक्खी, मधुमक्खी ।

Bee-hive *n.* शहदकी मक्खीका छत्ता ।

Bee line *n.* बिल्कुल सीधा रास्ता, नाककी सीध ।

بالکل سیدھا راستہ، ناک کی سیدھ

Beeswax *n.* मोम ।

Bee, in one's bonnet, a *n.* किसी बातका खब्त, धुन

या सनक ।

Beef *n.* गोमांस, गायका गोشت ।

Beelzebub *n.* शैतानका भाजी, अवलीख ।

Beer *n.* जौकी शराब ।

Beestings *n.* पेयुसी, खीस (गायके ब्यानेके बादका पहला दूध) ।

پٹوسی، کھیس (گائے کے پیمانے کے بعد کا دودھ)

Beet *n.* चुकन्दर ।

Beetle *n.* मोगरी, हथौड़ा; गुबरैला, टिट्टिम ।

Befall *v.* आपड़ना, गुजरना ।

Befit *v.* ठीक बैठना, शोभा देना, जेब देना ।

ٹھیک بیٹھنا، شوہا دینا، زیب دینا

Befogged *adj.* धुंधला बना हुआ; झुलझनमें फैसा हुआ ।

دھندلا بنا ہوا؛ الجھن میں پھنسا ہوا

Befool *v.* बेवकूफ बनना, धोखा देना, झुल्ल बनाना ।

بیوقوف بننا، دھوکہ دینا، الوٹانا

Before *prep., adv.* आगे, पहले, सामने, बजाय, पहले

आके, پہلے، سامنے، بجائے پہلے اس کے کہ

Beforehand *adv.* पहले ही से ।

Befriend *v.* मदद देना, दोस्ती करना, दोस्त बना लेना, हाथ

पकड़ना, साथ देना ।

مدد دینا، دوستی کرنا، دوست بنا لینا، ہاتھ پکڑنا، ساتھ دینا

ages and supplied to Deputy Commissioners and Railway authorities for exhibition.

4. Government servants addicted to drink have been transferred from 'dry' to 'wet' areas in the interests of effective enforcement of prohibition. The latest report on the effects of pre-war prohibition says :

"General reports indicate that prohibition has undoubtedly improved the moral, physical, social and economic condition of the ex-addicts, although the increased cost of living has counter-balanced the savings from prohibition. They now look healthier and happier and their children are well clad and better fed. The women folk particularly appreciate the benefits of prohibition since it has brought peace and happiness to their homes. They now find their husbands more trustworthy and steadier in their work and they can exert healthier influence on their unintoxicated husbands in dissuading them from becoming victims of other vices."

Let us hope that the rosy picture will now prove rosier because of the advances suggested by the past.

New Delhi, 14-10-'46

PYARELAL

## ARTIFICIAL PRACTICES IN AGRICULTURE

It has now become an accepted maxim that for the maintenance of health what is needed is not merely good looking food but healthily grown food. The latter depends on soil health. Just as the quantity of flesh on a person's body is no indication of his health, the size and yield of the crop is no guarantee of its health-giving quality. Artificial manures might produce prize crops in respect of yield and the size of the grain, but the food thus raised is found to be lacking in certain vital principles and animals fed on it show signs of ill health and malnutrition. To the controversy of artificial versus natural manure a valuable contribution has now been made by Friend Sykes, a highly successful Wiltshire farmer in *Humus and Farmer* (Faber).

Two years ago Farmer Sykes began rearing cows, pigs and race horses that won national fame. A long run of achievement, however ended with disaster.

"To show the way to other breeders," says the *News Review* "his champion herd of black and white Freisian cattle was submitted to the then new tuberculin test. Two-thirds proved to be diseased, although their milk yields had been phenomenal. Convinced that the trouble was due to crops grown with artificial manures and to the feeding of 'concentrates' instead of natural foods, he sold out.

"Buying Chantry, highest farm on Salisbury Plain's eastern end, Sykes started again in 1936 with a new 'natural' system. Of his thin, poor and rabbit-infested acres a friend said: 'This is not farmland—it is just space-out-of-doors.' But in fewer than ten years the black down land yielded mammoth crops, champion beasts.

"No factory cattle foods, no artificial manure, was Sykes' rule. Early disease on the farm was defeated by ploughing, which brought about health-giving fertility. Subsoiling 2 ft. down released valuable minerals which deep-rooting plants brought to the surface. New methods of haymaking and harvest improved fodder with startling effects on the large livestock population.

"Most important of all, Friend Sykes used humus (scientifically rotted animal and vegetable refuse) to manure his land. The highly complex bacterial life of the soil was enriched, instead of poisoned by chemicals.

"The fashionable approach to soil is not biological but chemical," objects Sykes. "One hundred years of interested propaganda by vested industrial interests has pushed to the fore this 'artificial' view." He contends that artificial manure produces food "which reduces vitality so low that resistance to disease is becoming less and less."

According to him, "we are approaching the greatest of all menaces that have ever faced civilization—the day when soil fertility in almost every country will be a thing of the past."

Here are Sykes' views on other artificial practices which threaten to contribute to this impending doom:

"Artificial insemination may prove to be one of the most mischievous practices that so-called scientific agriculture has ever dared to play with.

"Sewage emptying into the sea is scandalous and abominable wastefulness. It should return to the land.

"Artificially dried grain often will not make bread. Sterility in women coincides with the introduction of the white loaf. Nothing is so important to man than that he should speedily return to the consumption of the whole wheat bread.

"Burning straw instead of ploughing it back into the soil is one of the most heinous crimes any farmer can commit.

"Many farmers keep cows indoors closely tied by the neck for five months in the year, feed them with concentrated foods the cow's digestion was never intended to cope with, and then expect the beasts to keep healthy."

New Delhi, 14-10-'46

PYARELAL

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# HARIJAN

November 10

1946

## TO BIHAR

To Bihar,

Bihar of my dreams seems to have falsified them. I am not relying upon reports that might be prejudiced or exaggerated. The continued presence of the Central Chief Minister and his colleague furnishes an eloquent tale of the tragedy of Bihar. It is easy enough to retort that things under the Muslim League Government in Bengal were no better, if not worse and that Bihar is merely a result of the latter. A bad act of one party is no justification for a similar act by the opposing party, more especially when it is rightly proud of its longest and largest political record. I must confess, too, that although I have been in Calcutta for over a week, I do not yet know the magnitude of the Bengal tragedy. Though Bihar calls me, I must not interrupt my programme for Noakhali. And is counter-communalism any answer to the communalism of which Congressmen have accused the Muslim League? Is it Nationalism to seek barbarously to crush the fourteen percent of the Muslims in Bihar?

I do not need to be told that I must not condemn the whole of Bihar for the sake of the sins of a few thousand Biharis. Does not Bihar take credit for one Brajkishore Prasad or one Rajendra Prasad? I am afraid, if the misconduct in Bihar continues, all the Hindus of India will be condemned by the world. That is its way, and it is not a bad way either. The misdeeds of Bihari Hindus may justify Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's taunt that the Congress is a Hindu organization in spite of its boast that it has in its ranks a few Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others. Bihari Hindus are in honour bound to regard the minority Muslims as their brethren requiring protection, equal with the vast majority of Hindus. Let not Bihar, which has done so much to raise the prestige of the Congress, be the first to dig its grave.

I am in no way ashamed of my *ahimsa*. I have come to Bengal to see how far in the nick of time my *ahimsa* is able to express itself in me. But I do not want in this letter to talk of *ahimsa* to you. I do want, however, to tell you that what you are reported to have done will never count as an act of bravery. For thousands to do to death a few hundreds is no bravery. It is worse than cowardice. It is unworthy of nationalism, of any religion. If you had given a blow against a blow, no one would have dared to point a finger against you. What you have done is to degrade yourselves and drag down India.

You should say to Pandit Jawaharlalji, Nishtar Sahab and Dr. Rajendra Prasad to take away their military and themselves and attend to the affairs

of India. This they can only do, if you repent of your inhumanity and assure them that Muslims are as much your care as your own brothers and sisters.

You should not rest till every Muslim refugee has come back to his home which you should undertake to rebuild and ask your Ministers to help you to do so. You do not know what critics have said to me about your Ministers.

I regard myself as a part of you. Your affection has compelled that loyalty in me. And since I claim to have better appreciation than you seem to have shown of what Bihari Hindus should do, I cannot rest till I have done some measure of penance. Predominantly for reasons of health, I had put myself on the lowest diet possible soon after my reaching Calcutta. That diet now continues as a penance after the knowledge of the Bihar tragedy. The low diet will become a fast unto death, if the erring Biharis have not turned over a new leaf.

There is no danger of Bihar mistaking my act for anything other than pure penance as a matter of sacred duty.

No friend should run to me for assistance or to show sympathy. I am surrounded by loving friends. It would be wholly wrong and irrelevant for any other person to copy me. No sympathetic fast or semi-fast is called for. Such action can only do harm. What my penance should do is to quicken the conscience of those who know me and believe in my *bona fides*. Let no one be anxious for me. I am like all of us in God's keeping.

Nothing will happen to me so long as He wants service through the present tabernacle.

Sodepur, 6-11-'46

Your Servant  
M. K. GANDHI

## CRUELTY TO THE DUMB CREATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Mysorean draws my attention to

"a small matter which however literally means life and death to the unfortunate dogs and cattle impounded in the Bangalore City pounds. The conditions there are very bad and the poor animals imprisoned for no fault of theirs are not properly fed nor given water. The lethal apparatus for the killing of dogs is out of order since some time and no attempts seem to have been made to repair it. The crude and cruel method of poisoning the animal is resorted to."

I have had the misfortune to advise the destruction of stray dogs. But that had to be, if men would be so cruel as, out of a false sense of pity, to feed *pariah* dogs and permit them to become a menace to the neighbouring population. But my advice can never include impounding such dogs and torturing them as those mentioned by my correspondent seem to have been. Humanitarian instinct demands destruction of such animals in an instantaneous and painless manner. I would love to hope that there is exaggeration in what the correspondent has stated. Anyway, the Municipality in question and all such other institutions should mend their manner if they do not satisfy the test demanded by humanity.

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46



## VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend, who is a thinker, writes in connection with village industries :

"Several of your ideas, good in themselves, are presented to the public in such a form as to call for a high standard of ethical sense in the people to whom they are addressed. The fact, however, is that the common man is actuated in his conduct only by necessity or self-interest. An economic order based on an appeal to sentiment or man's "higher nature" alone cannot last. The reason, why after all these years of effort the Khadi programme has failed to show a more substantial result, lies in the fact that your followers, the British vested interests, the mill-owners and cloth dealers were all ruled by their essentially selfish human nature.

"I too want society to be based on high moral principles of honesty and straight dealing between man and man. But I feel that it is not possible till we can eliminate altogether the spirit of commercialism or the profit motive. Just now there are so many control,—control over food, over transport and so on. The time is opportune for a big step forward.

"The Bombay Government has set up a committee for village industries. It includes Shri Manu Subedar, Shri Lakshmidas Asar and Shri Dhotre. My scheme is as follows :

"Taking each village or a group of two or three villages as a unit, the population can be divided into children, women, old people and able-bodied and healthy young folk. Then, there are those who are unfit to put in regular hours of work or work all the year round and lastly the unskilled lot, lacking means or skill or both for the pursuit of any particular vocation.

"Of these the children could easily be made to work for 3 to 4 hours a day, provided the work is not of a fatiguing nature. The remaining half of the day they could have to themselves for attending school.

"The children should be paid at the rate of one anna and the adults four annas per day from the day they begin to work. As they acquire more skill the wages of the children should be increased up to 5 annas and those of the adults up to 8 annas per day.

"The manufacture in one village should be confined to one kind of goods only, so that in about two months' time the workers will acquire skill and avoid making mistakes. The manufactured article should be such as can be utilized locally. The State should arrange to supply raw materials and appoint two or three experts to train the workers. The State should also undertake to popularize the manufactured goods and arrange for their transport and cheap distribution to the poor consumer.

"In the case of many articles thus manufactured the cost will be less than if they were manufactured in big factories. One reason for their cheapness would be the economy in wages. The savings should, therefore, be utilized for the benefit of the workers.

If, as a result of the able-bodied people being more and more absorbed in agriculture, railways and other such occupations, fewer hands are left for cottage crafts and production falls it would not matter.

"This scheme will enable millions to add to their income and make the two ends meet without throwing them on the unemployment dole or loss of self-respect. This social insurance scheme is in accordance with our Indian culture and is based on my personal experience of 35 years. It enables even men and women without any kind of special skill or previous training to eke out a living. Those who wish to earn more can take to more lucrative occupations, if they can find any. But none need feel stranded.

"The children can in this way not only be taught a craft but also get their education in addition. The expense should be charged to the scheme.

"Some features of the scheme are :

"It converts a large proportion of unskilled labour in the country into skilled labour.

"By bringing transport, stores, accounts etc. under State control, we eliminate completely the commercial motive from a vast field of the average man's life.

"One or two crores of men, women and children engaged under this scheme would put 25 to 50 lakhs of rupees into their pockets every day and thus millions will feel the glow of new life.

"The labour that is at present going to waste will be utilized for producing goods worth one to two crores per year.

"The State will obtain raw materials at the cheapest rates by buying straight from the producers. Whatever the State buys would be bought at cost price.

"Should a problem arise calling for consultation with a specialist or a technical expert, his services should be requisitioned for a specified period and he should be paid remuneration for that period.

"The man who is engaged to keep stores, accounts etc. should be made responsible for the education of the children as well. After two or three years, the education should be carried on by the monitor system, that is to say, the senior boys should teach the junior ones and the teacher should teach the senior boys only.

"This teacher should also keep about 50 commonly used drugs. For instance, allopathic drugs like Tr. iodine and *ayurvedic* drugs like myrobalan supplied by the State to each village, along with the relevant literature. These drugs should be sold to the villagers at the cheapest rates.

"The following is a list of some of the household articles that can be manufactured in this way :

"Cloth	Match stricks
Paper	Empty tins made of
Pencils, pen holders, etc.	cardboard and tin
Wire articles made out	Litho-label-printing
of pins etc.	Masala
Soap	Papad, wadi, etc.

Earthenware	Cots
Pottery	Combs
Buttons	Brushes, broom-
Glassware — bangles	sticks etc.
Registers, book-binding	Pen-knives, table-knives
Agricultural Implements	scissors, etc.
Gur	Leather goods
Nails	Ink
Hair Oil	Glue
Boot Polish	Lac
Metal Polish	Musical instruments
Phenyle	Fountain pens
Caps	Bicycles, parts of
Chappals	watches
Utensils of daily use:	Stockings, banyan, etc.
String, cord, straps	Candles
Toys	Mirrors
Small wooden articles	Play things."

The above letter presents a fascinating picture and deserves careful consideration. One thing is obvious. The writer has given the first place to cloth. It is the only article, in the list, of universal use. The various processes involved in Khadi production can engage millions of adults and children and enable them to earn a fair amount. This includes the weavers. The weavers live in the cities today. The middleman exploits them. If the people's Government could supply them with all the yarn they require it would simplify things for them and put their vocation on a stable basis. They would not then need to live in the cities. But this is beside the point.

My difficulties are two. One is whether it is possible to sell hand-made articles as cheaply as machine-made ones. The second is that out of the articles that have been enumerated in the scheme there is hardly any except Khadi which can become universal. They will not, in a large measure, be consumed locally and so will have to be sold in the cities. This is as it should be. The villagers should develop such a high degree of skill that articles prepared by them should command a ready market outside. When our villages are fully developed there will be no dearth in them of men with a high degree of skill and artistic talent. There will be village poets, village artists, village architects, linguists and research workers. In short there will be nothing in life worth having which will not be had in the villages. Today the villages are dung heaps. Tomorrow they will be like tiny gardens of Eden where dwell highly intelligent folk whom no one can deceive or exploit.

The reconstruction of the villages along these lines should begin right now. That might necessitate some modification of the scheme. The reconstruction of the villages should not be organized on a temporary but permanent basis.

My second difficulty is that in the scheme under question craft and education have been divorced from each other. Craft, art, health and education should all be integrated into one scheme. *Nayi Talim* is a beautiful blend of all the four and covers the whole education of the individual from the time of conception to the moment of death. Therefore,

I would not divide village uplift work into watertight compartments from the very beginning but undertake an activity which will combine all four. Instead of regarding craft and industry as different from education I will regard the former as the medium for the latter. *Nayi Talim* therefore ought to be integrated into the scheme.

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46

(From the original in Gujarati)

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE CALL

After much travail, deep thought and considerable argument, Gandhiji fixed the date of his departure for Bengal for the 28th of October. "I do not know what I shall be able to do there," he remarked in the course of an argument with a very esteemed friend, who made an eleventh hour effort to dissuade him from setting on such a long journey just then. "All I know is that I won't be at peace with myself unless I go there." He then went on to describe the "power of thought". "There are two kinds of thoughts—idle and active. There may be myriads of the former swarming in one's brain. They do not count." He likened them to unfertilized ova in a spawn. "But one pure, active thought, proceeding from the depth and endowed with all the undivided intensity of one's being, becomes dynamic and works like a fertilized ovum." He was averse to put a curb on the spontaneous urge which he felt within him to go to the people of Noakhali. Speaking before the evening prayer gathering on Sunday last at New Delhi, Gandhiji said that he was leaving for Calcutta the next morning. He did not know when God would bring him again to Delhi. He wanted to go to Noakhali from Calcutta. It was a difficult journey and he was in poor health. But one had to do one's duty and trust in God to make the way smooth. It was not that God necessarily and always removed hardships from one's path, but He did always enable one to bear them.

He did not want anyone to come to the station, he continued. India had given him enough affection. It needed no further demonstration.

He was not going to Bengal to pass judgment on anybody. He was going there as a servant of the people and he would meet Hindus and Muslims alike. Some Muslims looked upon him as an enemy today. They had not done so always. But he did not mind their anger. Were not his own religionists angry with him at times? From the age of seventeen he had learnt the lesson that all mankind, be they of any nationality, colour or country were his own kith and kin. If they were God's servants, they had to become servants of all His creation.

It was in that capacity that he was going to Bengal. He would tell them that Hindus and Muslims could never be enemies, one of the other. They were born and brought up in India and they had to live and die in India. Change of religion could not alter that fundamental fact. If some people liked to believe that change of religion

Belles-letters *n.* सरस साहित्य, खालिस अदबी तत्सानीक ।  
 سرس ساهتہ، خالص ادبی تصانیف

Bellicose *adj.* झगडालू, लडाका । झगڑالو، لڑاکا

Belligerent *adj.* लड़नेवाला । لڑنے والا

Bellow *v.* गरजना, चीखना, जोरसे चिल्लाना ।  
 گرجنا، چیخنا، زور سے چلانا

Bellows *n.* धौकनी । دھونکنی

Belly *n.* पेट । پیٹ

Belong *v.* मिलिकयत होना, किसीका होना, ताल्लुक या सम्बन्ध रखना, किसी जगहका रहनेवाला होना ।  
 ملکیت ہونا، کسی کا ہونا، تعلق یا سمبندھ رکھنا، کسی جگہ کا رہنے والا ہونا

Belongings *n.* माल-असबाब । مال اسباب

Beloved *adj.* प्रिय, प्यारा । پرہ پیارا

Below *prep., adv.* नीचे, तले, कम । نیچے، تلے، کم

Below par *adj.* श्रुतरा हुआ, जो या जैसा होना चाहिये  
 اترا ہوا، جو یا جیسا ہونا چاہئے اس سے کم

Belt *n.* कमरबन्द, पेटी, कमरपट्टी, बेल्ट ।  
 کمربند، پٹی، کمر پٹی، بیلٹ

Belvedere *n.* अटारी, बुर्ज; बगीचावर । اٹاری، برج، بگیچہ گھر

Bemoan *v.* रोना, अफसोस करना । رونا، افسوس کرنا

Bench *n.* तह्ता; अदालत, (कारीगरोंके कामकी) तिपाजी, बेंच ।  
 تختہ؛ عدالت؛ (کاریگروں کے کام کی) تپاچی، بینچ

Bencher *n.* 'जिन्स ऑव् कोर्ट'का म्बेर । انس اف کورٹ کا ممبر

Bend *v.* मोड़ना, मुड़ना, झुकाना, झुकना; फेरना; बल खाना;  
 अपने ढब पर लाना ।  
 موڑنا، موڑنا، جھکانا، جھکانا، پھیرنا، بل کھانا؛ اپنے ڈھب پر لانا

Beneath *prep., adv.* नीचे, तले । نیچے، تلے

Beneath dignity शानके खिलाफ, अयोग्य ।  
 شان کے خلاف، "ایوگیہ"

Beneath notice ध्यान देने या गौर करने लायक नहीं,  
 नाकाबिल तबज्जह ।  
 دھیان دینے یا غور کرنے لائق نہیں، نا قابل توجہ

Benediction *n.* आशीर्वाद, दुआ । آشیرواد، دعا

Benefaction *n.* दान, खैरात, नेक काम । دان، خیرات، نیک کام

Beneficence *n.* नेकी, अहसान, उपकार । نیکی، احسان، اپکار

Beneficial *adj.* हितकारी, लाभदायक, फायदेमन्द ।  
 ہتکاری، لایہ دایک، فائدہ مند

Beneficiary *n.* फायदा अठानेवाला (चाहे जमीन या रुपयेका) ।  
 فائدہ اٹھانے والا (چاہے زمین یا روپے کا)

Benefit *n.* लाभ, फायदा; भला; वञ्चीफा ।  
 لاہ، فائدہ؛ بھلا؛ وظیفہ

Benevolence *n.* सुदारता, फ़ैयाजी, नेकदिली ।  
 ادارتا، فیاضی، نیک دلی

Benighted *adj.* जिसे रात हो गयी हो; अँधेरेमें पड़ा हुआ,  
 जाहिल, अज्ञ, गुमराह ।  
 جیسے رات ہو گئی ہو، اندھیرے میں پڑا ہوا، جاہل، اگیہ، گمراہ

Benign *adj.* दयालु, मेहरबान । دیاالو، مہربان

Benison *n.* आशीर्वाद, दुआ । آشیرواد، دعا

Bent *n.* झुकाव; प्रवृत्ति, रुझान । جھکاؤ؛ پرورتی، رُجھان

Bent upon उला हुआ, कमर बाँधे, ठाने हुआ ।  
 تلاہوا، کمر باندھے، ٹھانے ہوئے

Benumb *v.* सुन्न करना । سن کرنا

Bequeath *v.* विरासतमें दे जाना, छोड़ जाना, वसीयत करना ।  
 وراثت میں دے جانا، چھوڑ جانا، وصیت کرنا

- Bequest *n.* دان، ترکا، وکرا۔ وقف
- Bereave *v.* छीन लेना, ले लेना, वंचित करना, महरूम करना।  
چین لینا, لے لینا, ونجت کرنا, محروم کرنا
- Beret *n.* खूनकी गोल टोपी। اون کی گول ٹوپی
- Berg *n.* बरफकी चट्टान, हिम-शिला। هم شلا
- Berry *n.* कोजी भी छोटा रसीला फल। کوئی بھی چھوٹا رسدار پھل
- Berth *n.* समन्दर या घाटमें जहाजके ठहरनेकी जगह; जहाज, रेलगाड़ी वगैरामें सोनेकी जगह; बर्थ, नौकरीकी जगह;।  
سمندر یا گھاٹ میں جہاز کے ٹہرنے کی جگہ, جہاز, ریل گاڑی وغیرہ میں سونے کی جگہ; برتھ, نوکری کی جگہ, برتھ
- Berth, to give wide, to *v.* दूर रहना। دور رکھना
- Beseech *v.* मिन्नत करना, बिनती करना। منت کرنا, بتی کرنا
- Beset *adj.* घिरा हुआ, मुसीबतमें, परेशान।  
گھرا ہوا, مصیبت میں, پریشان
- Beside *prep., adv.* نزدیک, निकट। نزدیک
- Besides *prep., adv.* अिसके अलावा। اس کے علاوہ
- Beside the mark बेताल्लुक, बेजोड़। بے تعلق, بے جوڑ
- Beside one's self, to be *v.* जामे (आपे)से बाहर होना।  
جامے (آپے) سے باہر ہونا
- Besiege *v.* देखो Beleaguer। देखो
- Besmear *v.* चुपड़ना, लेप करना, घब्बा लगाना।  
چپڑना, لپ کرنا, دھبہ لگانا
- Besmirch *v.* गन्दा करना, दाग लगाना। گندہ کرنا, داغ لگانا
- Besom *n.* झाड़ू। झाड़ू
- Bespeak *v.* पहलेसे कह रखना, रोक रखना, ले रखना।  
پہلے سے کہ رکھنا, روک رکھنا, لے رکھنا
- Best *adj.* सबसे अच्छा, सुतम, बेहतरीन। سب سے اچھا, اتم, بہترین
- Best man *n.* शहवाला। شوالا
- Best, do one's, to *v.* भरसक कोशिश करना। بھرسک کوشش کرنا
- Best, at ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा, अच्छी-से-अच्छी।  
زیادہ سے زیادہ, اچھی سے اچھی
- Best, be at one's, to *v.* दरजा कमाल पर होना, अपना कमाल दिखाना।  
درجہ کمال پر ہونا, اپنا کمال دکھانا
- Best, do it for the, to *v.* नेक खिरादेसे करना, भलेके लिये करना।  
نیک ارادے سے کرنا, اچھے کے لیے کرنا
- Best, have the, of it, to *v.* फायदेमें रहना (औरोंके मुकाबले)।  
فائدے میں رہنا (اوروں کے مقابلے)
- Best, make the, of it, to *v.* निभाना; काम चलाना,  
जो मौजूद या मुमकिन हो खुससे (संतुष्ट होना या खुसपर करना अत करना); का पूरा-पूरा खिस्तेमाल करना।  
نیہانا; کام چلانا, جو موجود یا ممکن ہو اس سے (سنتشت ہونا یا اس پر قناعت کرنا) کا پورا پورا استعمال کرنا
- Best, to put one's, leg forward *v.* कदम बढ़ाकर चलना।  
قدم بڑھا کر چلنا
- Best, to make the, of one's way *v.* जितनी तेजी या शीघ्रतासे मुमकिन हो जाना।  
جتنی تیزی یا شگھرتا سے ممکن ہو جانا
- Bestial *adj.* वहशियाना, हैवानी, जानवर-जैसा, पाशविक।  
وحشیانہ, حیوانی, جانور جیسا, ہاشوک
- Bestir *v.* दौड़-धूप करना, कराना; मुस्तैदी दिखाना, मुस्तैद करना।  
دوڑ دھوپ کرنا, کرانا, مستعدی دکھانا, مستعد کرنا
- Bestow *v.* रखना; देना। رکھنا دینا
- Bet *v.* होड़ या शर्त बदना, दाव लगाना।  
ھوڑ یا شرط بدنا, داؤ لگانا
- Betake *v.* जाना, लगाना। لگنا
- Betel *n.* पान। پان
- Betel nut *n.* सुपारी। सुपारी
- Betide *v.* देखो, Befall। देखो
- Betimes *adv.* अच्छे वक़्तमें, पहले, सवेरे।  
اچھے وقت میں, پہلے, سیرے
- Betray *v.* द्योसे दुश्मनके हवाले करना, बेवफाकी करना; मेद दंगे से دشمن के حوالے کرنا, بے وفائی کرنا, بید کھولنا
- Betroth *v.* सगाही करना, मँगनी करना, सम्बन्ध करना।  
سگائی کرنا, منگنی کرنا, سمبندھ کرنا
- Better *adj.* बेहतर, ज्यादा अच्छा। بہتر, زیادہ اچھا
- Better, get the, of, to *v.* हरा देना, मगल्लब करना, मात देना।  
ھرا دینا, مغلوب کرنا, مات دینا
- Between *prep.* बीचमें, दरमियान। درمیان
- Between two stools दुबिधामें, शश-व-पंजमें।  
دوبیدھا میں, شش و پنج میں
- Between you and me हम-तुम तक ही।  
هم تم تک ہی
- Between whiles *prep.* समय-समय पर, वक़्त-वक़्त पर।  
سے سے پر, وقت وقت پر
- Between the devil and the deep see आगे आग पीछे नाग; आगे कुआँ पीछे खाकी।  
آگے آگ پیچھے ناگ, آگے کنواں پیچھے کھائی
- Between, go- *n.* सुलह करानेवाला, दलाल, मध्यस्थ।  
صلح کرائے والا, مدهیستہ
- Bevel *n.* डाल, गुनिया। ڈھال, گنیا
- Beverage *n.* कोजी भी पीनेकी चीज़, शराब।  
کوئی بھی پینے کی چیز, شراب
- Bevy *n.* झुण्ड, टोली, मण्डली (औरतों और चिड़ियोंकी)।  
جھنڈ, ٹولی, منڈلی (عورتوں اور چڑیوں کی)
- Bewail *v.* रोना, अकसोस करना, मातम करना।  
رونا, افسوس کرنا, ماتم کرنا
- Beware *v.* होशियार, खबरदार होना व रहना, सावधान रहना व होना।  
ھوشیار, خبردار ہونا و رہنا, ساودھان رہنا و ہونا
- Bewilder *v.* परेशान करना, खुलझनमें डालना, गुमराह करना।  
پریشان کرنا, الجھن میں ڈالنا, گمراہ کرنا
- Bewitch *v.* जादू करना, मोह लेना।  
جادو کرنا, موہ لینا
- Beyond *prep.* पार, दूसरी तरफ, खुस तरफ, दूर पर, पहुँचके पार, दूसरी طرف, अस् طرف, دور پر, پنج के बाहर।  
اپار, بے انداز, بے-اندداد, پار, دوسری طرف, اس طرف, دور پر, پنج کے باہر
- Beyond measure अपार, बे-अन्दाज़।
- Beyond, the back of दुनियाका आखिरी सिरा।  
دنیا کا آخری سرا
- Beyond, one, to be *v.* समझके बाहर।  
سمجھ کے باہر
- Beyond one's limitations, to go अपनी मर्यादाके बाहर जाना।  
اپنی مریدا کے باہر جانا
- Beyond, the great *n.* परलोक। پرلوك
- Bias *n.* पक्षपात, तरफदारी, तबस्सुब, मैलान, रयाबत।  
پکشیات, طرف داری, تعصب, میلان, رغبت
- Bib *n.* बच्चोंके गलोंमें बाँधा जानेवाला कपड़ा।  
بچوں کے گلے میں باندھا جانے والا کپڑا
- Bible *n.* ब्रिजील, आसाब्रियोकी धर्म पुस्तक, बाइबिल।  
انجیل, عیساتیوں کی دھرم پستک, بائبل
- Bibliography *n.* किताबयात, पुस्तकोंका जितिहास या सूची।  
کتابیات, پستکوں کا اتھاس یا سوچی
- Bibulous *adj.* पानीचूस, शराबी। پانی چوس, شرابی
- Bicameral *adj.* दो-मजलिसी। دو مجلسی

changed one's nationality also, even they need not become enemies.

Sufferings of women had always melted his heart. He wanted to go to Bengal and wipe their tears and put heart into them, if he could. In Calcutta he would try to see the Governor and the Prime Minister Mr. Suhrawardy and then proceed to Noakhali.

He was proceeding under auspices none too happy. He referred to the ugly demonstrations before the Viceroy's House on the day before when Jawaharlalji and some of his colleagues in the Interim Government were abused and insulted. It was bad. Why should such things happen when the two parties, the Muslim League and the Congress, had formed a coalition at the Centre? Praise or abuse made no difference to the leaders who wanted to serve them to the best of their ability. But the people had to behave.

"Let us all still pray and hope that all the Ministers will be able to work as a team. If India can speak with one voice, she will be the greatest country in the world and every true Indian must wish her to attain that status."

#### THE JOURNEY

The journey proved to be as strenuous as some of us had feared. It was after 12 years that he was travelling on this line. Naturally there were mammoth crowds at all big stations on the way—at Aligarh, Tundla, Cawnpore and Asansol, the whole platform was like a swarming ant-heap of humanity. They clambered on the roof, choked the windows, broke glass, smashed in the wooden shutters and yelled and shouted till one's ears split. They pulled the alarm chain again and again to obtain *darshan*, making it necessary to disconnect the vacuum brakes. The station authorities tried to drive them away by directing against them the water hose from the hydrant overhead. It made no difference to them; only it flooded the compartment! At Aligarh the rags in the grease box of the brake began to smoulder and emit volumes of thick, acrid smoke which filled the compartment. It was with the utmost difficulty that one could manage to get through the crush and report to the railway authorities. If fire had broken out one wonders how the party could have got out of the compartment at all with all the luggage.

Later in the evening Gandhiji sat with his fingers thrust into his ears to keep out the shouting and the din when they became unbearable. And yet when it was suggested to him that he might allow the lights in the compartment to be switched off to discourage *darshan*-seekers he turned down the suggestion. The only way he could requite the simple faith of the masses was, he said, by serving them with his last drop of energy and never to put his personal comfort before what he considered to be his duty towards them.

#### AT SODEPUR

Gandhiji's train arrived at Lilooah five hours behind time. From the station he was driven straight to Shri Satish Das Gupta's Khadi Pratishthan Ashram

at Sodepur which he reached at 5-30 in the evening. A crowd of several hundred had gathered there from round about Sodepur for the evening prayer. The advertised time for prayer was 5-30 p. m. But Gandhiji was able to attend prayer only after 7 p. m. In his prayer discourse he told them how he had never dreamt that he would be coming back to Sodepur so soon. But God had sent him in their midst again. The train had arrived five hours late. He called that also the will of God. No doubt there were big crowds at Aligarh, Khurja Road, Cawnpore and other big stations and the train was detained as a result. But he literally believed in the old maxim that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. Some might say that all his talk about God was a make-believe which he used as a blind to cover his hypocrisy. All he could say was that he was not aware of any hypocrisy in himself. He spoke what he believed to be God's truth. As regards his future plan Gandhiji said that he had come to Calcutta with a blank mind to do His will. What he would do here and how long he would stay in Bengal he did not know. God would indicate to him the next step on reaching Noakhali.

The next day, owing to his engagements in Calcutta with H. E. the Governor and the Prime Minister, he had again to apologize to his audience for coming late to the prayer meeting. "He who gives all his time to the service of the people, his whole life is an unbroken round of prayer," he remarked. He did not however, wish thereby to diminish the importance of fixed time for prayer. There was a difference between community prayer and individual prayer. He was sorry, he had not been able to do justice to the former. It was generous of them to have waited for him with such exemplary patience and it filled him with joy and faith and confidence in regard to the task before him. But he could not forgive himself so easily for his failure to keep punctually the prayer appointment with them.

He drew their attention to the Viceroy's appeal, issued in the name of the whole Cabinet of which the Viceroy was the President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Vice-President and which consisted of both Congress and Muslim League representatives. In that appeal the Viceroy, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, had appealed that the two major communities of India should bury the hatchet and become one at heart. The unity should be genuine, not imposed by the military or the police. The speaker had come to Bengal for that purpose. He took no side. He could only side with truth and justice. He wanted them all to pray with him for the establishment of heart unity between the Muslims and the Hindus. Their name would be mud in the world, if they degraded themselves by fighting among themselves like wild beasts.

#### A FAINT RAY OF HOPE

Speaking on the third day of his arrival here, Gandhiji was able to tell his audience at the evening prayer meeting that he saw a faint ray of hope that



peace might be established between the communities. He had met H. E. the Governor, and his Chief Minister twice. The visit to the former was more or less in the nature of a courtesy call. His main business was with the Chief Minister. As one drove through the deserted streets with garbage heaps, at places banked up nearly two feet high against the pavements, and entire rows of gutted shops and burnt-out houses in the side-streets and by-lanes as far as the eye could reach, one felt overcome with a sinking feeling at the mass madness that can turn man into less than the brute. By its very nature this state of things cannot last. Human nature won't stand it. As Abraham Lincoln said, "You cannot fool all the people for all time." There seem to be indications that the people are already beginning to sicken of the carnival of blood and bestiality. They had been fighting amongst themselves like wild beasts. The fighting could do no good to Calcutta, Bengal, India or the world.

To make peace between quarrelling parties, the speaker said, had been his vocation from his early youth. Even while he practised as a lawyer, he tried to bring the contending parties together. Why could not the two communities be brought together? He was an optimist, he said.

From them he wanted only this help: that they should pray with him that this mutual slaughter might stop and the two communities might really become one at heart. Whether India was to become divided or remain one whole could not be decided by force. It had to be done through mutual understanding. Whether they decided to part or stay together, they must do so with goodwill and understanding.

He could never be party to anything which might mean humiliation or loss of self-respect for anyone. Therefore any peace to be substantial must be honourable, never at the cost of honour.

In this he was only echoing the sentiment expressed to him by a prominent Muslim who had seen him. This friend had said: "We must reach our goal, whatever it might be—Pakistan or undivided India—without bloodshed or fighting. I go so far as to say that if it cannot be reached except through bloodshed and fighting amongst ourselves, it is not worth reaching."

#### THE GRIM RESOLVE

"Why do you want to go to Noakhali? You did not go to Bombay, Ahmedabad or Chhapra, where things have happened that are infinitely worse than Noakhali. Would not your going there only add to the existing tension?" Was it because in these places it was the Muslims who had been the sufferers that he did not go there and would go to Noakhali because the sufferers there were Hindus?—he was asked by a Muslim friend the other day. Gandhiji's reply was that he made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim. He would certainly have gone straight to any of the places mentioned by the friend, if anything approaching

what had happened at Noakhali had happened there and if he felt that he could do nothing without being on the spot. It was the cry of outraged womanhood that had peremptorily called him to Noakhali. He felt he would find his bearings only on seeing things for himself at Noakhali. His technique of non-violence was on trial. It remained to be seen how it would answer in the face of the present crisis. If it had no validity it were better that he himself should declare his insolvency. He was not going to leave Bengal until the last embers of the trouble were stamped out. "I may stay on here for a whole year or more. If necessary, I will die here. But I will not acquiesce in failure. If the only effect of my presence in the flesh is to make people look up to me in hope and expectation which I can do nothing to vindicate, it would be far better that my eyes were closed in death." He had mentally prepared himself, he added, for abstention from the Congress session, if necessary. He had similarly disengaged himself mentally from all his responsibilities in respect of Sevagram and Uruli—his latest love.

But with all his impatience to get to Noakhali he had to announce on the fourth day at the prayer gathering that he would not be able to leave for Noakhali on the next day as he had intended to. The Prime Minister had sent him word that the train for him could not be arranged so soon. He hoped to leave on Saturday or Sunday. In the meantime he would try to render whatever service he could to the metropolis.

Sodepur, 1-11-'46

PYARELAL

#### Dola Palki

The Dola Palki dispute in Garhwal should be set at rest seeing that the U. P. Government are said to have passed orders for prompt measures to be taken against those who would interfere with Harijan bridegrooms riding on ponies or using any other form of conveyance in spite of custom to the contrary trotted out by objectors.

On the train to Calcutta,  
29-10-'46

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

### A DILEMMA

Four more days were to elapse before Gandhiji could actually leave for Noakhali. As harrowing details of the happenings in Noakhali trickled through, they added to the existing tension. *Bakr Id* was close at hand and it was the wish of the Chief Minister of Bengal and his colleagues that Gandhiji should prolong his stay in the city at least till the *Id* festival was safely over. The root of the trouble, it was represented to him, lay in Calcutta. If the peace could be stabilized in the Metropolis, it would have a salutary effect all over. Gandhiji acquiesced. The whole of India was faced with a difficult situation, that of Bengal was still more so, he remarked in his after-prayer address on Friday last. He had been asked as to what their duty was under the circumstances. According to the scriptures, that was *dharma* which was enjoined by the holy books, followed by the sages, interpreted by the learned and which appealed to the heart. The first three conditions must be fulfilled before the fourth came into operation. Thus one had no right to follow the precepts of an ignorant man or a rascal even though they commended themselves to one. Rigorous observance of harmlessness, non-enmity and renunciation were the first requisites for a person to entitle him to lay down the law, i. e. *dharma*.

He had told them what he considered to be his duty. But they had to judge for themselves what their duty was. He did not ask them to follow him but he pointed out to them the way to discover what their duty was in the difficult position they found themselves in. The Gita had told them that if they only waited on God, they would know the way.

### A HAPPY INSPIRATION

The visit of the four Ministers of the Interim Government to Calcutta to help further the peace efforts was a happy inspiration. It had a salutary effect and for the time being at least an impending crisis was averted. As their visit coincided with that of the Viceroy it gave rise to all kinds of speculation. Would they ask the Viceroy to intervene or would they exert pressure on the Bengal Governor to make the Bengal Ministry take more effective measures? In a series of after-prayer addresses Gandhiji impressed upon the people how the desire of retaliation and the tendency to look to the Viceroy or the Governor, the military and the police, for protection were incompatible with Independence to which they were all pledged. The

Viceroy's powers vested in the Cabinet, the Governor's in the Bengal Ministers. If they wanted lasting peace, it must come from the people's hearts. He had been proclaiming from the housetops that no one could protect them except their own stout hearts. No one could ever dishonour the brave. Retaliation was a vicious circle. If they wanted retaliation they could not have Independence. "Supposing someone kills me, you will gain nothing by killing someone else in retaliation. And, if you only think over it, who can kill Gandhi except Gandhi himself? No one can destroy the soul. So let us dismiss all thought of revenge from our hearts. If we see this clearly we shall have taken a big stride towards Independence."

### A PLEA FOR SANITY

The warning came none too early. Already there were rumblings of a storm in Bihar. The cry for reprisals had gone forth. Gandhiji devoted his next address to show the illogicality and irrationality of that cry.

From his earliest childhood he had learnt to dislike the wrong, never the wrong-doer. Therefore, even if the Muslims had done any wrong, they still remained his friends, but it was his duty to tell them that they had done wrong. He had always applied that rule in life with regard to his nearest and dearest. He held that to be the test of true friendship. He had told them on the previous day that revenge was not the way of peace, it was not humanity. The Hindu scriptures taught forgiveness as the highest virtue. Forgiveness became a brave man. A learned Muslim friend had come to see him on the day before. He had told the speaker that the teaching of the *Quran* was also similar. If a man kills one innocent person he brings upon his head the sin, as it were, of murdering the entire humanity. Islam never approves of but condemns murder, arson, forcible conversions, abductions and the like.

If they could not be generous enough to forgive a person who gave them a slap, remarked Gandhiji, they could give him one in return. He could understand that. But if the miscreant ran away and the injured party slapped his relation or co-religionist by way of retaliation, it was below human dignity.

If someone abducted his daughter, the speaker continued, was he to abduct the abductor's or the abductor's friend's daughter? He held it to be infamous. Muslim friends had condemned such acts in Noakhali. But what was he to say of Bihar, if what he was told was true? He was pained beyond

measure to hear of the reported happenings in Bihar. He knew the Biharis well. The cry of blood for blood was barbarous. They could not take revenge in Bihar for the happenings in Noakhali. He was told that some Muslims, who were running away from Bihar in panic, were murdered by Bihari Hindus. He was shocked to hear it. He hoped that the report was not true. It was contended that the Mahabharata advocated the way of retaliation. He did not agree with that interpretation. The lesson of the Mahabharata was that the victory of the sword was no victory. That great book taught that the victory of the Pandavas was an empty nothing.

He told them of the talk he had with Saheed Saheb, their Prime Minister. Years ago he had met him at Faridpur. Saheed Saheb then took pride in calling himself the speaker's son. He knew they had many grievances against their Prime Minister. But the latter had given him his assurance that he wanted peace. It had grieved him to alienate his Hindu friends. He the speaker, could not disbelieve that assurance till it was found to be untrue. He had by giving that assurance put himself to test. The golden way was to be friends with the world and to regard the whole human family like members of one family. He who distinguished between one's own family and another's, miseducated the members of his own and opened the way for discord and irreligion.

#### RUMBLINGS FROM BIHAR

Immediately on seeing the report of the conflagration in Bihar in the Press, Gandhiji sent a wire through the Chief Minister to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who with his three colleagues had proceeded to Patna from Calcutta. The latter wired in reply that the situation was tense and grave in many parts but Government were doing their utmost to bring it under control. He himself with his colleague Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar had decided to stay on in Bihar as long as it might be necessary. "The Congress belongs to the people," commented Gandhiji in his silent day's written message to the prayer congregation. "The Muslim League belongs to our Muslim brothers and sisters. If Congressmen fail to protect Mussalmans where the Congress is in power, then what is the use of a Congress Premier? Similarly, if in a League Province the League Premier cannot afford protection to the Hindus, then why is the League Premier there at all? If either of them have to take the aid of the military in order to protect the Muslim or Hindu minority in their respective provinces, then it only means that none of them actually exercises any control over the general population when a moment of crisis comes. If that is so, it only means that both of us are inviting the British to retain their sovereignty over India. This is a matter over which each one of us should ponder deeply."

He deprecated the habit of procuring moral alibi for ourselves by blaming it all on the *goondas*. "We always put the blame on the *goondas*. But it is we who are responsible for their creation as well

as encouragement. It is therefore not right to say that all the wrong that has been done is the work of the *goondas*."

#### QUIT INDEPENDENCE ?

He repeated the warning on the next day even more forcefully. The Hindus might say : did not the Muslims start the trouble? He wanted them not to succumb to the temptation for retort but to think of their own duty and say firmly that whatever happened, they would not fight. He wanted to tell them that the Muslims who were with him in the course of the day had assured him that they wanted peace. They were all responsible men. They said clearly that Pakistan could not be achieved by fighting. If they continued quarrelling with each other, Independence would vanish into thin air and that would firmly implant the third power in India, be it the British or any other. India was a vast country, rich in minerals, metals and spices. There was nothing in the world that India did not produce. If they kept on quarrelling, any of the big powers of the world would feel tempted to come and save India from Indians and at the same time exploit her rich resources.

They wanted Independence. They were ready to sacrifice their all for the Congress, the organization which had done so much for India. Were they going to undo all that the Congress had done for more than the last 60 years? He had told them they could return blow for blow if they were not brave enough to follow the path of non-violence. But there was a moral code for the use of violence also. Otherwise, the very flames of violence would consume those who lighted them. He did not care if they were all destroyed. But he could not countenance the destruction of India's freedom.

The reports of the happenings in Bihar were awful if true. Pandit Jawaharlal had told the guilty parties that the Central Government would never tolerate such barbarism. They would even use aerial bombing to put it down. But that was the way of the British. The Congress was an organization of the people. Was the Congress to use the foreign mode of destruction against the people whose representative it was? By suppressing the riots with the aid of the military, they would be suppressing India's freedom. And yet what was Panditji to do if the Congress had lost control over the people? The better way, of course, was to give up the reins of Government, if the people were not amenable to discipline and reason.

To retaliate against the relatives of the co-religionists of the wrong-doer was a cowardly act. If they indulged in such acts, they should say good-bye to Independence.

#### TO BIHAR

Fallen upon evil times as we are, we have to be thankful even for small mercies. Everybody heaved a sigh of relief when it was known that the *Bakr Id* had passed off quietly all over India. But the news from Bihar had set Gandhiji at war with himself. It was in Bihar that mass Satyagraha in India

was born. It was in Bihar that his political career in India had practically commenced. And now it was the people of Bihar, for whom he had indefatigably laboured and who had showered upon him such love and affection — Bihar of Brijkishore Babu and Rajendra Babu — that had gone mad and besmirched the fair name of India. He had declared times without number that if the people of India should run amok against the English, they might find him dead. How could he be a witness to the same in regard to innocent Mussalmans who were after all our countrymen, our own kith and kin. "I went on spare, milkless diet, principally for reasons of health soon after coming to Calcutta. The happenings in the country induced me to prolong it. Now Bihar will send me to complete fast if things do not radically mend," he wrote in a letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on Sunday the 4th. "There will be no time limit," he added. "Do not agitate yourself but be really glad that I feel I have the strength to go through the ordeal and live up to my creed." On the following day in a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal he wrote: "The news from Bihar has shaken me. My own duty seems to me to be clear. A deep bond unites me with Bihar. How can I forget that? If even half of what one hears is true, it shows that Bihar has forgotten humanity. To blame it all on the *goondas* would be an untruth. Although I have striven hard to avert a fast, I can do so no longer . . . My inner voice tells me, 'You may not live to be a witness to this senseless slaughter. If people refuse to see what is clear as daylight and pay no heed to what you say, does it not mean that your day is over?' The logic of the argument is driving me irresistibly towards a fast. I, therefore, propose to issue a statement that unless this orgy of madness ceases, I must go on a fast unto death. The fast may have to be delayed for some time. When you asked me at Delhi about it, I had replied that I was not thinking of it at the time. All that has now changed. You can strive with me, if you think differently. Whatever you say will carry weight with me. But knowing as you do my temperament, I am sure you will approve of my proposed step. In any event you will go on with your work without a moment's thought about my possible death and leave me in God's good care. No worry allowed." But neither Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru nor the Sardar to whom he had caused a copy of the letter to be sent tried to dissuade him. They understood better the magnitude of the stake. It was nothing less than India's Independence. Pandit Jawaharlal sent him word from Patna over the telephone that he did not think it was necessary for him (Gandhiji) to go to Bihar at present. He added that his (Panditji's) own place was in Bihar rather than in Delhi. "I am going to stay on here as long as it may be necessary." On the morning of the 6th, just before he was leaving for Noakhali, Gandhiji issued the statement foreshadowed in the letter to Pandit Nehru that has since appeared in the Press.

Chaumuhani, 8-11-46

PYARELAL

## GREEN CROSS SOCIETY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Red Cross Society one is aware of. It had at one time only military associations and used to have an imperialist flavour. Now it has expanded into civil work and covers every form of first-aid work for the relief of suffering humanity. Nevertheless its activities are largely confined to cities. It has hardly touched Indian life.

England is a country for lost causes: humanitarian and even strange causes. One such is represented by the Green Cross Society for the wild life heritage. Mrs. M. H. Morrison is its Hon. Secretary (41, Asmuns Place, London, N. W. 11).

The Society aims at the U. N. O. identifying itself with it. The following resolution is to be submitted to the U. N. O. for acceptance:

"(a) That U. N. O. ideals should include immediate effort in each country to delimit the area of any suitable National Park incorporating Nature Reserves for the protection of unique and valuable wild life — Flora, Fauna, Avifauna, with the distinctive terrain upon which these depend.

"(b) And, further, that the world at large should consent to an International Park, or World National Park in South America, Africa or Asia. If in Asia, then upon, around or within — it is suggested — the immense mountains encircling Tibet: Britain China, India, Russia and U. S. A., appointing Custodians and acting as Trustees."

Reasons adduced for inviting the U. N. O. to pass the foregoing resolution are:

"1. That a stand must now be made against the maddening encroachments of Materialism.

"2. That the idealism and realism of the United Nations Organization should include an urge to all the world and to each nation to protect our heritage of Wild Life — its beauty, grandeur and interest — wild birds, wild animals, wild flora (flowers, plants, trees) and wild country or landscape: to protect our heritage wherever possible; and with special care within the Nature Reserves of National Parks.

"3. That the United Nations will jointly set an example to the component nations by claiming its own World Nature Park, or International Park in South America, Africa or Asia. If in Asia, then upon, around, or within the immense mountains encircling Tibet. In this case Britain, China, India, Russia and U. S. A. might appoint Custodians and act as Trustees to prevent disastrous and disfiguring exploitation.

"4. And, further, that such "Far Horizon" can give direction and cohesion to friends, allies, sympathizers and well-wishers gathering in groups along the way for the march and drive on toward the distant goal."

Among the numerous signatories to the resolution are Sir Alfred J. Munnings, President, Royal Academy of Arts, Dame Laura Knight and the world famous George Bernard Shaw.



Mrs. Morrison would like the signatures of leading Indians and other leaders in Asia and Africa. Those who would endorse the resolution should put themselves in communication with Mrs. Morrison.

Sodepur, 2-11-'46

## HARIJAN

November 17

1946

### A CHALLENGE TO FAITH

[The following are questions put by the Associated Press of America correspondent and Gandhiji's answers (6-11-'46). PYARELAL]

Q. 1. In view of recent Indian history—1942 unrest, I. N. A. movement and unrest, R. I. N. mutiny, Calcutta-Bombay disturbances, movements in Indian States such as Kashmir and recent communal riots—can it be said your creed of non-violence has failed, insofar as non-violence has not taken roots in Indian life?

A. This is a dangerous generalization. All you mention can certainly be called *himsa* but that can never mean that the creed of non-violence has failed. At best it may be said that I have not yet found the technique required for the conversion of the mass mind. But I claim that the millions of the 7,00,000 villages of India have not participated in the violence alluded to by you. Whether non-violence has taken roots in Indian life is still an open question which can only be answered after my death.

Q. 2. What should one do in his day-to-day life—that is, what is the minimum programme—so that one can acquire non-violence of the brave?

A. The minimum that is required of a person wishing to cultivate the *ahimsa* of the brave is first to clear one's thought of cowardice and in the light of the clearance regulate his conduct in every activity, great or small. Thus the votary must refuse to be cowed down by his superior, without being angry. He must, however, be ready to sacrifice his post, however remunerative it may be. Whilst sacrificing his all, if the votary has no sense of irritation against his employer, he has *ahimsa* of the brave in him. Assume that a fellow passenger threatens my son with assault and I reason with the would-be-assailant who then turns upon me. If then I take his blow with grace and dignity, without harbouring any ill-will against him, I exhibit the *ahimsa* of the brave. Such instances are of every day occurrence and can be easily multiplied. If I succeed in curbing my temper every time and though able to give blow for blow I refrain, I shall develop the *ahimsa* of the brave which will never fail me and which will compel recognition from the most confirmed adversaries.

### THE SPINNING WHEEL AND THE ATOM BOMB

Mr. Andrew Freeman of the *New York Post*, who took lessons in spinning with Kanu Gandhi, followed up the subject on return from his assignment in the N. W. F. P. tour with Pandit Nehru by an interview with Gandhiji. He had come to Gandhiji with the assumption that the spinning wheel had a cultural and therapeutic value especially for the malaise from which the West was suffering and which had culminated in the atom bomb.

"Has the spinning wheel a message for America? Can it serve as a counter weapon to the atom bomb?" he asked.

"I do feel," replied Gandhiji, "that it has a message for the U. S. A. and the whole world. But it cannot be until India has demonstrated to the world that it has made the spinning wheel its own, which it has not done today. The fault is not of the wheel. I have not the slightest doubt that the saving of India and of the world lies in the wheel. If India becomes the slave of the machine, then, I say, heaven save the world."

"India," he continued, "has a far nobler mission, viz. to establish friendship and peace in the world. Peace cannot be established through mere conferences. Peace is being broken, as we all see, even while conferences are being held."

"It seems so tragic," remarked Mr. Freeman. "India must lead the way and India is in turmoil. If any country can really take up the wheel, it is India. Do you think it will?"

"It is doing so," replied Gandhiji, "but I confess the process is very slow. Pandit Nehru called Khadi the 'livery of our freedom'. It cannot be that, so long as it is the consolation of cranks and paupers only. There are many things that are not possible for man to accomplish. But everything is possible for God. If there is no living power called God, the spinning wheel has no place."

"Those who spin are not called cranks here?" asked Mr. Freeman with some concern.

"No. I used that expression to anticipate what Americans would say. I allow myself to be called by that name to protect myself. I was described by a friend as a 'practical idealist'."

"As a fairly intelligent human being and an American I can only say," remarked Mr. Freeman. "that though many Americans would call spinners cranks, there are not a few who are thinking hard. Something has to be found, that would save civilization from destruction. Life must be simplified."

"Human personality cannot be sustained in any other way," replied Gandhiji. "I stand by what is implied in the phrase 'Unto This Last'. That book marked the turning point in my life. We must do even unto this last as we would have the world do by us. All must have equal opportunity. Given the opportunity, every human being has the same possibility for spiritual growth. That is what the spinning wheel symbolizes."



"Would you like the American to take to the spinning wheel?" he again asked.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "But I do not know whether it will be taken up by anybody before it is well established here. If, on the other hand, India adopts it for clothing itself, I won't need to tell the world. It will adopt it of itself. Today there is such an onslaught on India of Western machinery that for India to withstand it successfully would be nothing short of a miracle. I must confess that today everything seems to point to the contrary. Look at our internecine quarrels."

"But you have not given up hope?"

"I cannot so long as I have faith in that living Power who is more with us than we know. But let me ask you a counter-question. Has America with all its Mammon-worship abolished unemployment, poverty, corruption, Tammany Hall?"

"The answer is obvious."

Gandhiji continued: "Has England? Has it not still to grapple with the problems that baffle her? It is a very curious commentary on the West that although it professes Christianity, there is no Christianity or Christ in the West or there should have been no war. That is how I understand the message of Jesus. There is much ignorance and superstition in India. But deep down in us is that faith in God—the instinct for religion."

"All newspapermen and others have sensed that," remarked Mr. Freeman. "But I must confess there are moments when I feel it is hopeless. Look at the recent attack on Pandit Nehru in the tribal area from which I have just returned, and the happenings in East Bengal. You too must at times have felt the hopelessness of it all. Would you say Islam has repudiated its teacher as Christianity of today has its Jesus?"

"I have said so openly" replied Gandhiji. "Where is Mohammed and his message which is Peace?" I said recently at a public gathering that if Mohammed came to India today, he would disown many of his so-called followers and own me as a true Muslim, as Jesus would own me as a true Christian."

"How can we bring man back to God or the teaching of Jesus or that of Mohammed?" asked Mr. Freeman next.

"I might give the answer," replied Gandhiji, "that Jesus gave to one of his followers: 'Do the will of my Father who is in Heaven, not merely say Lord, Lord.' That holds true of you, me and everybody. If we have faith in the living God, all will be well with us. I hope not to lose that faith even to my dying day. In spite of my numerous failings and shortcomings of which I am but too well aware, my faith in God is burning brighter every day. If it did not, I would take the same prescription that I gave to women threatened with dishonour and with no prospect of help or escape viz. commit suicide."

"Have you thought of the Charkha as a therapeutic agent?" finally asked Mr. Freeman, reverting to his original theme.

"Yes," replied Gandhiji. "I have read some literature on the subject sent to me by a Glasgow

professor. A retired Superintendent of a jail in Bengal too wrote to me describing the use of the spinning wheel for curing lunatics, particularly by virtue of the soothing effect of its rhythmic motion."

"I propose to interpret the Charkha to Americans as a 'thinking machine'," remarked Mr. Freeman in conclusion. "I found while I was attending my spinning class that if alone with it, it made me think. If only Americans could get down to spin they might be able to do some thinking for which otherwise they get no time. It might make them forget the atom bomb."

New Delhi, 26-10-'46

PYARELAL

### THREE FS

Foodgrains, fats and fuel are the triple support of life in the villages. There is at present a scarcity in respect of all the three. A friend sends the following suggestions to meet the triple scarcity. Although meant primarily for the Punjab, they are equally applicable to other parts of India where similar conditions prevail:

1. A lot of land on the banks of rivers and nullahs is at present overrun by rushes and reeds only. If it could be cleared up with the help of the military, it could be used for growing wheat, barley, gram and musoor. The soil is extremely fertile and would yield bumper crops, besides providing straw in plenty for the cattle.

2. Similarly, there is a lot of uncultivated land along the railway lines and roads. If the military department could either itself undertake it or make available for irrigation the equipment or heavy-oil burning vehicles that can be adapted to this use, all this waste land could immediately be reclaimed and brought under cultivation.

3. There are lots of dry areas in the Punjab which are at present under scrub. With a little labour the scrub can be cleared and castor oil grown in its place. It is a very hardy plant and can subsist mostly by drawing moisture from the air. Castor oil is the base *par excellence* for the manufacture of soap and will serve to relieve the consumption of mustard, gingelli, groundnut and other edible oils which are at present being used in soap manufacture.

4. Owing to scarcity of wood fuel, cattle dung and other farm-yard manure in the villages are used for burning, resulting in the progressive impoverishment of the soil. A systematic effort should therefore be made to have reserves of trees planted along roads and on canal banks to provide fuel and timber for building.

His other suggestions include brick and cement lining for canals to reclaim thousands of acres of land that have become decadent owing to water logging and excessive salinity resulting from seepage, also checking the evil of excessive fragmentation of land which is strangulating cultivation in many parts on the one hand and consolidation of uneconomical holdings, power irrigation and so on.

Sodepur, 30-10-'46

PYARELAL

## HINDUSTANI

The question of our national language has become as intricate as that of Swaraj. We did not work out beforehand what problems would face us in the process of building up a free nation. The result is that we have been confronted by a whole lot of them like a legion of ghosts.

For sometime we tried to popularize Hindi as our national language. We said Urdu was included in Hindi and tried to retain the Arabic and Persian words commonly used in Hindi.

Then there came a time when Urdu scholars tried to eliminate all simple Hindi words from Urdu and replace them with Persian and Arabic ones. Ordinary Urdu became *Urdu-e-moulla* which the man in the street found hard to understand. At the same time some Hindi scholars too set about eliminating commonly understood Persian and Arabic words and replaced them with Sanskrit ones.

We tried to check both these tendencies and simplify the language. But we found that it was not enough. Although Hindi and Urdu to begin with were one and the same, they became two separate and distinct dialects in course of time. Today they are so different from each other that it is not easy at once to fuse them into one.

We have defined the national language as that language which is commonly spoken by the Hindus and Muslims in their everyday life in the villages of North India and which is written in both Nagari and Persian scripts.

Some people ask us to define North India where Hindustani is the language of the people. We have to leave out Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Sindh and Kashmir. That leaves us Punjab, Rajasthan, U. P., Bihar and Mahakoshal. The villagers of these parts do not speak the current Hindi or Urdu. Local dialects are used in some parts.

In Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bengal, Bihar, Karnatak, Tamilnad etc. the same language is spoken in the home and in the bazar. There is some difference between the spoken and the written language, but all can see that basically it is the same language. Things are, however, different when we turn to Hindi or Urdu. The Hindi that Shri Amarnath Jha, Shri Tandonji, Shri Viyogi Hari, Rajendra Babu, Birlaji, Sardar Tara Singhji etc. speak when addressing a meeting is not the same as they speak at home. The tongue in which they speak in their homes is so different from the language of the press and the platform that the latter would hardly be understood in their homes.

The Muslims of the Punjab speak Urdu at public meetings, but in their homes they use a dialect called Derewali or the Punjabi. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan will speak in Pushtu, Sheikh Abdulla in Kashmiri and Dr. Syed Mahmud in Bihari. This system of having one language for the home and another for outside is not found in any other part of India.

Again in the U. P. a few Hindus while talking among themselves use Hindi, but if a Muslim joins them they will at once revert to Hindustani. The

Hindus of U. P. can speak simple Hindi and simple Urdu which they call Hindustani. The result is that the Muslims of the Punjab, U. P. or Bihar can talk in Hindustani wherever they go. A plausible attempt is sometimes made to show that whilst "Hindustani is the language of the area extending from the Punjab to Bihar, Hindi is an artificial creation of the Hindus, meant to keep the Muslims and Hindus apart". The fact is that the Hindus in these parts are good enough to talk to the Muslims in simple Urdu called Hindustani for the sake of the latter's convenience.

The Hindi which is said to be an artificial language by the Muslims does not belong to a different category in regard to its origin and evolution from other provincial languages like Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati. No one will say that Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati are artificial languages. Then why is Hindi an artificial language? The various provincial languages were evolved in the normal process of history. To separate Hindi from the rest and dub it as artificial is not just.

The only fault of the Hindi-speaking people was that instead of speaking Hindi both in their homes and outside, they spoke their local dialect in their homes. For instance, there are several dialects in Rajasthan. There are two or three dialects in Bihar. Chhatisgadhi and Bundelkhandi are quite different from each other. To call Hindi one's mother tongue and not use it in one's home is indeed anomalous. And if the use of local dialects is to be continued, then, in this age of democracy, simple literature for the common man will also have to be got ready in those dialects.

Difficulties arise when one tries to find out the historical definition of Hindustani. People ask you, "Tell us in which part of India is Hindustani spoken by the common people? Where is the literature in Hindustani? Is there a single daily, weekly or monthly written in Hindustani, the language which is going to be our national language? Leave aside Gandhiji's *Harijansevak* and Pandit Sundarlalji's *Naya Hind*. These are creations of yesterday. We have yet to see how North India takes to them."

In order to steer clear of all these complications, we shall reply that in the Punjab, Rajasthan, Mahakoshal and Bihar a language called Hindi is prevalent. There are several newspapers and monthly magazines etc. published in this language and it has a vast literature which will grow from day to day.

In these very provinces Urdu is also prevalent, more in some parts, less in others. Hindus and Muslims publish newspapers etc. in this language, produce literature and serve it with loving affection. The body of Hindi and Urdu is the same but the former derives nourishment from Sanskrit and the latter from Persian and Arabic. Thus both these languages are used in North India. They should be an amalgam of the two and popularized as Hindustani.

This can only happen if Hindi and Urdu are simplified in the first place. They can be simplified

to such an extent that but for the script there should be no difference between the two. The process which led to the evolution of Hindi and Urdu as separate languages will have to be reversed in order to reunite them and fuse them into one. If in a sentence of ten words, five words have to be put in brackets to indicate the equivalent in Hindi or Urdu, such a language will not be easy to read. The best thing to do would be to use simple Urdu for such literature as is published in the Persian script and introduce in it commonly understood Hindi words and for the Nagari script use simple Hindi with commonly understood Urdu.

By torturing Hindi and Urdu in order to forcibly amalgamate them, a sort of language may be evolved, but very few will have the patience to read it. Hustling won't quicken the pace. By giving up high pressure and adopting a simple, harmless technique we will be able to draw together the good elements of both. We must leave the two forms to take care of themselves and not rest till an amalgam is produced. If people will do this much, the rest can then be left to time and nature.

Those whose mother tongue is neither Hindi nor Urdu will have to learn both the two scripts.

KAKA KALELKAR

(From the original in Hindustani)

### EXCISE DEPARTMENT IN C. P.

The outstill system of liquor production and distribution may be described 'as one entailing the manufacture of liquor by Government through the agency of licensed manufacturers, who are also retailers of the same. In ordinary times and in ordinary circumstances liquid liquor meant for public consumption is manufactured in a central distillery — either one or two or three — situated in central places in the Province. Under the outstill system, hundreds of such small distilleries are located in various districts, where the restrictions are fewer, and at the same time the liquor produced here is much cheaper than the distillery liquor.

It need not be said here that under the outstill system, the manufacture and consumption of liquor is increased several times the normal consumption for two reasons: (1) the number of those small distilleries is nearly 500 in 1946 as against two or three big distilleries in the Province, (2) the liquor sold in the outstill shops is much cheaper than the distillery liquor. I cannot say how much cheaper, but roughly speaking the price of the outstill liquor is about one fourth or thereabouts of the distillery liquor. Thus it does not require any saying that these two factors lead to an enormously large increase in the liquor consumption.

Unfortunately these outstills are located in the areas inhabited by Aboriginal tribes like Gonds, Korkus, Pardhans etc. They are not located in any other district.

I give below the list of districts and the number of outstills located in each of them in 1946. This is enough to show that the six districts chosen for

the purpose are those which are predominated by the Tribal people :

Districts	Outstills
Chanda	81
Mandla	175
Raipur	45
Bilaspur	89
Drug	49
Balaghat	39
Bhandara	5
Total	483

In the year 1939 the number of outstills in the Province was 159. As a result of some change in the policy, probably by the first Congress Ministry of 1937-'39, the number was reduced in the year 1940 to 69 only, and it remained the same the following year 1941. Subsequently, owing to war conditions and perhaps a change in the Excise policy a sudden change for the worse occurred. The number 69 of 1941 went up to the figure 486 or seven times in the year 1945 and it stands at the figure 483 in the current year 1946.

I give below the figures year by year :

1939	159
1940	69
1941	69
1942	207
1943	248
1944	457
1945	486
1946	483

No doubt there has been a plethora of money in the rural parts of the Province due to inflation, and there has been, therefore, a larger provision of liquor. Specially in the Tribal areas, which is a synonymous term for backward areas, a large supply creates a large demand. The greatest sufferers from drink and the increased drink have been the 30 lakhs of Tribal people in the Province. Under the name of want of transport of the distillery liquor, the Tribal or Backward areas are flooded with thousands and lakhs of gallons of cheap liquor as Government policy.

The increase in the excise revenue from country spirit and toddy only due to their enormous liquor and toddy consumption is not quoted by me in detail. But I give below the figures of revenue for three prominent years :

1939	Rs. 33,76,516
1945	1,64,17,653
1946	1,08,89,479 (for the first 6 months only)

Thus it is evident that in 1945 the revenue from country spirits and toddy only had increased five times during the period of six years from 1939. The revenue in 1946, first half year, has been nearly 109 lakhs. Thus during the whole of the year 1946, it may be surmised that the revenue from the country spirit and toddy only will not be less than two crores, or in other words six times the revenue of 1939. The pity of it is, all this increased excise revenue has been got from the pockets of the poorest

section of the people viz. the Tribal people, who form about one fifth of the total population.

A. V. THAKKAR

[This is a scandalous abuse of authority for raising revenue. Let us hope that now that the Government is representative in C. P. as elsewhere, this abuse will be set right.

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46 — M. K. G.]  
**HOW VILLAGES CAN MANUFACTURE  
 THEIR CLOTH**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After reciting the scheme which I copied in the *Harijan* of 4-8-'46, from his letter to me Shri Manu Subedar has given his argument in support of the scheme in the *Rast Rahbar*. I copy below two relevant paragraphs from the interesting article:

"I do not advocate this scheme for any sentimental or spiritual value of hand spinning, though undoubtedly there is some charm in the traditional restoration of the Charkha in every home as it existed for centuries, but because of the stark economic necessity of clothing the rural people, who would otherwise go without this elementary requirement of life. If cotton is put at their door, with the hands, which God has given them and with the skill, which could be acquired in less than a week, they ought to be able to help themselves and save womenfolk from a distressing situation. Not only will the cloth produced under the above scheme be cheaper than the black market, but it would be cheaper than the mill cloth for the reason that many items, which go into the price of the mill cloth to the consumer, would be eliminated. Amongst these are profits of the mills and of the middleman distributor of cloth, the cost of transport of cloth and cotton both ways, the cost of supervision and management, and interest charges and depreciation. Since the labour upto the stage of the yarn would be contributed and the labour charges for weaving would be in kind, even in normal peace time cloth produced under these conditions would be cheaper than factory cloth. For a poor country, what is required is not labour-saving devices, but capital-saving and profit-saving devices, such as is set forth in this scheme.

"I would invite the leaders to note that in the above scheme not only is there co-operation under the guidance of the village *Panch* and complete self-government, free from any interference of anybody outside, but there is the seed of the kind of economic revolution, which we seek in this country. Millions of men and women, as good as you and me, are not able to get full work for the full year. Their standard of life has been progressively pressed down by forces, which they do not understand. Charity can possibly alleviate their lot, but is bound to pauperize them and take away their self-respect. It is the scheme put forward here, which would enable them to feel that they are getting something for

themselves with their own labour. They would not feel hurt about it. The amount of State assistance involved in the proposal is so miserably small per head and is actually lower than the cost incurred by the State for many other purposes for the benefit of other groups and grades of the Indian population. The further advantage in this scheme is that it would be automatic in so far as in some villages it would take root quickly and they may want another bale inside a month. In other villages it might take them three or four months. Some of the villages will probably supply all their requirements by this method in the next few months and may have something to spare, and indeed I would not consider it wrong, if cloth produced under these circumstances after it was found to be in excess of the requirement of the village, which has produced it, was made available in the larger cities for sale to the general public. I would, however, sound a warning that the scheme would break down if individual exploitation is permitted. The surplus should not be dealt with except through the village collectively and should not be brought to the city except through the Government agency, which lands the bale at the door of the village. Nor should it be sold in the cities except at the Government retail shop. In other words, the middleman should never be able to lay his hands on this, or he will destroy what the energy and the co-operation of the villagers has produced, as he has destroyed so many handicrafts and so much that was good in India in the past,"

In a letter in Gujarati Shri Subedar says:

"If my scheme is not adopted we may have the sorrowful spectacle of womenfolk going without cover and therefore remaining indoors.

"The hard-heartedness which mill-owners and middlemen have exhibited require some such immediate remedy as I have suggested.

"You have rightly said that the removal of the salt tax will drive home to the millions of villagers the truth that our *Sarkar* has now the reins of Government in its hands. Will they not also realize this truth if the villages have cotton delivered at their homes on the easiest terms possible so that with a little corporate labour they can clothe themselves without difficulty?"

New Delhi, 23-10-'46

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhiji would have liked to travel to Noakhali by ordinary third class, but the Bengal Government had arranged a special train for him. They had also deputed Shamsuddin Saheb, the Minister for Commerce, Nasrullah Khan Saheb, Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister and Abdur Rashid Saheb to accompany him. To look to his convenience and ensure Government help whenever it might be required, the Chief Minister had himself intended to accompany him, but was held up in Calcutta. There were huge crowds at Kushtia, the Home of Shamsuddin Saheb, Hacpur and Goalando. At all these places Gandhiji delivered brief addresses, explaining the object of his visit.

From his early youth he had made friends with people of all communities. He had never made any distinction between Hindu, Muslim, Parsi and others. When as a boy he attended the High School at Rajkot, he did not remember a single occasion of a quarrel with a Muslim or Parsi boy in the school.

During the Khilafat days he used to say that Maulana Shaukat Ali carried him in his pocket. He did not wish to fight. At the same time he could never countenance peace at the cost of honour or self-respect. He stood for peace, honourable to both the parties. If any party did wrong, he would not hesitate to tell it plainly to their face. That was the duty and privilege of friendship. He had been a fighter all his life and he would fight oppression and wrong with his last breath, no matter who the wrong-doer was.

He recalled his previous visit to East Bengal during the Khilafat days. Those were the days of Hindu-Muslim unity, when the Muslims vied with the Hindus in claiming the Congress as their own. Congress belonged to all. But he was not going to East Bengal this time as a Congressman. He was going there as a servant of God. If he could wipe away the tears of the outraged womanhood of Noakhali, he would be more than satisfied.

They were all Indians — Hindus and Mussalmans. They could not live in Independent India as enemies. They had to be friends and brothers. He would go to Noakhali and stay there till Hindus and Muslims again lived as blood brothers that they were, and must always remain.

He was hopeful that his tour would have a good effect and the Hindu-Muslim unity of the Khilafat days would come back. In Khilafat days no one talked of dividing India. Now they did so. But partitioning, even if it was desirable, could not be so achieved. It could not be retained except by the goodwill of the people concerned. The Bengal Ministers had assured him that the Muslims did not believe in getting Pakistan through force.

At Goalando, Gandhiji took steamer and steaming down the Padma 80 miles reached Chandpur at evening. Chandpur, the native place of that super-octogenarian Congressman the late Babu Hardayal Nag, called up poignant memories. Two deputations, one of Muslim Leaguers and the other of Hindus, met Gandhiji here. But I must reserve an account of these meetings till my next. At 2 p. m. the party reached Chaumuhani where Gandhiji has fixed up his headquarters for the present.

### THE ALL-HEALING BALM

At Laksham there is a refugees' camp. And it was to the refugees that Gandhiji's words were addressed through the crowd that had assembled at the platform to hear him and have his *darshan*. "I have not come on a whirlwind propaganda visit. I have come to stay here with you as one of you. I have no provincialism in me. I claim to be an Indian and therefore a Bengali even as I am a Gujarati. I have vowed to myself that I will stay on here and die here if necessary, but I will not leave Bengal till the hatchet is finally buried and even a solitary Hindu girl is not afraid to move freely about in the midst of Mussalmans."

"The greatest help you can give me is to banish fear from your hearts," he told them. And what was the talisman that could do that for them? It was his unfailing *mantra* of *Ramanama*. "You may say you do not believe in him. You do not know that but for His will you could not draw a single breath. Call Him Ishwar, Allah, God, Ahura Mazad. His names are as innumerable as there are men. He is one without a second. He alone is great. There is none greater than He. He is timeless, formless, stainless. Such is my Rama. He alone is my Lord and Master."

He touchingly described to them how as a little boy he used to be usually timid and afraid of even shadows and how his nurse Rambha had taught him the secret of *Ramanama* as an antidote to fear.



"When in fear take *Ramanama*. He will protect you," she used to tell him. Ever since then *Ramanama* had been his unfailing refuge and shelter from all kinds of fear.

"He resided in the heart of the pure always. Tulsidas, that prince of devotees, whose name has become a household word among the Hindus from Kashmir to Cape Comorin as Shri Chaitanya's and Shri Ramkrishna Paramahansa's in Bengal, has presented the message of that name to us in his immortal Ramayana. If you walk in fear of that name, you need fear no man on earth, be he a prince or a pauper." Why should they be afraid of the cry of 'Allaho Akbar'? The Allah of Islam was the protector of innocence. What had been done in East Bengal had not the sanction of Islam as preached by its Prophet.

Who could dare to dishonour their wives or daughters, if they had faith in God? He, therefore, expected them to cease to be afraid of Mussalmans. If they believed in *Ramanama* they must not think of leaving East Bengal. They must live where they were born and brought up and die there if necessary, defending their honour as brave men and women. "To run away from danger, instead of facing it, is to deny one's faith in man and God and even one's own self. It were better for one to drown oneself than live to declare such bankruptcy of faith."

Why should they feel secure only under the protection of the police and the military? "If you ask the military, they will tell you that 'God' is their protector. I want you, therefore, to be able to tell Shamsuddin Saheb that you no longer need the protection of the police and the military which may be withdrawn, but would rather put yourself under the protection of Him, whose protection they all seek."

#### CHAUMUHANI

Chaumuhani has normally a population of not more than 5,000. But at the evening prayer gathering that was held here in the compound of the Hindu Vidya Mandir on the first day of Gandhiji's arrival, there was a gathering of not less than 15,000. Large numbers had come from places round about Chaumuhani. About eighty per cent of these were Muslims. The town itself has remained free from the worst communal excesses, but round about it the whole area has been ablaze. Speaking after the prayer Gandhiji poured out his soul to the gathering, particularly to the Muslim section, for over twenty minutes. He told them how he had toured East Bengal in the company of the Ali Brothers during the Khilafat days. In those days the Muslims felt that all that he said was right. If the Ali Brothers went into a women's meeting they went blindfolded. He was allowed to go with his eyes open. Why should he blindfold himself when he went to his mothers and sisters? He had no desire to go among the purdah ladies. But the Ali Brothers insisted that he must go. The women were eager to meet him and they were sure that his advice would do good to them. In South Africa he had lived in the

midst of Muslim friends for twenty years. They treated him as a member of their family and told their wives and sisters that they need not observe purdah with him. He had become a barrister in England but what was a dinner barrister worth? It was South Africa and the struggle that he had launched there that had made him. It was there that he discovered Satyagraha and civil disobedience.

He had come to them in sadness. What sin had Mother India committed that her children, Hindus and Muslims, were quarrelling with each other? He had learnt that no Hindu woman was safe today in some parts of East Bengal. Ever since he had come to Bengal, he was hearing awful tales of Muslim atrocities. Saheed Saheb, their Prime Minister, and Shamsuddin Saheb had admitted that there was some truth in the reports that one heard.

"I have not come to excite the Hindus to fight the Mussalmans. I have no enemies. I have fought the British all my life. Yet they are my friends. I have never wished them ill."

He heard of forcible conversions, forcible feeding of beef, abductions and forcible marriages, not to talk about murders, arson and loot. They had broken idols. The Muslims did not worship them nor did he. But why should they interfere with those who wished to worship them? These incidents are a blot on the name of Islam. "I have studied the Quran. The very word Islam means peace. The Muslim greeting 'Salaam Alaikum' is the same for all whether Hindus or Muslims, or any other. Nowhere does Islam allow such things as had happened in Noakhali and Tipperah." Saheed Saheb and all the Ministers and League leaders who met him in Calcutta had condemned such acts unequivocally. "The Muslims are in such overwhelming majority in East Bengal that I expect them to constitute themselves the guardians of the small Hindu minority. They should tell Hindu women that while they are there, no one dare cast an evil eye on them."

It was time for *namaz* when Gandhiji finished speaking. As usual his address was going to be explained to the gathering in Bengali when there was a clamour from the Muslim section of the audience for a brief recess to enable them to perform their *namaz* and come back in time to hear the translation in Bengali. This was done. The *namaz* was performed in one corner of the compound after which they all came and heard the address rendered into Bengali by Shri Satish Babu.

#### A MUSLIM SPEAKS

Shamsuddin Saheb addressed the gathering after the prayer on the next day. He spoke in forceful Bengali for over half an hour. He warned them that if the issue of Pakistan *versus* Hindustan was going to be settled by mutual slaughter of the Hindus where Muslims were in a majority and *vice versa* there would be neither Pakistan nor Hindustan, but only slavery. If they really wanted Pakistan, it was up to the Muslims of Noakhali who constituted seventyfive per cent of the population to guarantee the safety and security of the

twentyfive per cent Hindu minority living in their midst. No Government that was worth its name could stand silently by and let the majority community oppress or exterminate the minority community. Neither the Muslim League Government of Bengal nor the Congress Government of Bihar could tolerate what had happened of late in these provinces respectively. By doing what they had done in Bengal they had driven the Muslim League Ministry to employ the military against the civil population of East Bengal with all that it implied. The Muslim League has never sanctioned arson, looting, abduction, forcible conversion or forcible marriages. All that was un-Islamic. The Quran clearly stated that there can be no compulsion in religion. He was there to declare to them that a forcible conversion was no conversion at all nor had a forcible marriage any validity and these mock marriages and conversions should be deemed to have made no difference whatsoever in the *status quo* of the persons concerned. Force settled nothing. America had devised the Atom Bomb and with its help crushed its opponents. But had it brought peace to the world? In Noakhali it was the Mussalmans who had oppressed the Hindus and it was up to them to wipe off that blot from the fair name of Islam. He appealed to the Mussalmans of Noakhali to set the Hindus at their ease and restore confidence to them so that they might return to their homes with a feeling of security. They could have no heart to cast their lot with the miscreants who must pay the penalty for their crimes and it was the duty of the Muslims in general to help the authorities to trace them and bring them to book. What was done was done. He hoped that out of the ashes of the conflagration the edifice of abiding Hindu-Muslim unity would be rebuilt in Bengal.

That night Shamsuddin Saheb with his colleagues from Calcutta and some local prominent Muslims saw Gandhiji and discussed the question of refugees, particularly the question of persuading them to return to their respective villages. One of the friends suggested that in order to restore confidence Hindu leaders should reinforce the appeals of the Muslims to the refugees to go back to their villages. Gandhiji replied that that was not the right way to dispel the apprehension and distrust of the Hindus which was well-grounded. He would not be able to advise them to return to their homes unless there was at least one good Hindu and one good Mussalman for each village who would stand guarantee for their safety and security and who would be prepared to immolate himself before a hair of their head was touched. It was for the Muslim League leaders who were also members of the Government to say whether such men would be forthcoming. There was no other way to restore confidence after all that had happened. They all agreed with Gandhiji's suggestion and said that they would do their best to give effect to it.

Chaumuhani, 10-11-'46

PYARELAL

## STORY HOUR

(Concluded from page 302)

[For IV I am indebted to Spanhoofd's *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Sprache* (Heath) V. G. D.]

### IV

One pleasant morning in spring a merry shepherd boy was tending sheep in a valley and singing and dancing for joy. The King who was hunting in the neighbourhood saw him and asked him how it was that he was so merry. The boy did not recognize the King and answered, "Why should I not be merry, since our King is not richer than I am?"

"Really?" exclaimed the King. "Tell me then all the things you possess."

"The sun we see every day in the beautiful blue sky," said the boy, "shines for me as brightly as for the King. Mountains and valleys display the same beautiful green, the same lovely flowers bloom for me as well as for him. I have enough to eat every day. I have clothes which cover me and I earn as much as I need. Can you tell me what more the Prince has?"

The King was pleased with the answer and said, "You are right, my boy, and you can tell other people that the Prince himself told you so."

### V

When Socrates was kicked by a rude citizen in the presence of his friends, one of them expressed surprise at his not resenting the insult. Socrates replied, "Shall I then feel offended and ask the magistrate to avenge me if I also happen to be kicked by an ass?"

## A WIFE SPINNING FOR HER HUSBAND

Pandit Banarasidas Chaturvedi, the veteran journalist, has been editing an excellent Hindi magazine *Madhukar* devoted to the conservation of Bundelkhand folk-lore and to the prosecution of the Constructive Programme. In its issue No. 4, volume III, *Madhukar* quotes from *Swatantra* an old song of Bundelkhand in which a wife whose husband is away from home addresses her friend as follows:

अजु वे न मिले ननदीके बीरना  
खोजी डारी वयस हमार ।  
अपने अँगनवामें रहँटा धरौती  
कतती नन्हो सूत ।  
अपने पियाको पगरी बनौती  
जैसो कमलको फूल ।  
भरी सभामें सोहे स्वामीकी पगरी  
सेजियामें बिन्दिया हमार ॥

"Friend, I do not meet my sister-in-law's brother and my life is ebbing away. If he was here, I would place my wheel in the courtyard and spin fine yarn. This yarn I would get woven into a turban for my beloved, as beautiful as the lotus flower. With that turban on his head he would make his mark in the King's court, and the auspicious *tilak* (mark) on my forehead would thus become fully significant."

Hardly a hundred years ago wives not only fed their husbands, they also clothed them. As Shri

Muralidhar .of Dinod in Hissar District tells us (Madhukar IV, 23-24), in his childhood he had seen all the girls of the neighbourhood meet together and spin while basking in the sun in the cold season. These meetings were called *dhupia* from *dhup* (heat), and the girls sang as they plied their wheels. They held similar meetings at night at other times of the year and these evening sessions were called *suratia* (सुरतिया). Even now a spinning wheel is an essential part of the bride's dowry in Hissar, and the bride is dressed in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

V. G. D.

## HARIJAN

November 24

1946

### A VENTURE IN FAITH

Early in the morning on Wednesday last Gandhiji announced to his party an important decision. He had decided to disperse his party detailing each member, including the ladies, to settle down in one affected village and make himself or herself hostage of the safety and security of the Hindu minority of that village. They must be pledged to protect with their lives, if necessary, the Hindu population of that village. His decision was not binding on any one of his party, he said. Those who wanted to, were free to go away and take up any of his other constructive activities. "Those who have ill-will against the Mussalmans or Islam in their hearts or cannot curb their indignation at what has happened should stay away. They will only misrepresent me by working under this plan."

So far as he was concerned, he added that his decision was final and irrevocable and left no room for discussion. He was going to bury himself in East Bengal until such time that the Hindus and Mussalmans learnt to live together in harmony and peace. He would deprive himself of the services of all his companions and fend for himself with whatever assistance he could command locally.

That evening he explained his idea further to the party. A discussion followed in which Shri Thakkar Bapa and Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani also took part. His *ahimsa* would be incomplete, he argued, unless he took that step. Either *ahimsa* is the law of life or it is not. A friend used to say that the *Ahimsa Sutra* in Patanjali, *Ahimsa Pratishthayam Tatsannidhau vairatyagah* (अहिंसा-प्रतिष्ठायां तत्सन्निधौ वैरत्यागः) was a mistake and needed to be amended and the saying *Ahimsa Paramodharmah* (अहिंसा परमो धर्मः) ought to be read as *Himsa paramodharmah* (हिंसा परमो धर्मः); in other words, violence, not non-violence was the supreme law. If at the crucial moment he lost faith in the law of non-violence, he must accept the deceased friend's amendment which appeared to him to be absurd.

"I know the women of Bengal better than probably the Bengalis do. Today they feel crushed and helpless. The sacrifice of myself and my companions would at least teach them the art of dying

with self-respect. It might open too the eyes of the oppressors and melt their hearts. I do not say that the moment my eyes are closed theirs will open. But that will be the ultimate result, I have not the slightest doubt. If *ahimsa* disappears, *Hindu Dharma* disappears."

"The issue is not religious but political. It is not a movement against the Hindus, but against the Congress," remarked one member of the party.

"Do you not see that they think that the Congress is a purely Hindu body? And do not forget that I have no water-tight compartments such as religious, political and others. Let us not lose ourselves in a forest of words. How to solve the tangle—violently or non-violently—is the question. In other words, has my method efficacy today?"

"How can you reason with people who are thirsting for your blood? Only the other day one of our workers was murdered," said another of the company.

"I know it," replied Gandhiji. "To quell the rage is our job."

Another member asked whether it was right to invite people to return to their villages under the prevailing conditions which involved a considerable amount of risk. Gandhiji's reply was that there was no harm in asking them to return to their villages if the Muslims of that village collectively guaranteed their safety and their guarantee was backed by one good Hindu and one good Mussalman, who would stay with them in that village and protect them by laying down their lives, if necessary. If there was that much guarantee, the refugees ought to return to their homes and face whatever risk there might be. If they had not the courage to live on these terms, Hinduism was doomed to disappear from East Bengal. The question of East Bengal is not one of Bengal alone. The battle for India is today being decided in East Bengal. Today Mussalmans are being taught by some that Hindu religion is an abomination and therefore forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam a merit. It would save to Islam at least the descendants of those who were forcibly converted. If retaliation is to rule the day, the Hindus, in order to win, will have to outstrip the Mussalmans in the nefarious deeds that the latter are reported to have done. The United Nations set out to fight Hitler with his weapons and ended by out-Hitlering Hitler.

"How can we reassure the people when the miscreants are still at large in these villages?" was the last question asked of Gandhiji.

"That is why," replied Gandhiji, "I have insisted upon one good Mussalman standing security along with a good Hindu for the safety and security of those who might be returning. The former will have to be provided by the Muslim Leaguers who form the Bengal Government."

In a letter to a friend Gandhiji wrote from Dattapara: "The work I am engaged in here may be my last act. If I return from here alive and unscathed, it will be like a new birth to me. My *ahimsa* is being tried here through and through as it was never before."

Khajirkhil, 16-11-'46

PYARELAL

## OVERPROOF IS ADMISSION

It was at Chandpur too that Gandhiji first directly contacted the local Muslim mind in regard to the East Bengal happenings. A deputation consisting of several prominent Muslim Leaguers of Tipperah District met him at Chandpur on board the *Kivi* before he entrained for Chaumuhani on the morning of the 7th November.

One of them remarked that no disturbances had taken place in Chandpur Sub-Division. The rush of refugees to Chandpur was due to panic caused by false press propaganda. The number of Hindus killed by the Muslims was only 15 while double that number of Muslims had died as a result of firing by the military who were mostly Hindus.

Another member of the deputation who is an M. L. A. was even bitter about the fact that the Hindus were still evacuating and their rehabilitation was being 'obstructed' by the Hindu workers who encouraged them to migrate in order to discredit the Muslim League Government and paralyse the administration.

Shamsuddin Saheb who was present at the meeting along with Nasrullah Saheb and Abdul Rashid Saheb interposed that it was no use isolating Chandpur Sub-Division and ignoring what had taken place elsewhere in the district. Equally irrelevant to their present argument was their reference to the military firing.

When they had finished, Gandhiji replying remarked that if what they had said was to be taken at its face value, then it amounted to this: that the Muslims had committed no excesses. The mischief had all been provoked by the excesses of the police and the military who were harassing the Mussalmans and it was they, therefore, who together with the panic-mongering Hindus were the real culprits. That was too big a pill for anybody to swallow. Why had it become necessary to call the military, if no disturbances had taken place? A deputation of 20 to 25 Hindus had a meeting with him in the morning. They had told him awful tales of what had happened in Tipperah and Noakhali. Similar tales have been pouring into his ears ever since he had set foot in Bengal. Even Muslim Leaguers had admitted that terrible things had been done. They disputed the figures which they feared were exaggerated. He was not concerned with numbers. Even if there was a single case of abduction, forcible conversion or forcible marriage, it was enough to make every God-fearing man or woman hang down his or her head in shame.

He was not going to keep anything secret, Gandhiji proceeded. He would place all the information which he might receive before the Ministers. He had come to promote mutual good-will and confidence. In that he wanted their help. He did not want peace to be established with the help of the police and the military. An imposed peace was no peace. He did not wish to encourage people to flee from their homes in East Bengal either. If the mass flight of the refugees had been deliberately

planned to discredit the Muslim League Ministry, it would recoil on the heads of those who had done so. To him it seemed hardly credible. He suggested that the right course would be to make a clean breast of the matter. "It is far better to magnify your own mistake and proclaim it to the whole world than leave it to the world to point the accusing finger at you. God never spares the evil-doer."

The gentleman who had spoken first thereupon admitted that he had heard of some cases of arson and looting but the looting had taken place after the occupants had fled. The deserted houses offered too strong a temptation to the hooligans.

"But why should people flee from their homes?", asked Gandhiji sharply. "People do not do so normally. Everybody knows that an unoccupied and unprotected house is bound to be looted by some one or the other. Would any one risk the loss of all he owns just to discredit the League?"

Still another member of the deputation remarked that only one per cent of the people had indulged in acts of hooliganism. The rest of the 99 per cent were really good people and in no way responsible for the happenings.

"That is not a correct way of looking at it", replied Gandhiji. If 99 per cent were good people and had actively disapproved of what had taken place, the one per cent would have been able to do nothing and could easily have been brought to book. Good people ought to actively combat the evil, to entitle them to that name. Sitting on the fence was no good. If they did not mean it, they should say so and openly tell all the Hindus in the Muslim majority areas to quit. But that was not their position as he understood it. The Qaid-e-Azam had said that the minorities in Pakistan would get unadulterated justice in Pakistan. Where was that justice? Today the Hindus asked him if Noakhali was an indication of what they were to expect in Pakistan. He had studied Islam. His Muslim friends in South Africa used to say to him: "Why not recite the *Kalama* and forget Hinduism?" The speaker used to say in reply that he would gladly recite the *Kalama* but forget Hinduism never. His respect and regard for Hazrat Mohammed was not less than theirs. But authoritarianism and compulsion was the way to corrupt religion, not to advance it.

Shamsuddin Saheb agreeing with Gandhiji quoted a verse from the Quran to the effect that there can be no compulsion in religion. He had told the Mussalmans, he said, that if they wanted Pakistan they must mete out justice to the minority community and win its confidence. "By doing what you have done you have killed Pakistan," he had told them.

"Mr. McInerny, the District Magistrate of Noakhali, in a leaflet he has issued," resumed Gandhiji, "has said that he will assume, unless the contrary is conclusively proved, that anyone who accepted Islam after the beginning of the recent disturbances was forcibly converted and in fact remained a Hindu." If all the Muslims made that



declaration it would go a long way to settle the question. "Why should there be a public show of it, if anybody genuinely felt inclined to recite the *Kalama*? A heart conversion needs no other witness than God." Mere recitation of the *Kalama* while one continued to indulge in acts which are contrary to elementary decency was not Islam but a travesty of it. That reminded him of the Plymouth Brothers who invited him to embrace Christianity because then he would be free to do anything he liked since Christ redeemed the sins of those who accepted Him. As against that there was the conclusive verse of the New Testament. "Not everyone who says Lord, Lord, with his lips comes to Me." It was therefore up to the leaders of the Muslims to declare that forcible repetition of a formula could not make a non-Muslim into a Muslim. It only shamed Islam.

"All that has happened is the result of false propaganda," argued one member of the deputation who had not hitherto spoken.

"Let us not make a scapegoat of false propaganda," replied Gandhiji. "False propaganda would fall flat if we are all right."

Finally one of the deputationists remarked that they were all prepared to go into the interior along with the Hindu leaders to restore peace and confidence but the latter distrusted them.

Gandhiji replied that that did not matter. He would gladly accept their offer. "You and I will visit every village and every home in the interior and restore peace and confidence."

Dattapara, 15-11-'46

PYARELAL

### AMONG THE SAVARAS OF ORISSA

Swami Bhairavanand, originally a native of Jodhpur, has made his home in the uplands of the Cuttack District amongst an aboriginal tribe, called Savaras, in the valley of the Goddess Chandi at a place called Chandikhol. He has built a temple to the goddess in this forest land where he prays morning and evening. At his instance a Marwadi friend has built a *Dharmashala* and a temple to Mahadeva. Water is brought by means of a 3" pipe into a *pucca* tank from a natural hill spring near by. It is delightfully refreshing to bathe in this pure water which is made to flow from the mouth of a cow.

About three years ago a small primary school was started for Savara children and Brahmachari Bhairavanand was put in charge of it. I could not have believed that progress was possible in the short space of three years, until I had seen things for myself.

Those who are familiar with the Ramayana will remember the Sabari woman who was simple enough to offer plums to Shri Ramachandra after having tasted them herself first to see whether they were sweet. The Savaras in Cuttack District are simple folk, literally hewers of wood. Their women go, axe in hand, to the forest and carry faggots of wood to sell as fuel in the neighbouring villages for a mere four or six annas at the most. This constitutes their

daily earning. The children do all kinds of household work such as city folk cannot imagine and the parents do not, therefore, like to spare them to go to school. Swami Bhairavanand has, however, made himself so popular with the Savaras by serving them in times of distress and getting occasional good meals from his rich friends for this under-nourished humanity that he has succeeded in drawing their children to his school. To the children also he gives parched rice at midday and clothes twice a year. From 30, three years ago, the number of children attending school has risen to 100. A single teacher institution has developed into a three-teacher one with good buildings for both school and residential staff.

The free hostel started for the Savara boys, however, had to be closed because the parents could not afford to spare the children for 24 hours. "When we hire our boys of 10 and 12 years of age to the agriculturists, they are not only fed and clothed free, but they get from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 p. m. in addition. If you want to keep our boys as boarders, you must be prepared to give them something more than free food." This argument is only too true from the point of view of the poor Savara. He reminds me of the arguments propounded by the late Maharaja of Darbhanga against Shri Gokhale's Bill for Free and Compulsory Education in 1911. He said that the agriculturists simply could not afford to spare their children for schooling for even four or five years on end. It can easily be understood how much harder it is for the Savaras, who do not own an inch of land and have to depend on cutting fuel and grass for their livelihood throughout the year, to spare their children.

The real fact is that the devoted services of thousands are required in order to make useful citizens of the lakhs of children of the 25 million aboriginal population in India. Some Congress Provincial Governments have opened a special portfolio for the aboriginal tribes. It should be the rule and not the exception to spend lakhs every year for the education and material advancement of these backward people, in particular those sections who live in unapproachable hills and forests. Out of the total population of 25 million 20 reside in the uplands and plains of India and the remaining five in secluded forests and on hills. They need befriending.

A. V. THAKKAR

[The moral is that basic education, i. e. education through craft, is the education that India needs.

—M. K. G.]

New Delhi, 25-10-'46

### NOTICE

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by *Tuesday*. Please quote the subscriber number with the intimation.

Please note that change of address *cannot* be effected twice within one month.

Subscribers are not enrolled for a period of less than six months.

MANAGER



## PROHIBIT HORSE RACING AND FOOTBALL POOLS

The gambling instinct has its roots deep down in human nature. There were gamblers in Vedic times to whom the Rishi Kavasha Ailusha addresses the following words in the Rig Veda (X-34-13):

अक्षैर्मा दीव्यः कृषिमित् कृषस्व ।

"Do not gamble with dice, but till the land."

In Mahabharata times *Kshatriyas* were addicted to gambling and were foolish enough to believe that they were bound to accept an invitation to gamble even as they must accept a challenge to fight.

आहूतो न निवर्तेत द्यूतादपि रणादपि ।

But things improved later on with the result that on the eve of British rule gambling like drink presented nothing like a problem to our people.

The British brought horse races and the stock exchange with them to India. As betting is not much in evidence in our country, we are not in a position to pronounce judgment on its evils. But competent British observers believe that "betting is an even more serious social evil than excessive drinking" (Hugh Martin's *Christ and Money*, S. C. M.). In view of the magnitude of the evils of the practice generally and the grave risk of placing temptations in the way of the weak, Mr. Martin holds that even trivial and occasional bets are undesirable. He thinks that the arguments for total abstinence in the case of drinking apply more strongly to betting. The Church should not give countenance to the habit by organizing raffles in connection with bazaars. Ballots for hospitals are undesirable and "destroy the true spirit of giving for the sake of the worthiness of the object to be helped."

The case against betting is summarized by Mr. Martin in a single sentence: "In any legitimate transaction there is a benefit to both the parties; in betting one of the parties gains without giving anything in return." Betting differs from stealing only in the circumstance that in betting the loser agrees to pay if he loses. A person has the right to get money by giving something equivalent in work or otherwise or by receiving a gift. But betting means getting something for nothing; it is gain through the loss of another.

So also gambling whether in games or on the stock exchange is undesirable. "Difference" transactions are definitely unsocial in character. "The gambling habit, persisted in, produces a feverish passion as harmful as drug-taking and as destructive of the sense of right and wrong."

In a story by Conrad the hero won a big prize in a lottery. Having won once he was sure he could win again. The Passion captured him. "The lottery is eating him up," remarked a friend of his. Mr. Martin testifies that it is the story of thousands.

Mr. Martin's conclusion is that whether for his own sake or for the sake of others, betting is not one of the ways in which a Christian will spend his money.

If Christians have learnt in the school of experience that betting is bad for them, it is equally bad for Hindus and Mussalmans. Hindus are bound to follow the Vedic advice already cited, and Mussalmans dare not disobey the *Holy Quran*, which condemns gambling as strongly as it condemns drink:

"They question thee about *strong drink and games of chance*. Say: In both is great sin." (II-219)

"O ye who believe: Strong drink and games of chance . . . are an *infamy of Satan's handiwork*."

"Satan seeketh only to cast among you *enmity and hatred* by means of strong drink and games of chance, and to *turn you from remembrance of Allah and from (His) worship*." (V-90)

(M. Picthall's translation)

Even J. M. Keynes the hard-headed economist suggested prohibition of book-makers along with that of alcoholic spirits.

Our ministers would do well to accept Keynes' suggestion as well as resist the invasion of English football pools, which has just commenced as may be gathered from newspaper advertisements.

V. G. D.

## AN INDIAN VILLAGE FIGHTS AGAINST FAMINE

The village of Belgatta is a typical village of the Deccan plateau of South India. It is some four hundred miles from Cape Comorin, over a hundred miles from the west coast, over two hundred miles from the east coast. Its annual rainfall is just above 20 inches. It is a purely agricultural village, relying for food in normal times mainly on its own production of millets and pulses, eked out with mango fruit and bananas, to say nothing of toddy tapped from the toddy-palm. The peasants also grow some cotton, ground-nuts, castor and other oils, and by selling these products they can purchase cloth, rice and a few other things: not much to live on, but enough to thank God for.

"In normal times." But how rarely, when everything depends on the weather, does the normal occur! 1945 was exceptionally abnormal. The rains completely failed. The crops withered in the ground. Even the trees lost their leaves. The cattle starved. Owing to short-sighted war-time policies, the surplus from earlier years had all been disposed of. The village had nothing to fall back on, and nothing to look forward to except famine. For nearly twelve months the spectre of starvation has been round the corner; sometimes it was within whispering distance. Today it is further off, almost banished. Not only are the new crops good, and ripe for harvest; but the State Government (Belgatta is in the State of Mysore) after a perilously slow and unconvincing start, has taken adequate measures to feed the needy people only just in time.

Mysore alone could not do it. Though the administrative machinery had to be devised on the spot, the food had to come from much further

off. Scarcely fifty miles away, in western Mysore, where three or four times as much rain comes each year from the west as Belgatta gets, and where the rains did not fail in 1945, there was a small surplus of rice, but this was soon consumed. Belgatta, like hundreds of other Deccan villages, had to look for imports from distant parts of India, and from overseas. This whole village whose inhabitants have never seen the sea, or a great city, or a great river, has been saved by the united action of the continents. Let us go inside the village food depot and see. Here are bags of wheat flour from Australia. Here is wheat from Canada, and maize from the United States. A recent assignment, which the local officials greeted with curiosity, was "Egyptian millet". When the bags were opened, it proved to be not some unknown and unpalatable cereal, but their own familiar *jowary* or *jola*, whose tall, brown seed heads are now nodding hopefully in the fields and all round the village. And there is a recent arrival of Burma rice. Surplus States and Provinces of India, such as Assam, Hyderabad and Sind, have sent their quotas. All the world has been conspiring together to save the humble villagers of Belgatta from starvation.

I was meditating on this theme as we drank cups of coffee in the postmaster's house. But he gave me something else to meditate on, with the sudden observation: "The benevolence of God has sent us the rain at the right time." As the minds of these people have turned from dread to hope, they give thanks, not mainly to Australia or America or Egypt or Burma, but to God.

There are other things I like about this village. Two shy and solemn little girls have been presented to me, who have been cured, one of skin trouble, the other of indigestion, since they had regular multi-vitamin pills. They are typical of many others. And then one of my companions introduces me to a young medical graduate who is living in the village (too many Indian medical men confine their attentions to wealthy fee-paying townspeople), who I find is serving five villages. "Has the food shortage increased the incidence of disease?" I ask him. "Of course it has," he replied, "especially skin diseases and intestinal troubles." When, an hour later, a medical man of higher rank, with three years' army service in Europe, assured me that he had been touring all the worst districts for five weeks and had found no evidence of any increase of disease—"unless possibly a little skin trouble"—I had no difficulty in deciding which to believe when the doctors disagree. To be fair to the senior doctor, perhaps one should add that he and his staff had cause for congratulation that in a time of semi-starvation, when in many places it was hard to find any good water to drink, no major epidemic has broken out.

Belgatta is a village of hope. And it is surrounded by other villages of hope today. But that district is not all India. The millets, which are the staple food of these Deccan villages, are almost ripe. But a couple of hundred miles away live millions of Madras peasants, still surviving on a precariously inadequate ration, who are short of rice. Even in Mysore they plead "Send us more rice." The South Indian rice will not be ready to market till January or February, 1947. Meanwhile fitful rice shipments come from overseas—Burma, Siam, Java; and some from Assam, Orissa or else-where in North India. Can that uncertain stream be kept up, and amplified with sufficient wheat from America, to keep these millions alive? We do not know. And behind South India and its continued need lies a big question mark covering Bengal. Increased distribution of milk and multi-vitamins to children all over South India is helping to hold back the threat of famine. Last week I saw scores of little children in Travancore lapping up their milk and coming back for more. But the cry is still for "Rice and wheat, rice and wheat". Men of every nation can still be persuaded to help their unseen brothers in distant lands—thanks be to God, who moves their hearts and minds and wills.

Chitaldrug, September, '46

HORACE ALEXANDER

[I would only add to this thanksgiving essay that God helps those who help themselves. The villagers must be taught to grow more food themselves. Then help from outside will come and will be welcome.

— M. K. G.]

On the train to Calcutta, 29-10-'46

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—VII

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Bicephalous *adj.* दो-सिरा । दो सरा  
 Bicycle *n.* बाइसीकल, पैरगाड़ी । बिरगाड़ी  
 Bid *v.* बोली लगाना; कहना; हुक्म या आदेश देना ।  
 बोली लगाना; कहना; हुक्म या आदेश देना  
 Bide *v.* देखो Abide । Abide ।  
 Bidet *n.* आबदस्तकी चौकी । آب دست کی چوکی  
 Biennial *adj.* हर दो साल । هر دو سال  
 Bier *n.* जनाजा । جنازه  
 Biflorate *adj.* जिस पर दो फूल हों । جس پر دو پھول ہوں  
 Biform *adj.* जिसके दो रूप हों । جس کے دو روپ ہوں  
 Bifurcated *adj.* जिसकी दो टहनियाँ हों, दो-शाखा, दुसँगा ।  
 جس کی دو ٹہنیاں ہوں, دو شاخا, دو سانگا  
 Big *adj.* बड़ा, भारी, लम्बा-चौड़ा; महत्त्वपूर्ण, जरूरी ।  
 بڑا, भारی, لمبا-چوڑا; महत्त्वपूर्ण, ضروری  
 Big with child *n.* حامिला, गर्भिणी । حاملہ, گرہنی  
 Big business *n.* पूँजीवालों या سرماयादारोंका कारबार ।  
 پونجی والوں یا سرمایہ داروں کا کاروبار  
 Big game *n.* बड़े जानवर (शेर, हाथी वगैरा) का शिकार ।  
 بڑے جانور (شیر, ہاتھی وغیرہ) کا شکار  
 Big wig *n.* बड़ा आदमी । بڑا آدمی  
 Big words *n.* डोंग, शेखी । ڈینگ, शेخی  
 Big, to get too, for one's boot *v.* अस्मिन्नी बन जाना,  
 सिर फिर जाना, दिमाग चढ़ जाना ।  
 اہمائی بن جانا, سر پھر جانا, دماغ چڑھ جانا  
 Big, to talk *v.* डोंग मारना, शेखी बघारना ।  
 ڈینگ مارنا, शेخی बघारना  
 Bigamist *n.* दो जोरुवाला । دو جوړو والا  
 Bight *n.* खलीज, खाड़ी । خلیج, کھاڑی  
 Bigotry *n.* कट्टरपन, हठधर्मी, तअस्सुब । کٹرپن, ہٹدھرمی, تمصب  
 Bike *n.* देखो Bicycle । دیکھو Bicycle  
 Bilateral *adj.* दो पहलू, दो तरफ़ । دو پہلو, دو طرفہ  
 Bile *n.* सफ़रा, पित्त; चिड़चिड़ापन । سفرا, پت, چڑچڑاپن  
 Bilge *n.* जहाजका पेंदा; पीपेका पेट । جہاز کا پیندا; پیپے کا پٹ  
 Bilge water *n.* गन्दा पानी, जो: जहाजमें जमा हो जाता है ।  
 گندہ پانی, جو جہاز میں جمع ہو جاتا ہے  
 Bilingual *adj.* दो जबानों या भाषाओंमें लिखा या कहा हुआ;  
 दो जबानोंमें बोलनेवाला; दो जबानों या भाषाओंका ।  
 دو زبانوں یا بھاشاؤں میں لکھا یا کہا ہوا; دو زبانوں میں  
 بولنے والا; دو زبانوں یا بھاشاؤں کا  
 Bilk *v.* ठगना; हाथसे निकल जाना । ٹھگانا; ہاتھ سے نکل جانا  
 Bill *n.* मसविदा कानून; हिसाबका पर्चा; बिल; भिश्तिहार; चोंच;  
 अर्ची दावा; दरौती, हँसिया ।  
 مسودہ قانون; حساب کا پرچہ; بل; اشتہار; چونچ; عرضی دعویٰ; دراتی, ہنسیا  
 Bill of exchange *n.* हुण्डी । ہنڈی  
 Bill of fare *n.* खानोंकी फेहरिस्त या सूची ।  
 کھانوں کی فہرست یا سوجی  
 Bill of health *n.* सेहतनामा, स्वास्थ्य-पत्र (मुसाफ़िरोके लिखे) ।  
 صحت نامہ, سواستہ پتر (مسافروں کے لئے)  
 Bill, to have a clean, of health *v.* स्वस्थ या तन्दुरस्त  
 होना ।  
 سوستہ یا تندرست ہونا  
 Bill of trading *n.* जहाजके मालकी बिल्ली । جہاز کے مال کی بلی

- Bill of mortality *n.* मौत या मृत्यु-पत्र । موت یا مرتیو پتر  
 Bill of rights *n.* हक्क या अधिकारकी सनद ।  
 حقوق یا ادھکار کی سند  
 Bill of sale *n.* बिक्रीपत्र, बयनामा । بکری پتر, بنامہ  
 Bill-poster or sticker *n.* भिश्तिहार लगानेवाला ।  
 اشتہار لگانے والا  
 Bill *v.* प्रोग्राममें रखना; भिश्तिहार लगाना ।  
 پروگرام میں رکھنا; اشتہار لگانا  
 Billet *n.* चिट्ठी, पर्चा; सिपाहियोंके ठहरानेका हुक्म; सिपाहियोंके  
 ठहरानेकी जगह; ठिकाना; नौकरी; जलानेकी लकड़ीका कुन्दा ।  
 چٹھی, پرچہ; سپاہیوں کے ٹھہرانے کا حکم; سپاہیوں کے ٹھہرنے کی  
 جگہ; ٹھکانا; نوکری; جلانے کی لکڑی کا کوندا  
 Billiards *n.* अंडा खेल, बिलियर्ड । انڈا کھیل, بلیئرڈ  
 Billingsgate *n.* गाली-गलौज । گالی گلوچ  
 Billion *n.* दस खरब । دس کھرب  
 Bilow *n.* बड़ी लहर । بڑی لہر  
 Billy goat *n.* बकरा । بکرا  
 Bimetallism *n.* दुधाती असूल (सोना और चाँदी दोनोंके सिक्कोंका  
 दौधानी असूल (सोना اور چاندی دونوں کے سکوں کا رواج) (ریواج)  
 Bin *n.* पीपा (अक्सर लकड़ीका), अनाज, शराब, कोयला, व  
 बिया (अकर लकड़ी का) अनाज, شراب, کوئلہ و  
 کوڑا رکھنے کے لئے  
 Bind *v.* बाँधना, लपेटना; पक्का करना, जकड़ना; पाबन्द करना,  
 मुचलका देना, वचन लेना; कब्ज करना ।  
 باندھنا, لپیٹنا; پکا کرنا, جکڑنا; پابند کرنا, مچلکا دینا; چن لینا; قبضہ کرنا  
 Binding, book *n.* जिल्दसाजी । جلد سازی  
 Binder *n.* चौड़ी पट्टी । چوڑی پٹی  
 Binder, book *n.* जिल्दसाज । جلد ساز  
 Binding *n.* जिल्द; पाबन्दी; बन्धन । باندھنی; بندھن  
 Binding *adj.* लाजिमी, जरूरी । لازمی, ضروری  
 Binocular *n.* दूरबीन । دوربین  
 Binomial *adj.* द्विपद, दो अदबी । دو عددی  
 Biography *n.* जीवन-चरित्र, जीवन-कथा, जिनंदगीकी कहानी,  
 جیون چرت, جیون کہنا, زندگی کی  
 سوانح-خبریں, تہذیب  
 Biology *n.* जीवन-विद्या, अल्म-हयात । جیون ویدا, علم حیات  
 Bioscope *n.* चलचित्र, हिलती तस्वीर (पुराना सिनेमा), बायस्कोप ।  
 چل چتر, ہلتی تصویر (پراٹا سینما), بائسکوپ  
 Biped *n.* दोपाया जानवर या प्राणी । دو پایا جانور یا پرائی  
 Birch *v.* बेंतसे सजा देना, मारना । بےنت سے سزا دینا, مارنا  
 Bird *n.* चिड़िया, पक्षी, परिन्दा । چڑیا, پکشی, پرندا  
 Bird, a little, told me *n.* मुझे किसीने कहा ।  
 مجھے کسی نے کہا  
 Bird, old *n.* सावधान या तजरबेकार आदमी ।  
 ساودھان یا تجربہ کار آدمی  
 Bird, a, in hand is worth two in the bush *n.* नौ नकद  
 نو نقد تیرہ ادھار  
 Bird is flown *n.* चिड़िया खुद गयी; कैरी भाग गया ।  
 چڑیا اڑ گئی; قیدی بھاگ گیا  
 Birds of a feather *n.* एक ही थैलीके चट्टे-बट्टे ।  
 ایک ہی تھیلی کے چٹے بٹے  
 Birds, kill two, with one stone *v.* एक पंथ दो काज ।  
 ایک پتھ دو کاج  
 Bird of passage *n.* मौसिमी चिड़िया, फ़सली बंदर ।  
 موسمی چڑیا, فصلی بندر

Bird of prey *n.* شکاری چڑیا (جیسے، باز) |  
 شکاری چڑیا (جیسے باز)  
 Bird fancier *n.* پکشی-پ্রেمی، چڑیا پالنے والا |  
 پکشی پریمی، چڑیا پالنے والا  
 Bird lime *n.* لاسا | لاسا  
 Bird's nest *n.* گھونسلہ | گھونسلہ  
 Bird seed *n.* چڑیوں کا دانا | چڑیوں کا دانا  
 Bird's eye view *n.* اُونچے سے دیکھنا; ہوا میں نظر، سرسری نظر |  
 اُونچے سے دیکھنا; ہوائی نظارہ سرسری نظر  
 Birth *n.* پیدائش، جنم; وراثت، خاندان |  
 پیدائش، جنم; وراثت، خاندان  
 Birth, new *n.* نئی زندگی، نیا جنم |  
 نئی زندگی، نیا جنم  
 Birth, to give, to *v.* پیدا کرنا، جنم دینا |  
 پیدا کرنا، جنم دینا  
 Birthday *n.* جنم دن، سالگرہ |  
 جنم دن، سالگرہ  
 Birth mark *n.* پیدائشی نشان |  
 پیدائشی نشان  
 Birth place *n.* جنم بھوم، جنمستان، پیدائش کی جگہ |  
 جنم بھوم، جنمستان، پیدائش کی جگہ  
 Birth right *n.* پیدائشی حق، جنم سیدھ |  
 پیدائشی حق، جنم سیدھ  
 Biscuit *n.* بسکٹ | بسکٹ  
 Bisect *v.* دو حصوں میں کاٹنا، دو برابر ٹکڑے کرنا |  
 دو حصوں میں کاٹنا، دو برابر ٹکڑے کرنا  
 Bishop *n.* لاٹ پادری | لاٹ پادری  
 Bismuth *n.* ایک قسم کی دھاتو بسمتھ |  
 ایک قسم کی دھاتو بسمتھ  
 Bison *n.* ارنا بیسا | ارنا بیسا  
 Bit *n.* ٹکڑا، جڑا، ٹکڑا; چھوٹا ٹکڑا; روٹی کا ٹکڑا; نوالا; دھانہ |  
 ٹکڑا، جڑا، ٹکڑا; چھوٹا ٹکڑا; روٹی کا ٹکڑا; نوالا; دھانہ  
 Bit, to take the, between the teeth *v.* کاٹنے سے باہر  
 ہو جانا (خاس تیر پر ڈھکنا)  
 قاپو سے باہر ہو جانا (خاص طور پر گھوڑے کا)  
 Bit, to put the, in the mouth *v.* لگام دینا، کاٹنے میں  
 رکھنا یا رکھنا | لگام دینا، قاپو میں رکھنا یا رکھنا  
 Bit, to give a, of one's mind *v.* ساف-ساف کہنا،  
 صاف صاف کہنا، کھری کھری سننا | صاف صاف کہنا،  
 صاف صاف کہنا، کھری کھری سننا  
 Bit, to do one's *v.* کسی کام میں حصہ لینا یا شامل ہونا،  
 حصہ لینا، حصہ لینا  
 Bit, a, of a کسی قدر، بڑا سا، جڑا سا |  
 کسی قدر، بڑا سا، جڑا سا  
 Bit by bit *v.* تھوڑا-تھوڑا کر کے، تھوڑا-تھوڑا کر کے  
 تھوڑا-تھوڑا کر کے، تھوڑا-تھوڑا کر کے  
 Bit, not a بیلکول نہیں | بالکل نہیں  
 Bit, every, as بیلکول ہی ویسا | بالکل ہی ویسا  
 Bit, wait a *inter.* ذرا ٹھہرو | ذرا ٹھہرو  
 Bitch *n.* کتیا، کتیا | کتیا، کتیا  
 Bite *v.* دانت سے کاٹنا، کاٹنا; ڈنک مارنا، ڈسنا; دھک دینا،  
 دھک دینا، دھک دینا | دانت سے کاٹنا، کاٹنا; ڈنک مارنا، ڈسنا;  
 دھک دینا، دھک دینا  
 Bite, to, the dust or ground *v.* گرنے کا، گرنے کا  
 اپنے کو جلیں کرنا; رینگنا; جڑیوں کا ہونا | گرنے کا، گرنے کا  
 اپنے کو جلیں کرنا; رینگنا; جڑیوں کا ہونا  
 Bite, to, one's lips *v.* ہونٹ چبانا، گھونٹنا  
 ہونٹ چبانا، گھونٹنا

Bite, to, off more than one can chew *v.* شکتی یا  
 طاقت سے باہر کام ہاتھ میں لینا |  
 شکتی یا طاقت سے باہر کام ہاتھ میں لینا  
 Bitten, to be, with *v.* کسی چیز یا خیال پر دبانے  
 جانا | کسی چیز یا خیال پر دبانے  
 Bitten, frost *v.* پالا مارا ہوا | پالا مارا ہوا  
 Biting words *n.* چبوتی ہوئی باتیں |  
 چبوتی ہوئی باتیں  
 Bitter *adj.* کڑوا، تیز; نا پسند، ناگوار; دردناک; شرمیلی;  
 تیز | کڑوا، تیز; نا پسند، ناگوار; دردناک; شرمیلی;  
 تیز  
 Bitter, to shed, tears *v.* چار-چار رونا |  
 چار-چار رونا  
 Bitter, the, end *n.* آخر یا انت تک; مرتے دم  
 تک | آخر یا انت تک; مرتے دم تک  
 Bivouac *n.* فوج کا رات کا پڑاؤ |  
 فوج کا رات کا پڑاؤ  
 Bizarre *adj.* عجیب، عجیب |  
 عجیب، عجیب  
 Blab *v.* بکبک کرنا; مہد یا راز کھولنا |  
 بکبک کرنا; مہد یا راز کھولنا  
 Black *adj.* سیاہ، کالا; اُچھرا; مایوس; بھڑکا  
 سیاہ، کالا; اُچھرا; مایوس; بھڑکا  
 Black, to be in the, book of *v.* کسی کی نظر میں بہت برا  
 ہونا | کسی کی نظر میں بہت برا ہونا  
 Black in the face *v.* غصے میں ہونا |  
 غصے میں ہونا  
 Black ball, to *v.* کالا گولہ ڈالنا (چونا میں خلاف رائے دینا)  
 کالا گولہ ڈالنا (چونا میں خلاف رائے دینا)  
 Black-hearted *adj.* کالے دھڑکے والا، سیٹھا دل  
 کالے دھڑکے والا، سیٹھا دل  
 Blacken *v.* کالا کرنا، کالے لگانا |  
 کالا کرنا، کالے لگانا  
 Black despair *n.* سخت مایوسی، بڑی نراشا  
 سخت مایوسی، بڑی نراشا  
 Black list *n.* خراب لوگوں کی فہرست یا سچھی  
 خراب لوگوں کی فہرست یا سچھی  
 Black looks *n.* غصے کی نگاہ، قہر بھری نظر  
 غصے کی نگاہ، قہر بھری نظر  
 Black leg *n.* دھوکا دینے والا (گھوڑے میں) وہ مرد جو ہڑتال کے  
 لیے دھوکا دیتا ہے | دھوکا دینے والا (گھوڑے میں) وہ مرد جو ہڑتال کے  
 لیے دھوکا دیتا ہے  
 Black mark *n.* کلنک، بدنامی |  
 کلنک، بدنامی  
 Black market *n.* کالا بازار |  
 کالا بازار  
 Black and blue *n.* بدن میں جو نیل (مار یا چوٹ سے) پڑی ہو  
 بدن میں جو نیل (مار یا چوٹ سے) پڑی ہو  
 Black and tan *n.* ابلق |  
 ابلق  
 Black and white *adj.* کالی اور سفید تصویر (جو سچھی  
 سچھی سے لیں گے) | کالی اور سفید تصویر (جو سچھی  
 سچھی سے لیں گے)  
 Black and white, in *v.* لکھا ہوا، لکھا ہوا، کلام باند  
 لکھا ہوا، لکھا ہوا، کلام باند  
 Black art *n.* جادو-ٹونا |  
 جادو-ٹونا  
 Black eye *n.* چوٹ سے نیلی آنکھ |  
 چوٹ سے نیلی آنکھ  
 Black magic *n.* کالا جادو |  
 کالا جادو  
 Black maria *n.* جیل گاڑی، قیدیوں کی گاڑی  
 جیل گاڑی، قیدیوں کی گاڑی  
 Blackguard *n.* بدعاش، دھڑکا |  
 بدعاش، دھڑکا  
 Blackguard *v.* گالی دینا; بدنام کرنا |  
 گالی دینا; بدنام کرنا  
 Black lie *n.* سیاہ جھوٹ |  
 سیاہ جھوٹ

Blackmail *v.* بڑا یا دھمکا کر روپیہ وصول کرنا ।  
 بُرا یا دھمکا کر روپیہ وصول کرنا

Blackout *v.* بلیک آؤٹ، اُپھیرا رکھنا؛ گول کر جانا (کوئی بات، خبر) ।  
 بلیک آؤٹ، اندھیرا رکھنا؛ گول کر جانا (کوئی بات، خبر)

Blacksmith *n.* لوہار ।

Black sheep *n.* خوتا آدمی، بُرا آدمی، "کالی مینڈ" ।  
 کھوٹا آدمی، برا آدمی، کالی مینڈ

Black hole *n.* کال-کوٹری ।

Bladder *n.* مچھانا، مچھانہ؛ ہوا سے پھولی ہوئی تھیلی ।  
 مچھانا، مچھانہ؛ ہوا سے پھولی ہوئی تھیلی

Blade *n.* پتی (घास या अनाजकी)؛ धार या फल (चाकू अस्तुरा, तलवार वगैराका) ।  
 پتی (گھاس یا اناج کی)؛ دھار یا پھل (چاقو، استرا، تلوار وغیرہ کا)

Blame *v.* दोष लगाना, अिलजाम लगाना ।  
 दोष लगानا، الزام लगानا

Blanch *v.* सफेद करना, सफेद हो जाना ।  
 سفید کرنا، سفید ہو جانا

Bland *adj.* कोमल, नरम, खुशगवार ।  
 कोमल، نرم، خوشگوار

Blandish *v.* तारीफ करना, फुसलाना, खुशामद करना ।  
 تعریف کرنا، پھسلाना، خوشامद کرنا

Blank *adj.* खाली, सादा, कोरा ।  
 خالی، سادہ، کورا

Blanket *n.* कम्बल, कमली, लोखी, गरम चादर ।  
 کبل، کملی، لوئی، گرم چادر

Blanket *v.* कम्बल बुझाना; दबा देना (मामलेको) ।  
 کبل اڑھانا؛ دبا دینا (ماملے کو)

Blanket, wet *n.* निराशा, नाखुम्मेदी; ठण्डा कर देना (खुसाहको) ।  
 نراشا، نا امید؛ ٹھنڈا کر دینا (اُتساہ کو)

Blare *n.* तुरमकी आवाज, शोर-मुल ।  
 ترم کی آواز، شور-مُل

Blare *v.* ललकारना; जोरसे चिल्लाना; अडाना (बछडोंका) ।  
 للکارنا؛ زور سے چلانا؛ اڑانا (بچڑوں کا)

Blaspheme *v.* कुफ्र बकना; अीश्वरकी निन्दा करना ।  
 کفر بکنا؛ ایشور کی ننذا کرنا

Blast *n.* तेज हवाका झोंका; खूंची आवाज, धमाका; बला ।  
 تیز ہوا کا جھونکا؛ اونچی آواز، دھماکا؛ بلا

Black in full जोरों पर; पूरे जोरसे ।  
 زوروں پر؛ پورے زور سے

Blast *v.* नष्ट करना, झुलसना, बारूदसे झुड़ा देना ।  
 نشت کرنا، جھلسنا، بارود سے اڑا دینا

Blatant *adj.* शोर मचानेवाला; अधम मचानेवाला ।  
 شور مچانے والا؛ اودھم مچانے والا

Blaze *n.* लपट, लौ, भड़क, चमक, जगमगाहट, शोला ।  
 لپٹ، لو، پڑک، چمک، جگمگاہٹ، شعلہ

Blaze *v.* दहकना, भड़कना, चमकना; दरख्तों पर सफेद निशान लगाना ।  
 دھکا، پڑکا، چمکا؛ درختوں پر سفید نشان لگانا

Blazon *v.* मशहूर करना, खबर फैलाना; शान दिखाना ।  
 مشہور کرنا، خبر پھیلانا؛ شان دکھانا

Blech *v.* सफेद करना, सफेद हो जाना ।  
 سفید کرنا، سفید ہو جانا

Bleak *adj.* सदै, शीतल; खुला हुआ, बे-ओट; सूना, सुनसान; वीरान, अजड़ा ।  
 سرد، شیتل؛ کھلا ہوا، بے اوٹ؛ سونا، سنسان؛ ویران، اجڑا

Blear *adj.* धुंधला ।  
 دھندلا

Blear-eyed *adj.* चन्दा ।  
 چندھا

Bleat *v.* में-में करना, सिमियाना ।  
 میں میں کرنا، میمیانا

Bleb *n.* छाला; बुलबुला ।  
 چھالا؛ بلبلا

Bleed *v.* लड्डू } निकालना; लड्डू } निकालने देना; खून बहाना, कल्ल खून }  
 ہونا؛ خُون چُسنّا، مُڈنا؛ دِل دُخنا

لہر { نکالنا؛ خُون { نکالنے دینا؛ خُون بہانا، قتل ہونا؛  
 خُون چوسنا، موٹنا؛ دِل دکھنا

Blemish *n.* धब्बा, दाग, कलंक; त्रुटि, त्रुटस, अँब ।  
 دھبہ، داغ، کلنک؛ تڑٹی، نقص، عیب

Blend *v.* घुल-मिल जाना, अेक होना; मिलाना ।  
 گھل مل جانا، ایک ہونا؛ ملانا

Bless *v.* आशीर्वाद या दुआ देना, आसीस देना; पवित्र करना, पाक बनाना; प्रशंसा या तारीफ करना; गुण गाना; बरकत देना, सुकईस करना ।  
 آشیرواد یا دعا دینا، آشیس دینا؛ پوتر کرنا، پاک بنانا؛ پرشسا یا تعریف کرنا؛ گن گانا؛ برکت دینا، مقدس کرنا

Blight *v.* मुरझा देना, कुम्हला देना; बुरा असर डालना; अुभरने न देना ।  
 مرجھا دینا، کھلا دینا؛ برا اثر ڈالنا؛ اُبرنے نہ دینا

Blind *adj.* अन्धा; जाहिल, अज्ञान, बेसमझ; बन्द ।  
 اندھا؛ جاہل، اگیان، بے سمجھ؛ بند

Blind *n.* झिमिली, परदा; धोखा; आड़, ओट ।  
 جھمیلی، پردا؛ دھوکہ؛ آڑ، اوٹ

Blind alley *n.* बन्द कूचा, बन्द गली ।  
 بند کوچہ، بند گلی

Blind door *n.* चुना हुआ दरवाजा ।  
 چُنا ہوا دروازہ

Blind letter *n.* पत्र या खत, जिस पर ठीक पता न दिया हो ।  
 پتر یا خط، جس پر ٹھیک پتہ نہ دیا ہو

Blind of an eye *adj.* काना ।  
 کانّا

Blind side, one's *n.* वह पहलू जिसकी हिफाजत या रक्षा न हो; अचेत, गाफिल ।  
 وہ پہلو جس کی حفاظت یا رکشا نہ ہو؛ اچیت، غافل

Blind stitch *n.* (जो सिलायी अेक तरफ ही नजर आये) तुरपाजी, तुरपन ।  
 (جو سلائی ایک طرف ہی نظر آئے) تریپائی، تریپ

Blind, to be, to *v.* किसी बातसे बेखबर होना या अुसे देख किसी बात से बे खर होना या अे दिक् न सक्ना ।  
 کسی بات سے بے خبر ہونا یا اے دیکھ نہ سکتا

Blind, to turn a, eye to *v.* जान-बूझकर न देखना, देखनेकी विच्छा न रखना ।  
 جان بوجھ کر نہ دیکھنا، دیکھنے کی اچھا نہ رکھنا

Blink *v.* पलक मारना, आँखें मिचमिचाना; थोड़ा देखना, आँख सींचकर देखना; टिमटिमाना ।  
 پلک مارنا، آنکھیں میچمیچانا؛ تھوڑا دیکھنا، آنکھ میچ کر دیکھنا؛ ٹمٹمانا

Blinkers *n.* अँघेरी, अधियारी (जो घोड़ोंकी आँखों पर डाल अंदहیری, अंधेरी (जो गहोड़ों की आँखों पर डाल दते हैं) )  
 ڈال دیتے ہیں)

Bliss *n.* परमानन्द, कल्याण, सुख, खुशी ।  
 پرمانند، کلیان، سکھ، خوشی

Blister *n.* आबला, छाला, फफोला ।  
 آبلا، چھالا، پھولا

Blithe *adj.* खुश, जिन्दादिल, आनन्दित ।  
 خوش، زندہ دل، آندت

Blizzard *n.* बर्फकी आँधी, बर्फका तूफान ।  
 برف کی آندھی، برف کا طوفان

Bloated *adj.* फूला हुआ; चिकना-चुपड़ा ।  
 پھولا ہوا؛ چکنا چڑا

Block *v.* रोकना, रुकावट डालना; बन्द करना ।  
 روکنا، رکاوٹ ڈالنا؛ بند کرنا

Block *n.* कुन्दा, लड्डा (लकड़ीका), तराता; आड़, रोक, रुकावट; मकानोंकी कतार ।  
 کندھا، لٹھا (لکڑی کا) تختہ؛ آڑ، روک، رکاوٹ؛ مکانوں کی قطار



Blockhead *n.* बेवकूफ, अलुल, मूर्ख, बेसमझ ।  
 Block, chip of the old *n.* बेटा, जो बाप जैसा हो, जिसमें अपने वंश या खानदानके गुण या बुराभियौ हों ।  
 Block letters, to write in *v.* हरअक अक्षरको अलग-अलग लिखना ।  
 Blockade *n.* घेरा, नाकाबन्दी; रोक ।  
 Blond *n.* गोरे रंगका; भूरे बालोंवाला ।  
 Blood *n.* रक्त, खून, लहू; नसल, वंश, कुल, खानदान; शेखी मारनेवाला; रिश्ता, स्वभाव, मिजाज; हत्या, वध, खून, कत्ल ।  
 Blood and iron, a man of *n.* सख्तदिल, कठोर ।  
 Blood feud *n.* खानदानी बैर, कबायली झगडा ।  
 Blood guilty *adj.* खूनी, हत्याका अपराधी ।  
 Blood heat *n.* शरीर या जिस्मकी हरात ।  
 Blood-hound *n.* जासूसी कुत्ता; जासूस ।  
 Blood is thicker than water 'अन्धा बांटे रेवड़ी, फिर-फिर अपनों को दे' ।  
 Blood letting *n.* खून लेना, खून बहाना ।  
 Blood money *n.* खूनकी गवाहीका रुपया ।  
 Blood orange *n.* लाल गूदेकी नारंगी ।  
 Blood poisoning *n.* खूनमें जहर पैदा हो जाना ।  
 Blood red *adj.* खून-सा लाल ।  
 Blood relation *n.* सगा, हक्कीकी ।  
 Blood, royal *n.* शाही नसल ।  
 Bloodshed *n.* रक्तपात, खूँरेखी ।  
 Blood shot eye *n.* बहुत सुर्ख या लाल आँख, खूनी आँख ।  
 Blood sucker *n.* खून चूसनेवाला जानवर (जैसे, जौक), खून-खून चूस ।  
 Blood thirsty *adj.* खूनका प्यासा ।  
 Blood vessel *n.* रग, रक्तकी नाली, नाड़ी ।  
 Blood worm *n.* लाल कीड़ा (जिसे मछली पकड़नेके लिये काँटेमें लगाते हैं) ।  
 Blood, bad *n.* बैर, रंजिश ।  
 Blood, blue *n.* अँचे कुल या खानदानका ।  
 Blood out of a stone, one cannot draw पत्थरको जौक नहीं लगती ।  
 Blood up, to have one's *v.* गुस्सा होना; लड़ने-मरने पर तैयार होना; तैशमें आ जाना, झल्लाना ।

Blood, flesh and शरीर, जिस्म, जिस्मानियत ।  
 Blood, fresh *n.* नया खून ।  
 Blood, in cold *adv.* जान-बूझकर; बेरहमी या निर्देयतासे ।  
 Blood, to run in the *v.* खूनमें होना ।  
 Blood, own flesh and अपना सगा ।  
 Blood, first taste of *n.* पहली लड़ाई; पहली बार मुँहमें खून पिली लुआँ; पहली बार मने में खून लगना ।  
 Bloom *n.* फूल; फूलका खिलना; ताजगी; चेहरेकी लाली; सुन्दरता, बहार ।  
 Bloom *v.* फूलना, फलना, खिलना; बहार पर आना ।  
 Blossom *n.* फूल, पुष्प, कली, कोंपल ।  
 Blossom *v.* फूलना, फलना, खिलना, बहार पर आना ।  
 Blot *n.* धब्बा, दाग, कलंक; स्याहीका धब्बा; अँव, चुक्स ।  
 Blot out *v.* मिटाना; दूर करना; निकाल डालना; नाम-निशान न रखना ।  
 Blotting paper *n.* स्याहीचूस, स्याहीसोख ।  
 Blotch *n.* थप्पड़; फुसी; धब्बा ।  
 Blouse *n.* कुरता, कुरती ।  
 Blow *n.* मुक्का, धूँसा; चोट, सदमा; आफत, विपत्ति; हवाका मका; गहना; चोट, सन्धे; आँत, वृत्ति; हवाका जौका ।  
 Blow, at one *adv.* एकदमसे, एक ही बारमें, एक ही चोटसे ।  
 Blow *v.* फूँकना, हवा भरना; सौंस चढ़ना, हाँफना; फूलना, खिलना; सुलगाना; छिनकना; बजाना; हवासे झुड़ जाना ।  
 Blows, to come to } *v.* मार-पीट करने लगना, मुक्का-मुक्की  
 Blows, to exchange } मार पीट करने लगे, मका मका मकी होना, लड़ पड़ना ।  
 Blow great guns *v.* जोरकी आँधी चलना ।  
 Blow hot and cold *v.* आगे-पीछे होना; सात-पाँच करना; कमी कुछ और कमी कुछ कहना ।  
 Blow off steam *v.* फालतू भाप (शक्ति, बल)को खर्च कर डालना; झुवाल निकालना ।  
 Blow one's own trumpet *v.* डींग मारना, अपने मुँह में मिट्टू बनना ।  
 Blow out *v.* बुझा देना, बुझाना ।  
 Blow over *v.* हो चुकना, गुजर जाना, टल जाना ।  
 Blow up *v.* फूल जाना; फुलाना; भक्से हो जाना; झिड़कना; बारुदसे झुड़ाना ।  
 Blow out one's brains *v.* खुद-कुशी या आत्महत्या करना; सिरमें गोली मार लेना; सिरके प्रखण्डे झुड़ा देना ।  
 Blowzy *adj.* लाल मुँहका, मदी शकलका ।

# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJ'S PRESS STATEMENT

On the eve of his departure for Shrirampore Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press:

I find myself in the midst of exaggeration and falsity. I am unable to discover the truth. There is terrible mutual distrust. Oldest friendships have snapped. Truth and *ahimsa* by which I swear, and which have to my knowledge sustained me for sixty years, seem to fail to show the attributes I have ascribed to them.

To test them, or better, to test myself, I am going to a village called Shrirampore, cutting myself away from those who have been with me all these years, and who have made life easy for me. I am taking Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose as my Bengali teacher and interpreter and Shri Parsuram, who has been my most devoted, selfless and silent stenographer.

The other workers, whom I have brought with me will each distribute themselves in other villages of Noakhali to do the work of peace, if it is at all possible, between the two communities. They are, unfortunately, all non-Bengalis except little Abha. They will, therefore, be accompanied by one Bengali worker each as teacher and interpreter, even like Prof. N. K. Bose will be to me.

Distribution work and selection work will be done by Sri Satish Chandra Dasgupta of the Khadi Pratisthan. My ideal is to live in a local Muslim League family, but I see that I must not wait for that happy day. I must meanwhile establish such contacts with the Muslims as I can in their own villages. My suggestion to the League Ministers is that they should give me one honest and brave Muslim to accompany one equally honest and brave Hindu for each affected village. They should guarantee at the cost of their lives if need be, the safety of the returning Hindu refugees. I am sorry to have to confess that without some such thing it seems to me difficult to induce them to return to their villages.

From all accounts received by me, life is not as yet smooth and safe for the minority community in the villages. They, therefore, prefer to live as exiles from their own homes, crops, plantations and surroundings, and live on inadequate and ill-balanced doles.

Many friends from outside Bengal have written to me to allow them to come for peace

work, but I have strongly dissuaded them from coming. I would love to let them come if and when I see light through this impenetrable darkness.

In the meantime, both Pyarelal and I have decided to suspend all other activities in the shape of correspondence, including the heavy work of the *Harijan* and the allied weeklies. I have asked Shri Kishorlal, Shri Kakasaheb, Shri Vinoba and Shri Narhari Parikh to edit the weeklies jointly and severally. Pyarelal and I may, if our work permits, send stray contributions from our respective villages. Correspondence will be attended to from Sevagram.

How long this suspense will last, is more than I can say. This much, however, I can. I do not propose to leave East Bengal till I am satisfied that mutual trust has been established between the two communities and the two have resumed the even tenor of their life in their villages. Without this there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan — only slavery awaits India, torn asunder by mutual strife and engrossed in barbarity.

No one need at present be disturbed about my low diet. On receipt of the following wire from Dr. Rajendra Prasad:

Letter received. Have already wired quiet.

There have been no incidents for a week now. Situation satisfactory. Most earnestly desire resumption of normal diet. Myself going Delhi 19th,

I resumed goat's milk from yesterday and propose to revert to normal diet as early as the system permits. The future is in God's keeping. Kazirkhil, 20-11-'46

## OUR LAHORE BRANCH

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya has recently been opened at Lahore (Bright View Building, Royal Park, McLeod Road). Copies of our four weeklies: *Harijan* (English), *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati), *Harijan-sevak* (Hindustani in Nagari script) and *Harijan-sevak* (Hindustani in Urdu script), as also copies of our Gujarati monthly, *Shikshan ane Sahitya*, and our publications will be available at the place. Subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will also be accepted. All sales of the *Harijan* and its various editions at Lahore will henceforth be handled by the branch office.

MANAGER

## WEEKLY LETTER

Emerald green fields of paddy meet the eye just now in Noakhali District wherever you go. There has been a bumper crop this year such as has not been known for the last twelve years. But nature's bounty has been more than offset by the sadistic cruelty of man. The crop is in ear and about to ripen but a number of those who sowed them are not there to reap or garner. Some have been killed. Others have fled for safety to various refugee camps.

The question of the repatriation of the refugees is worrying the authorities as well as the various relief organizations. Unless they return to their homes early, they might lose the paddy and the betel nut crop which in their absence might be bagged by others. The problem bristles with difficulties. They have lost their all, they have no houses to live in. Without means of subsistence and without even a roof over their heads for shelter, where are they to go? they ask. Above all, where is the guarantee that they would be safe if they returned to their villages? To clear the atmosphere of terror and re-establish mutual confidence and goodwill is the problem of problems.

### TRAGEDY OF GOPAIRBAG

On the 8th instant Gandhiji accompanied by the Parliamentary Secretaries Janab Nasrullah Saheb and Abdur Rashid Saheb, Mr. McInerny the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, Noakhali, motored from Chaumuhani to the village of Gopairbag. Here, buried deep in the midst of thick groves of slender arecanut and cocoanut palms whose tall tops seemed to meet overhead, are scattered five clusters of huts occupied by Hindu families, in the midst of nearly fifty times that number of Muslim families. One of these is a Patwari's house. Silken plantain leaves spread out in graceful arches under a sapphire blue sky. The loveliness of nature was spread all around. The air was delightfully fresh and cool. But the human scene that met the eye froze one's blood. There had been murder and arson. The place of worship had been desecrated. The corpses of slaughtered men were piled up in a heap in one corner of the courtyard and burnt. Charred remains of what was once flesh and blood bore witness to the grim tragedy. There were blood stains on the doorsteps of some of the houses. The *kutcha* floors in many houses had been dug up presumably in search of hidden cash or jewels. The odour of death still hung over the place. It was a picture of desolation. Three girls had been abducted from the house, two of whom were still missing.

### DATTAPARA

On his way back at evening Gandhiji halted at Diwanbari at Dattapara where tact and presence of mind combined with good luck had enabled the Diwanji family to escape from the fate of the Patwari family at Gopairbag. The place itself has at present been turned into a refugee camp holding about 6000 refugees. Gandhiji discussed here with the district authorities the question of repatriation of the refugees to their respective homes. Some local

Muslim League members had also been invited and took part in the discussion.

Addressing a meeting of Hindus and Muslims at evening, Gandhiji told them that it was a shame for both the Hindus and the Mussalmans that the Hindus should have to run away from their homes as they had done. It was a shame for the Muslims because it was out of fear of the Muslims that the Hindus had run away. Why should a human being inspire another with fear? It was no less a shame for the Hindus to have given way to craven fear. He had always said that man should fear none but God. The Government officials accompanying him were all anxious that they should return to their homes. To feed and clothe thousands in one place involved difficulties for the refugees as well as for the Government. The Government officials were ashamed of the fact that such things should have happened in their jurisdiction. He wanted them to forgive and forget what had happened in Noakhali and Tipperah. That did not mean that they were to become cowards. But it served no useful purpose to keep on recalling the unpleasant past. He hoped and prayed that the Hindus and Muslims of these parts would become friends once more. He knew the Hindus had suffered a lot and were suffering still. He would not ask them to return to their homes till at least one good Muslim and one good Hindu came forward to accompany them and stand surety for their safety in each village. He was sure there were plenty of good Hindus and good Muslims in these parts who would give the necessary guarantee.

A Muslim friend from the audience said they had already given them the assurance that they would look after them but the Hindus would not listen to them. Gandhiji replied that they should try to understand and appreciate the reasons of the Hindus' distrust and overcome their fear. A Hindu refugee got up and asked how they could have confidence in the assurances of the Muslims any more. When the trouble was threatening they had promised to look after them but had failed to protect them afterwards. Besides where were they to go and stay? They had lost their all. Were they to go back and stay in the jungles? And when fifty good Muslims in the village had failed to save them on the previous occasion, how would one good Muslim do so now? Gandhiji replied that the Government would see that their huts were rebuilt and they had food and clothing when they returned to their homes. Whatever might have happened in the past, if now one good Muslim and one good Hindu took the responsibility for their safety in each village, they could rely on their word backed as it would be by the collective invitation of all the Muslims in the village. If they were still afraid they were cowards and not even God could help the cowardly.

The next day Gandhiji shifted his camp to Dattapara in order to be able to visit more affected villages in the interior. After the evening prayer he addressed a huge gathering in which about 80 % were

Muslims. It was a passionate appeal to their conscience. He talked to them of the purifying alchemy of God's name which was more potent even than the proverbial philosopher's stone. He asked them to search their hearts and tell him whether they really wanted the Hindus to come back and live in their midst as friends and neighbours. If they wanted them back, they should stand guarantee for their safety and self-respect, assure them that their daughters, sisters, and mothers would be regarded like the Muslims' own daughters, sisters and mothers. If not, they should plainly tell him so and he would ask the unfortunate refugees to migrate. But he himself would stay in their midst till their hearts were converted, live on what they might provide him and die there if necessary. The full text of the speech is reproduced elsewhere in these columns.

Several written questions were submitted to him at the end of the meeting. One of them was: how could the refugees have the confidence to go back when the hooligans who had harassed them were still at large? Gandhiji replied that it was the duty of the Government to round up the hooligans but his advice to the refugees was to leave the Government to attend to its duty. If the good Muslims invited them back wholeheartedly, they should return.

#### FURTHER INTO THE INTERIOR

The 11th was Gandhiji's day of silence. All the same he visited the villages Noakhola, Sonachak and Khilpara, all in the Lakhimpur Thana. The journey was partly by motor and partly by boats which were punted with difficulty in *khals* that were choked with thickly tangled masses of water hyacinth. At Noakhola 8 people were said to have been murdered including a schoolboy of 15. Four skulls and charred remains of the bones were scattered all over the place. The houses had almost all been burnt down. In the house where the boy was murdered his school books and freshly written exercise books were strewn over the floor. The betel nut and the coconut trees surrounding the houses were scorched. Those that were not killed or did not run away were said to have been converted including a deaf-mute who by piteous signs showed the tuft of hair in a piece of cloth which had been removed from his head and to which he still clung. The few women that remained were all weeping and wailing in a heart-rending manner. At Sonachak the place of worship had been desecrated and set fire to. Broken images lay on footpaths and in the debris inside the ruined temple. In this village too the same piteous weeping and wailing of women met Gandhiji.

In a written message that was read out at the evening prayer gathering Gandhiji poured out the anguish which the sights which he had seen had filled him with. Wherever he had gone he had seen burnt houses and heard stories of looting and forcible conversions. Hindu women were without the auspicious vermilion mark on their heads and foreheads and without their conchshell bangles. How he wished that all Muslim brothers would condemn these atrocities with one voice so that the Hindus could go back to their homes and live there as they

used to before the disturbances. Their houses would be rebuilt before they could go back. The Muslims should help in that. Such he believed was the injunction of the holy *Quran* too.

The next day at the evening prayer gathering which mostly consisted of refugees, Gandhiji again referred to the question of repatriation. The Moulvi Saheb, the Vice President of Union No. 6, who had addressed them before him had invited them in the name of the Mussalmans to return to their homes. But it was not so easy in action as it was in speech. Everyone was anxious to see the two communities live in peace and harmony once again. For that it was not necessary that they should have the same religion. He had seen awful sights of destruction. He had seen the terror-stricken faces of the sufferers. They had been forcibly converted once and they were afraid the same thing would be repeated. He wanted them to shed that fear. He alone deserved to live who refused to give up God's name. They must learn to face death rather than give up *Ramanama*. He was not enamoured of the military and the police. The function of the police was to arrest thieves and dacoits, that of the military to guard them against foreign aggression. The police and the military could not teach them to cease fighting among themselves and live as friends. He referred to the scheme for repatriation but it could work only if the Muslim League wished to have peace and fully co-operated. Shamsuddin Saheb was coming in two or three days. They would hear from him what the League Government wanted to do.

Visits to the village of Gomatoli and Nandigram completed Gandhiji's programme in the Lakhimpur Thana. In Nandigram the same scene of devastation that was seen in Noakhola and Khilpara confronted one. About 600 houses had been burnt down. Twisted and blackened pieces of corrugated sheets that once constituted roofings littered the ground among heaps of cinders and debris. A school building, a hostel and a hospital were reduced to ashes. Scorched coconut and arecanut palms marked the site of arson. The temple belonging to the leading family of the village had been desecrated here too.

#### A CRUEL JOKE

Gandhiji shifted his camp from Dattapara to Kazirkhil on the 14th afternoon. On the way he stopped at Shahpur where a public meeting had been arranged. Gandhiji had been told that there would be a big gathering at Shahpur. But someone had spread the rumour that he would be accompanied by the Superintendent of Police, the District Magistrate and an armed guard who would utilize the occasion for making arrests with the result that very few people were in evidence when Gandhiji arrived there. "It is a cruel joke," remarked Gandhiji. For so far as he was concerned he had never wanted any police or district authority to accompany him. But the authorities said they could not take the risk of letting him go about unprotected.

It had been brought to his notice that in several places, while the local Mussalmans professed to be

(Continued on p. 426)

# HARIJAN

December 1

1946

## THE FIRST LESSON

Mr. McNerny, the District Magistrate of Noakhali, addressing Gandhiji's evening prayer gathering at Dibanbari (Dattapara) made a pithy remark. As after a natural calamity like an earthquake, floods or an epidemic involving large masses of people, so after riots, the first requisites of rehabilitation and relief are food, clothing, shelter and primary medical aid. But of far greater importance than these is courage which is the basis of all virtues. Nothing could have been more opportune, he added, than Gandhiji's visit to Noakhali in the present juncture. For, courage cannot be doled out like rice or other items of relief. It has to be evoked from within and who could do it better than Gandhiji?

### THE ONLY WAY

He could have little idea at that time that Gandhiji had anticipated him in that regard even before he had set foot on the soil of the Tipperah District. The first lesson was delivered at Chandpur when a group of 20 to 25 workers including the son of the late Babu Hardayal Nag and several representatives of various relief organizations met him in the dining saloon of the *Kivi* on the morning of the 7th November. "What goes against the grain in me," Gandhiji told them, "is that a single individual can be forcibly converted or a single woman can be kidnapped or raped. So long as we feel we can be subjected to these indignities, we shall continue to be so subjected. If we say we cannot do without police or military protection, we really confess defeat even before the battle has begun. No police or military in the world can protect people who are cowards. Today you say, thousands of people are terrorizing a mere handful, so what can the latter do? But even a few individuals are enough to terrorize the whole mass, if the latter feel helpless. Your trouble is not numerical inferiority but the feeling of helplessness that has seized you and the habit of depending on others. The remedy lies with you. That is too why I am opposed to the idea of your evacuating from East Bengal *en masse*. It is no cure for impotence or helplessness."

"East Bengal is opposed to such a move," they replied.

"They should not leave", Gandhiji resumed. "20,000 able-bodied men prepared to die like brave men non-violently might today be regarded as a fairy tale. But it would be no fairy tale for every able-bodied man in a population of 20,000 to die like stalwart soldiers to a man in open fight. They will go down in history like the immortal five hundred of Leonidas who made Thermopylae." And

he quoted the proud epitaph which marked the grave of the Thermopylae heroes:

Stranger! Tell Sparta, here her sons are laid,  
Such was her law and we that law obeyed.

### A FALSE CRY

"I will proclaim from the housetops," he continued, "that it is the only condition under which you can live in East Bengal. You have asked for Hindu officers, Hindu police and Hindu military in the place of Muslim. It is a false cry. You forget that Hindu officers, Hindu police and Hindu military have in the past done all these things—looting, arson, abduction, rape. I come from Kathiawad—the land of petty principalities. I cannot describe to you to what depths of depravity human nature can go. No woman's honour is safe in some principalities and the chief is no hooligan but a duly appointed one."

"These are cases of individual depravity. Here we have got this on a mass scale."

"But the individual there is not alone. He is backed by the machinery of his little State."

### A POOR CONSOLATION

"He is condemned even by his compeers. Here such acts are not condemned by the Muslims."

"I have heard nothing but condemnation of these acts from Saheed Suhrawardy downwards since I have come here. Words of condemnation may tickle your ears. But they are no consolation to the unfortunate women whose houses have been laid desolate or who have been abducted, forcibly converted and forcibly married."

"What a shame for Hindus, what a disgrace for Islam," he exclaimed warming up. "No, I am not going to leave you in peace. Presently you will say to yourself, 'When will this man leave us and go?' But this man will not go. He did not come on your invitation and he will go on his own only, but with your blessings, when his mission in East Bengal is fulfilled."

"It is a part of their plan for Pakistan," put in one member of the deputation.

"It is midsummer madness and they have realized it. They will soon sicken of it. They have already begun to."

"Why do not they come here then and set this right?"

"That stage will come. Sickness only marks the crisis. Convalescence must precede cure." "You see I am a nature-curst," he added with a sardonic laugh in which all joined.

### THE FALLACY OF NUMBERS

"But here we are a mere drop in the ocean," remarked another friend resuming the discussion.

Gandhiji replied that even if there was one Hindu in East Bengal, he wanted him to have the courage to go and live in the midst of the Mussalmans and die if he must like a hero. He should refuse to live as a serf and a slave. He might not have the non-violent strength to die without fighting. But he could command their admiration if he had the courage not to submit to wrong and died fighting like a man. "There is not a man,



however cruel and hard-hearted, but would give his admiration to a brave man. A *goonda* is not the vile man he is imagined to be. He is not without his noble traits."

The friend who was leading the argument however was still sceptical. "A *goonda* does not understand reason," he said.

"But he understands bravery," replied Gandhiji. "If he finds that you are braver than he, he will respect you."

#### ARMOURY RAID TRADITION

"You will note," continued Gandhiji, "that for the purposes of our present discussion I have not asked you to discard the use of arms. I can't provide you with arms. It is not for me to provide arms to the Chittagong Armoury Raid men," he remarked chaffing them. "The most tragic thing about the armoury raid people," he added "is that they could not even multiply themselves. Their bravery was lop-sided. It did not infect others."

That started a discussion on the Chittagong Armoury Raid group.

"No wonder it could not," answered one of the party. "They were condemned."

"By whom? I may have — that is a different thing."

"The people did do. I am myself an Armoury Raid man."

"They did not. You are no Armoury Raid man or, you should not have been here to tell these things. That so many of them should have remained living witnesses of the things that have happened is in my eyes a tragedy of the first order. If they had shown the same fearlessness and courage to face death in the present crisis as they did when they made that raid, they would have gone down in history as heroes. As it is, they have only inscribed a small footnote in the page of history. You will see I am not, as I have already said, asking you just now to unlearn the use of arms or to follow my type of heroism. I have not made it good even in my own case. I have come here to test it in East Bengal. I want you to take up the conventional type of heroism. You should be able to infect others — both men and women — with courage and fearlessness to face death when the alternative is dishonour and humiliation. Then the Hindus can stay in East Bengal, not otherwise. After all, the Mussalmans are blood of our blood and bone of our bone."

"Here the proportion of Mussalmans and Hindus is 6 to 1. How can you expect us to stand against such heavy odds?"

"When India was brought under British subjection, there were 70,000 European soldiers against 33 crores of Indians."

"We have no arms. The Government backs them with its bayonets."

"The odds were much heavier against the Indians in South Africa. The Indian community there was a mere handful in the midst of an overwhelming majority of Europeans and Negroes. The Europeans

had arms. We had none. So we forged the weapon of Satyagraha. Today the Indian is respected by the White man in South Africa, not so the Zulu with all his fine physique."

"So we are to fight with arms anyhow?" the friend finally asked.

"Not anyhow," replied Gandhiji. "Even violence has its code of ethics. For instance, to butcher helpless old men, women and children is not bravery but rank cowardice. Chivalry requires that they should be protected even at the cost of one's life. The history of early Islam is replete with such instances of chivalry and Islam is all the stronger for them."

#### BRAVERY OR BRUTALITY?

"Would you permit the Hindus to take the offensive?"

"The people of Bihar did and brought disgrace upon themselves and India. They have set the clock of India's independence backward. I have a right to speak about Bihar. In a sense I feel closer to Bihar than to Bengal as fortune enabled me to give a striking demonstration of the non-violence technique in Champaran. I have heard it said that the retaliation in Bihar has 'cooled' the Muslims down. They mean it has cowed them down for the time being. They forget that we can play at a game. Bihar has forged a link in the chain of our slavery. If the Bihar performance is repeated or if the Bihar mentality does not mend, you may note down my words in your diary: *Before long India will pass under the yoke of the Big Three with one of them probably as the mandatory power. The independence of India is today at stake in Bengal and Bihar.* The British Government entrusted the Congress with power not because they are in love with the Congress but because they had faith that the Congress would use it wisely and well, not abuse it. Today Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru finds the ground slipping from under his feet. But he won't let that happen. That is why he is in Bihar. He has said he is going to stay there as long as it may be necessary."

"Biharis have behaved as cowards," he added with deep anguish. "Use your arms well, if you must. Do not ill-use them. Bihar has not used its arms well. If the Biharis wanted to retaliate, they could have gone to Noakhali and died to a man. But for a thousand Hindus to fall upon a handful of Mussalmans — men, women and children — living in their midst is no retaliation but just brutality. It is the privilege of arms to protect the weak and helpless. The best succour that Bihar could have given to the Hindus of East Bengal would have been to guarantee with their own lives the absolute safety of the Muslim population living in their midst. Their example would have told. And I have faith that they will still do so with due repentance when the present madness has passed away. Anyway that is the price I have put upon my life, if they want me to live. Here ends the first lesson."

Kazirkhil, 18-11-'46

PYARELAL

## WEEKLY LETTER

(Continued from p. 423)

anxious that peace should be re-established, they were not prepared to do anything for it or give any guarantee, unless the Muslim League leaders asked them to. Gandhiji recognizing the reasonableness of their suggestion referred to a statement of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah which he had read that morning. He did not like everything in that statement but there were some things in it which should commend themselves to all. In that statement Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had said: "If the Mussalmans lose their balance and give vent to the spirit of vengeance and retaliation and prove false to the highest codes of morality and preachings of our great religion Islam, you will not only lose your title to the claim of Pakistan but also it will start a most vicious circle of bloodshed and cruelty, which will at once put off the day of our freedom and we shall only be helping to prolong the period of slavery and bondage." He had further said: "We must prove politically that we are brave, generous and trustworthy, . . . that in the Pakistan areas the minorities will enjoy the fullest security of life, property and honour just as the Mussalmans themselves, nay even greater." He would like them, remarked Gandhiji, to ponder over that statement, if on examination they found that his quotation was correct. Murder, loot, arson, abduction and forcible marriages and forcible conversions could not but prolong India's slavery. If they kept on quarrelling among themselves, if they looked to the police and the military for protection, they would be inciting the third party to rule over them.

## HEART AGONY

At Kazirkhil Gandhiji's camp has been fixed up in a partially devastated house. The miscreants were not able to burn down the place completely. An advance party of Shri Satish Babu's men had cleaned it up and made it habitable. There was a small gathering for the prayers in the compound of the house. Addressing them after prayer on the first day Gandhiji said he found indescribable peace in the natural scenery around him but he found that peace missing on the faces of the men and women. And how could they have peace after all that they had been through? He found a number of guards standing there to protect him and his party. Against whom were they to protect him? He was not used to go about with a guard. He had toured in Bengal unprotected before this. "But today the authorities would not let me do so. It is a matter of sorrow and shame for me and more than me it should be a matter of shame for the Mussalmans of East Bengal."

Even the schools and temples had been destroyed, he proceeded. Shamsuddin Saheb, their Minister, did not like it. The happenings in East Bengal, he said, had hurt him deeply. The hearts of the people had to be purged of hatred. For that their (the Mussalmans') help and cooperation was necessary.

## THIS FRATRICIDE

This fratricide was more awful than anything in his experience, he said. He had carried on a grim struggle for 20 years in South Africa and for the

last 30 years in India. But this mutual slaughter had non-plussed him. He did not know how he could induce the two communities to live in peace and harmony again. He had come to Bengal to find a solution for the problem. Bengal was a big province. If the communal problem could be solved here, it would be solved elsewhere also. If he succeeded here, he would go away from Bengal with a new lease of life. If not, he wished God to remove him from this earth. He did not wish to leave Bengal empty-handed. The word "pessimism" was not to be found in his dictionary.

The Muslims butchered the Hindus and did worse things than butchery in Bengal, he proceeded, and the Hindus butchered the Muslims in Bihar. When both acted wickedly it was no use making comparisons or saying one was less wicked than the other or who started the trouble. If they wished to take revenge they should learn the art from him. He also took revenge, but it was of a different type. He had read a Gujarati poem in his childhood which said: "If to him who gives you a glass of water, you give two, there is no merit in it. Real merit lies in doing good to him who does you evil. "That," concluded Gandhiji, "I consider noble revenge."

He had read a story about one of the earlier Caliphs. A man attacked the Caliph with a sword. The Caliph wrested the sword from the assailant's hands and was going to kill him when the assailant spat on his face. The Caliph thereupon let him go free because the indignity had filled him with personal anger. This produced a great impression upon the assailant and he embraced Islam. One who was forcibly converted to Islam ceased to be a man. To recite the *Kalma* through fear was meaningless.

## A CALL TO INTROSPECTION

The prayer meeting of the fifteenth was held in the *maidan* in front of the school building at Ramganj. In his address after the prayer Gandhiji reiterated and emphasized his previous day's appeal. He could talk to them of nothing but sorrow and suffering these days. Wherever he went he saw awful sights of destruction. There were no tears in his eyes. He who shed tears could not wipe those of others, but his heart did weep. He had come with the hope that he could have a frank talk with the Mussalmans and that they would repent of their misdeeds and request the Hindus not to leave their homes. If the repentance was genuine, the Hindus would recognize their sincerity and regain lost confidence. But he could see that the Hindus and the Muslims of East Bengal had been embittered against one another. He would not go into the reasons thereof. But the Muslim brethren would permit him to say that so far as he knew, in East Bengal they had been the aggressors. The Hindus were mortally afraid of them. At Chaumuhani, continued Gandhiji, Muslims came to his meeting in large numbers, larger than the Hindus. But he did not know why they were avoiding him after the first meeting at Dattapara. It hurt him. He wanted the few Mussalmans who were present in the meeting to carry his message to the rest. A

Muslim sister who had been going about meeting the leading Muslims in these parts had said that the Muslims told her plainly that they wanted orders from the League leaders before they could promise to befriend the Hindus or attend Gandhiji's meetings. The exodus of the Hindus was still continuing. If the Muslims assured them that they were neighbours, friends and brothers, sons of the same soil, breathing the same air and drinking the same water, that the Hindus had nothing to fear from them, the exodus would stop and even those who had left their homes would return. Even animals were friendly to those who befriended them. But man was made in the image of God. To justify his inheritance, man had to return good for evil. Whosoever was the fault, this truth applied to both the parties. The Muslims wanted orders from the League. He could understand it. There was a League Government in the province. But that did not mean that the Government should be inimical to those outside the League.

He reiterated what he said about Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah Saheb's message on the previous day. They should search their hearts and ask themselves if they had lived up to that message. "So far as I know, Islam does not permit forcible conversion and atrocities on women. What good can a mere repetition of the *Kalma* do to one whose heart does not accept Islam? You should ask your leaders, therefore, whether you are to be friends with the Hindus or enemies and tell me. If you wish to be enemies, the Hindus should be asked to leave East Bengal. For myself, I have come to stay in East Bengal till there is reconciliation between the two."

Kazirkhil, 17-11-'46

PYARELAL

## A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

(Continued from No. 31, Page 304)

[For reference to the text in 10, I am indebted to Macdonell and Keith's Vedic Index; for 11 to S. Hicks' *Difficulties* (Duckworth); for 13 to Mosley's *Night Haunts of London* (S. Paul); for 14 to Hiralal Jadavrai Buch's *Devibhagavata* (G. M. Vaishya); and for 16, 17 and 18 to Norman E. Richardson's *The Liquor Problem* (Methodist Book Concern, New York). V. G. D.]

10

सुरां पिबन् . . . ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति ।

छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् (५-१०-९)

"The murderer of a Brahmin, the drunkard . . . these fall (from grace)."

11

Not 95 per cent of all the crime which has come before me during my long years on the bench should be attributed to drink, but 99 per cent of it.

Lord Brampton

12

Syphilis and use of alcohol as beverage together are responsible for more than half the disease and early death of the mature population of Europe.

E. Ray Lankester in *Kingdom of Man*

13

"One of the chief incitements to unchastity is indulgence in alcoholic drinks."

National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases.

14

प्रभासे यादवाः सर्वे . . . . . ॥ ३ ॥

ते पीत्वा मदिरां मत्ताः कृत्वा युद्धं परस्परम् ।

क्षयं प्राप्ता महात्मानः पश्यतो रामकृष्णयोः ॥ ४ ॥

देवीभागवत २-८ ।

"At Prabhasa, all the Yadavas took liquor, in a fit of intoxication fought among themselves and met their doom. Balarama and Krishna saw this but were helpless.

15

Alcohol kills more men than war, and kills them in a dishonourable manner. —Cardinal Mercier

16

Many (drinking places) depend upon the debauching of women as a source of indirect revenue.

*North American Wine and Spirit Journal*,  
(March 1913)

17

"In the tug of war between life and death, drink pulls on the graveyard side."

18

If the drink habit could be eradicated from the nation, this court might close its doors at any rate for the greater part of the time.

Lord Gorell, President of English Divorce Court  
V. G. D.

## THE MESSAGE OF KHADI

If every village, and every home in it, becomes self-sufficient in the production of food, clothing, other village manufactures and animal husbandry and avoids unnecessary interdependence while not excluding mutual co-operation wherever desirable, society will naturally become self-reliant and free. Competition being replaced by mutual co-operation in such a society there will be equality in the true sense of the term. Such a society must be a non-violent society.

To establish a non-violent social order in the early childhood of the human race was perhaps not possible. But when the human race has come of age, it should naturally become non-violent. With the progress of knowledge and science, an awakened and virile society will spontaneously come to realize that non-violence is the rule of life and that therein alone lies safety. Experience is the best teacher. Non-violence, arrived at as a result of experience, is likely to prove enduring. If even after all it has gone through during the last five to ten thousand years of its history, the human race does not turn to non-violence it is doomed indeed.

A non-violent order cannot be established by mere preaching. It requires healthy living and a particular type of organization and a particular outlook on life. The systems of Government that one sees in the world today are incompatible with a non-violent society. Instead of relying on the best in human nature, they rely on its baser side such as selfishness, greed, fear, pride etc. These tendencies are fostered by the twin expedient of punishment and reward. Living under such a system degrades one. It could not be otherwise. Our life has become unnatural and with that our ideals and thinking. Society is sick.

A man suffering from scabies experiences great relief when he scratches his skin. It does not therefore mean that the desire to scratch is a healthy one. Similarly the fact that the present day culture satisfies certain cravings and appetites of ours does not mean that it is healthy. He whose mind is filled with the craving for sex indulgence is impervious to argument however forceful. Edward Carpenter wrote a masterly book describing the present disease and its cure. But it fell flat. Society did not mend its ways. Two world wars in one generation have brought the world to the brink of destruction. Spiritual culture is India's heritage, though today India itself seems to have repudiated it. May it not be India's privilege still to return to it and point the way to others? It is in that hope that Gandhiji has set to work out the ideal of self-reliance and self-sufficiency for India's villages.

In spite of the progress that science has made, better communications and close financial and economic ties among the various countries of the world, there is shortage of food and clothing all over. A system which has given rise to such a grave situation must be reformed. That can only be done by accepting the principle of non-violence which in the economic field is translated as self-reliance, and of which Khadi is the supreme symbol.

KAKA KALELKAR

(Abridged by S. N. from the Original in Gujarati)

## AN APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech delivered in Hindustani at the prayer meeting at Dattapara on the evening of the 10th November:

"Whether you believe me or not, I want to assure you that I am a servant of both the Hindus and the Mussalmans. I have not come here to fight Pakistan. If India is destined to be partitioned, I cannot prevent it. But I wish to tell you that Pakistan cannot be established by force. In the *bhajan* that was just sung the poet has likened God to the philosopher's stone. The proverbial philosopher's stone is said to turn iron into gold. That is not always desirable. For instance, if all the rails of the railway track were turned into gold by the touch of the stone, the trains would not be able to run over them. But the touch of God purifies the soul. That is always desirable.

"That philosopher's stone is within us all. All that I wish to tell my Muslim brethren is that, whether they live as one people or two, they should live as friends with the Hindus. If they do not wish to do so, they should say so plainly. I would in that case confess myself defeated. The refugees cannot stay on as refugees for ever. The Government cannot go on feeding them. And what sort of feed are they getting? Less than half the daily ration of cereals to keep an able-bodied man alive, no fish, no vegetables, nor anything else to supplement it. It is not possible for them to exist like this for any length of time. If, therefore, the Muslims

do not want them back in their villages, they must go elsewhere.

"But even if every Hindu of East Bengal went away, I will still continue to live amidst the Muslims of East Bengal and eat what they give me and what I consider lawful for me to partake of. I will not bring my food from outside. I do not need fish or flesh. All that I need is a little fruit, vegetables and some goat's milk. As far as goat's milk and cereals are concerned, I would take them again only when it pleases God that I should do so. I have given it up and would not resume it till the Hindus were really penitent of what they had done in Bihar.

"For a thousand Hindus to surround a hundred Mussalmans or for a thousand Mussalmans to surround a hundred Hindus and oppress them is not bravery but cowardice. A fair fight means even numbers and previous notice. That does not mean that I approve of their fighting. It has been said that the Hindus and the Muslims cannot stay together as friends or co-operate with each other. No one can make me believe that, but if that is your belief, you should say so. I would in that case not ask the Hindus to return to their homes. They would leave East Bengal and it would be a shame for both the Mussalmans and the Hindus. If, on the other hand, you want the Hindus to stay in your midst, you should tell them that they need not look to the military for protection but to their Muslim brethren instead. Their daughters and sisters and mothers are your own daughters, sisters and mothers and you should protect them with your lives. I addressed them in the refugee camp yesterday. The District Magistrate Mr. McInerny told them that all mankind being descended from Adam and Eve, they were all members of one family—relatives, whatever, their race or religion. So they should live together as relatives.

"One man is said to have returned to his village last evening after the prayer meeting. He found his house surrounded by Muslims. They would not let him take his property. How can I, under these circumstances (if they are true), ask anyone to go back? You should ponder over what I have said and let me know what you really wish. I shall advise the Hindus accordingly.

"I am told and I believe that there are many good Muslims who would welcome the Hindus back but the *goondas* stand in the way. I wish to tell you that if the good Muslims spoke out with one voice and acted according to their professions, the so-called *goondas* would become ineffective and would mend their ways."

Kazirkhil, 16-11-'46

PYARELAL

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## IMMORTAL MALAVIYAJI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is a saying in English, "The King is dead, Long live the King". Perhaps it can be said with greater aptness though in a different setting of the great and good Malaviyaji whom death has kindly delivered from physical pain and to whom his body had ceased for some time to give the work he would gladly have taken from it. Can we not say of him "Malaviyaji the adored of *Bharatvarsha* is dead, Long live Malaviyaji?" His unremitting toil from his early youth to ripe old age has made him immortal. His services were many but the Benares Hindu University, styled in Hindi as *Kashi Vishwa Vidyalaya* must for all time be counted as his greatest and best creation. If it is more popularly known as the Benares Hindu University, the fault was not his, or, if it was his, it was due to his magnanimous nature. He was a servant of his followers. He allowed them to do as they wished. I happen to know personally that this spirit of accommodation was part of his nature, so much so that at times it took the shape of weakness. Only he was a powerful man. And has not his own special favourite *Bhagawata* said that no fault accrues to the powerful? But it is a defect which can easily be remedied now. Every stone of that majestic structure should be a reflection of true *Hindu Dharma* or culture. The institution must not in any shape or form reflect the glory of materialism as of the West that we are familiar with, but it should be a true reflection of the glory that is spiritualism. Is every pupil a representative of pure undefiled religion? If he is not, why not? This University will be judged, as all universities should be, not by the number of pupils studying at it at a given time but by their quality, however few in numbers they may be. I know that this is easier said than done. Nevertheless, it is the foundation of this University. If it is not that, it is nothing. Hence it is the clear duty of the progeny of the deceased as also his followers to give it that shape. It is essentially the function of the university to assign Hindu religion its status in the body of the religions of the world, as it is its function to rid it of its defects and limitations. The devotees of the deceased should regard it as their special duty to shoulder this burden.

Malaviyaji has left an imperishable memorial of himself in the *Kashi Viswa Vidyalaya*. To put it on a stable foundation, to secure its evolutionary growth, will surely be the most suitable memorial that can be

erected by us to the memory of the great patriot. He spared no pains in making a big collection for his pet child. Everyone who reveres his memory can give a helping hand to the labour of continuing the collection.

So far about his outward activity. His internal life was purity exemplified. He was a repository of kindness and gentleness. His knowledge of religious scriptures was very great. He was by heredity a great religious preacher. He had a marvellous memory and his life was as clean as it was simple.

His politics I must leave alone as also his other manifold activities. He, whose life was singled out for selfless service and who had many gifts, would naturally stand for limitless activities. I have ventured to single out what has appealed to me as his most prominent service. And to give a real helping hand in making the institution a living example of true Hinduism will only be done by those who will try to imitate sincerely the purity and simplicity of his life.

Srirampur, 23-11-'46

(From the original in *Hindustani*)

## ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S ADDRESS

[Important as it is, it is difficult to reproduce the entire text of Acharya Kripalani's Presidential address delivered at the Plenary session of the 54th Indian National Congress at Meerut on November 23rd last. But we reproduce below a few very pertinent extracts from it. *Ed.*]

### THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Even when we have achieved our goal of complete independence, we must not think that our task is done. National liberty is precious indeed. It is the very breath of a nation's life. But however important, it is a negative achievement — a removal of external shackles. It is merely the hindrance of a hindrance. It is quite possible that when an individual's shackles are removed, he may use his new-found freedom to his own injury. If we are wise we will not rest content merely with the removal of external restraints, but will so order our affairs that the freedom we gain is translated into concrete good to our people. This means that our revolutionary zeal, even while it destroys the old order must constantly achieve creative expression in constructive activity.

### BUILDING WHILE DESTROYING

This constructive effort should be nothing new for us. Our revolutionary movement, based as it is



on non-violence, is unique in history. Usually, political revolutions have aimed at the destruction of the old order. Their strategy has been designed to capture power. All constructive effort to remould the nation's life has been done after the old order was completely destroyed and power captured. This process has inevitably led not to one but a series of revolutions before things could settle down and constructive effort begin. Not unoften, the process has led to civil war and ultimately to dictatorship. Both civil war and dictatorship have a tendency to defeat the aims of a revolution. It was so in the French and Russian revolutions.

The Congress under Gandhiji's lead has avoided over-emphasis on mere destruction or on the capture of power. It has, on the other hand, laid great emphasis on the constructive programme. Its destructive and constructive programmes have been worked side by side for the last 26 years. Indeed, for Gandhiji the only effective preparation for civil disobedience is the intensive carrying out of the constructive programme. Now that Congressmen are at the helm of affairs in many provinces, and even at the centre, we have some sort of a national government, it should not be difficult to intensify our effort and realize the full possibilities of the constructive programme as enunciated by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress.

#### DEMOCRACY AND NON-VIOLENCE

The content of our Swaraj has been getting clearer and clearer for us as our national struggle has progressed. Long ago we decided against the tactics of mere destruction and capture of power. We therefore discarded the use of the pistol and the bomb. We decided that our revolution must be an open conspiracy and it must progressively bring in the masses. It must, therefore, necessarily be non-secretive and non-violent. A revolution brought about by the masses and that non-violently implies democracy. Our Congress organization therefore has a democratic constitution. As a matter of fact, if democracy is to be real and effective and not merely formal and institutional, it must be based on non-violence. And non-violence if it is not a mere form or lip-expression, must necessarily lead to democracy. Non-violence and dictatorship are contradictory. We cannot today change this democratic character of the Congress, nor will it be desirable to do so. Let it therefore be clear that we are pledged to political democracy and our Swaraj shall be democratic. It shall not be the rule of an individual however great or a family however glorious. Nor shall it be the Swaraj under one particular caste, creed or class. It shall be the rule of the people, by the people, for the people.

We have seen that political democracy the world over tends to become a mere form, if it is not broad-based on some sort of economic equality. The democratic note ceases to have much meaning in a society where there are great inequalities of wealth. We know that the smaller countries of Europe like

Norway, Sweden and Denmark, enjoy a more real democracy than the big capitalist countries for the simple reason that their democracy rests on a larger measure of economic equality.

But economic equality may be of the communist order based on centralized big industry, or it may be democratic and based upon a fair degree of decentralization.

I believe that economic equality in a society whose economic system rests exclusively on big industry, inevitably leads to the concentration of power in the hands of a few. It leads to bureaucratic and dictatorial exercise of power. The rulers in that case not only regulate the political but also the economic life of the people. If political power has a tendency to corrupt the holders of power, this tendency is doubly increased by the combination of political and economic power in the same hands.

Capitalism killed democracy because the capitalist class wielded, directly or indirectly, political power. Communism puts in the hands of the political dictator and bureaucrat the entire control of economic power. Herein lies as great a danger to democracy as under capitalism.

#### DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Therefore, if democracy is to survive, it must discover a means of avoiding concentration of economic power in the hands of the ruler or rulers, however selected or elected. Even a political democracy can be a dictatorship if there are no spheres of free activity left to the individual. The historical role of the Congress in the economic field has been its bold advocacy of decentralized industry. Ever since the Bengal Partition movement, our political thinkers have stressed the importance of reviving village and cottage industries. After Gandhiji's advent in Indian politics, this advocacy has gained emphasis and has been translated into a concrete programme of national reconstruction. We have therefore at this stage clearly to define the content of our economic Swaraj which must be in the direction of as much decentralization as is possible under the present circumstances. Nor may we forget that decentralization alone will help effectively to solve the problem of the chronic unemployment of the vast majority of our agricultural population.

#### NATIONAL PLANNING

The Congress appointed in 1939 a Planning Committee under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This Committee has been at work for several years. It has collected facts and figures. It is time that its labours are utilized. But these cannot be utilized unless the Congress makes up its mind as to what industries are to be centralized and what decentralized. Unless that is done each province will go its own way. I am afraid that already there is a kind of competition even among the Congress provinces in the field of big industry. Each province wants to introduce as

many mills and factories as possible. We had thought that the cloth industry was the one most eminently suited for decentralization. But even here each provincial government is vying with the other to set up new cloth mills. Some people believe that in the present state of scarcity of cloth all means of increased production must be utilized. They however fail to see that this necessarily creates new capitalist vested interests. As a khadi worker I believe that with less capital and less effort and in a shorter time more can be accomplished by a systematic encouragement of the charkha and the handloom than by opening new mills. I have taken the example of the cloth industry. But it is time that we took counsel among ourselves and decided what industries might best be worked on centralized and what on decentralized basis.

#### THE SCOPE OF ELECTRICITY

When I talk of decentralized industry, I do not necessarily mean the application of mere hand power. Electric power may well be utilized for increasing the scope and efficiency of the worker in his own home and village. That this decentralized industry will eliminate periodical waste of national wealth consequent on industrial conflicts, strikes and lock-outs is too obvious to be mentioned. To the extent that these conflicts are avoided, there is good neighbourliness among the people. This decentralized industry may be organized on a co-operative basis. There should be production and distribution co-operatives. If production co-operatives are not immediately possible, distribution co-operatives can certainly be started by public bodies and the provincial governments. The village worker does not find so much difficulty in producing goods as in marketing them.

#### AGRICULTURE AND OUR FOOD PROBLEM

Our agriculture too must largely follow the pattern of decentralized industry. It must chiefly consist of peasant proprietorship, with a provision that no plot shall be sub-divided, whether on account of inheritance, debt or any other cause, beyond what would maintain a village family. Decentralized industry and agriculture must supplement and complement each other. The latter too should be managed, as far as possible, on co-operative basis, both for farming and marketing purposes.

The food problem, which assumed dangerous proportions during the War, continues to be our great concern even to-day. We are still dependent on what foreign countries may choose to dole out to us. This dependence on the foreigner must be eliminated where the most primary needs of existence are concerned. With appropriate agricultural reform it should not be difficult to feed the present population of India and any immediate increase. Our agricultural production is extremely low. The best plan to avoid famine and the threat of famine in the future is to divide the country in such agricultural regions or units, big or small, as would be self-sufficient so far as

the essentials of human nutrition are concerned. Care must be taken that these regions produce what may constitute a scientifically balanced diet. The health of our agricultural population, the back-bone of our nation, cannot be improved unless the peasant has two square meals a day consisting of food which is properly adjusted to form a scientifically balanced diet. Proper food is the first condition of rural health and hygiene. In the matter of balanced diet more research is needed. But enough has been done, thanks to Gandhiji's efforts, to make a useful beginning.

At the Centre we have today our esteemed leader Babu Rajendra Prasad, a careful and conscientious Minister in charge of the Department of Food, and I have no doubt that he will not only enable us to tide over our present difficulties, but ensure such arrangements for the future as would never oblige us to go a-begging for our food at foreign doors.

#### NO EXPLOITATION

To sum up then, the historical evolution of our freedom movement, pledged as it is to non-violence and the good of the masses, demands a social order free from exploitation, functioning democratically and tuned to international co-operation and peace. Such a society will be in consonance with the highest ideals of the age and time we live in. The Congress under Gandhiji's lead has been working for these objects. Today it must define the objects more clearly and work more consciously towards their realization and utilize its newly acquired power towards that end.

\* \* \*

#### NATIONAL UNITY

Today we have some kind of a national government at the centre and provinces have their popularly elected governments. In a short time we shall be assembling to form a new constitution for India. Freedom, if not achieved, is surely in sight. The British can no longer deny it to us, whatever their intentions. If today we miss our goal, the fault shall be ours. It will be due to the mistakes of commission and omission we make at this critical juncture. The greatest danger to a patient is not when the disease is active but when he is convalescing. The doctor's vigilance is relaxed and he has to take care of himself. We are in that critical condition; and the worst of it is that our enemies are clever and vigilant. The greatest strength of British imperialism in India is that it has been possible for it to carry out its nefarious designs through the instrumentality of the Indians themselves. India was conquered by Indian money, Indian resources, Indian soldiers and often with Indian brains. Our tragedy has been our divisions and differences and a tendency to subordinate larger national interests to those of caste, creed and party. We give to the smaller units the loyalty that is due to the whole. Herein lies our greatest weakness.

(Continued on p. 439)

# HARIJAN

December 8

1946

## THE "DO OR DIE" MISSION

On the road of *Satyagraha* there is no stop, no resting place. One must always move on and onward on or else retrogress. Gandhiji's decision which I described as *A venture in faith* in the last issue of the *Harijan* was taken at Dattapara. On returning from Dattapara, where I had to stop for a day on account of urgent business when Gandhiji shifted to Kazirkhil, I found that he had moved another step forwards. He must live in a Muslim household, if a good Muslim Leaguer approved of by the Bengal Ministry would be prepared to receive him as a member of the family. He discussed the question with Goffran Saheb, the Minister for Civil Supplies, who saw him on the 16th and asked him if he could recommend him to any. The latter was taken aback at Gandhiji's living stripped of all his companions in the midst of those who would not know how to look after him. "I shall look after myself. I shall need nobody's service," argued Gandhiji. "Then, I am afraid, I must say that no Mussalman family is prepared to receive you," replied Goffran Saheb laughing. But Gandhiji was not to be put away easily. He expatiated on it in his discourse after the evening prayer. He was in the midst of a Muslim population in Noakhali, he said. He did not like the idea of staying with Hindu friends. He would like to see if he could stay with a League Mussalman. "My requirements are very few. All I want is cleanliness, clean water, permissible food and the freedom to pray to God in my own way." The idea was that if the Hindus saw him living with a Muslim League friend, they would probably get back their confidence and return to their homes more readily. "The Muslim friends will have an opportunity to examine me at close quarters and find out whether I am an enemy or friend."

But he did not want to postpone his new "Venture in Faith" till a Muslim household was ready to receive him. "When I was in detention in the Aga Khan Palace," he remarked one day, "I once sat down to write a thesis on India as a protagonist of Non-violence. But as I proceeded with my writing I could not go on. I had to stop. There are two aspects of Hinduism. There is on the one hand the historical Hinduism with its untouchability, superstitious worship of stocks and stones, animal sacrifice and so on. On the other, we have the Hinduism of the *Gita*, the *Upanishads* and *Patanjali's Yoga Sutra* which is the acme of *ahimsa* and oneness of all creation, pure worship of one immanent, formless, imperishable God. *Ahimsa* which to me is the chief glory of Hinduism has been sought to be explained away by our people as being meant for *sannyasis* only. I do not share that view. I have held that it is the way of life and India has to show it to the world. Where do I stand? Do I represent this *ahimsa* in my person? If I do, then deceit and hatred that poison the atmosphere should dissolve. It is only by going into isolation from my companions, those on whose help I have relied all along, and standing on my own

crutches that I shall find my bearings and also test my faith in God"

To Sevagram Ashram people he wrote:

"I am afraid you must give up all hope of my early returning or returning at all to the Ashram. The same applies to my companions. It is a herculean task that faces me. I am being tested. Is the *Satyagraha* of my conception a weapon of the weak or really that of strong? I must either realize the latter or lay down my life in the attempt to attain it. That is my quest. In pursuit of it I have come to bury myself in this devastated village. His will be done."

On the 20th Gandhiji broke up his camp at Kazirkhil, Columbus-like, to face the dark unknown, accompanied only by his stenotypist, Shri Parsuram and Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, his Bengali interpreter. Before embarking the little group round him held a short prayer when his favourite hymn "*Vaishnavajana to tene kahiye*" was sung. Many voices were husky, many eyes dim with tears as the tiny country boat bearing him disappeared beyond the bridge, in the direction of Shrirampur.

Following upon his departure the members of his party dispersed themselves one by one in various appointed places. A map showing the area covered and the various centres where Gandhiji and the members of his party are stationed will be found elsewhere.

The hut where he was put up in Shrirampur is in an open sunny clearing in the midst of thick groves of stately arecanut and cocoanut palms. Round about it is spread out a grim scene of arson and devastation. He has given up his warm immersion bath and for the first two days did his own massage. Since his arrival he has had several meetings with Shamsuddin Saheb and others and a conference with about 30 representatives of the Hindus and Muslims of Ramganj at Ramganj. As a result they were able to evolve a plan for the re-establishment of peace and communal harmony. The Ministers gave a solemn word of honour that they meant to implement it. The plan was put before the public at a public meeting that was held in the village of Chandipur on the 23rd November.

Gandhiji speaking at the close of the meeting uttered the following significant words:

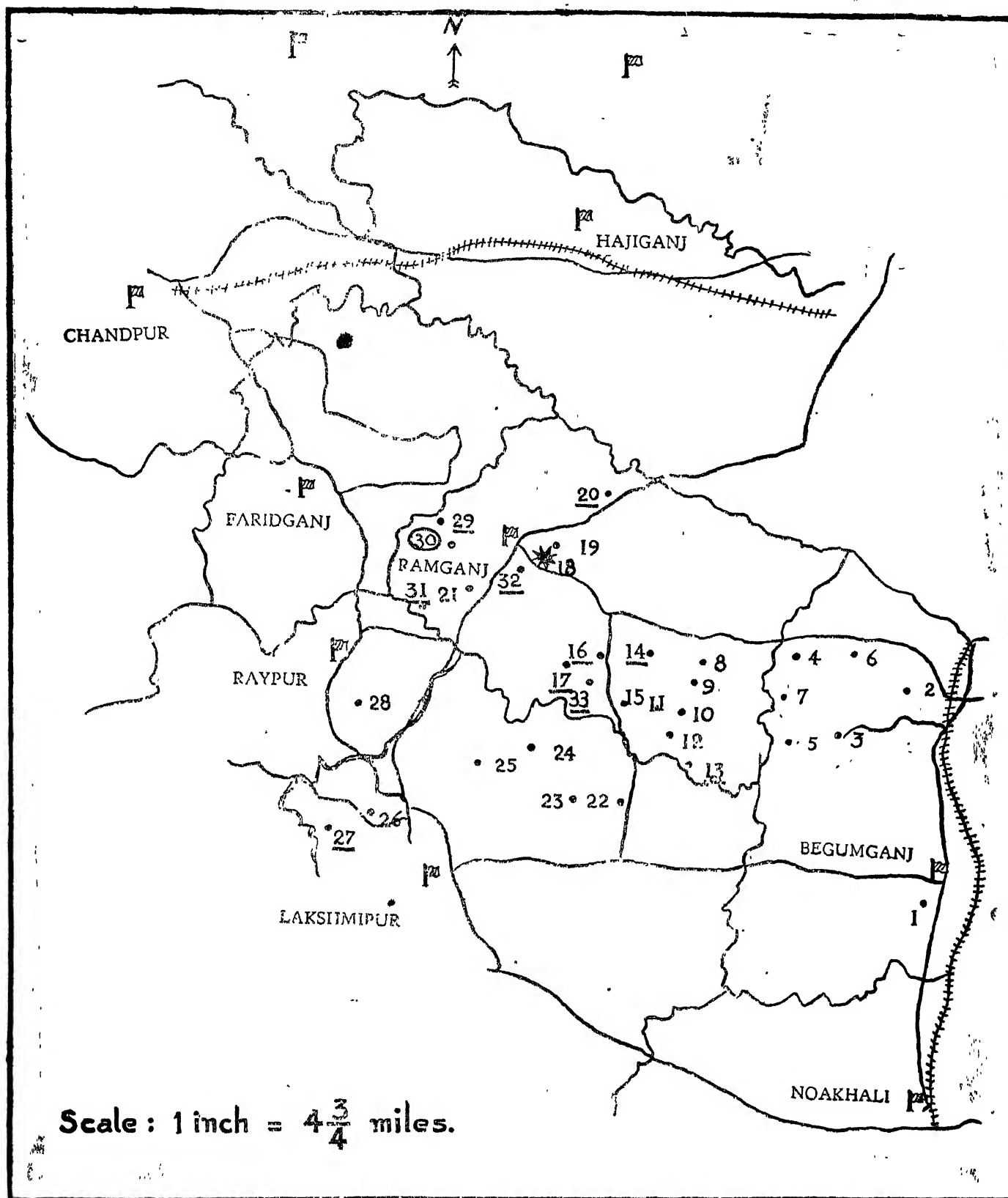
"Here are elected Muslims who are running the Government of the Province. They have given you their word of honour. They would not be silent witnesses to the repetition of shameful deeds. My advice to the Hindus is to believe their word and give them a trial. This does not mean that there would not be a single bad Mussalman left in East Bengal. There are good and bad men amongst all communities. Dishonourable conduct could break any Ministry or organization in the end. . . . If you want real peace there is no other way except to have mutual trust and confidence. Bihar, they say, has avenged Noakhali. Supposing the Muslims of East Bengal or the Muslims all over India make up their minds to avenge Bihar, where would India be? . . . After all if the worst came to the worst, you can only lose your lives. Only you must do so as brave men and women. If Shamsuddin Saheb and his companions do not mean what they have said, you will know. I for one would not wish to be a living witness to such a tragedy."

Kazirkhil, 24-11-'46

PYARELAL

## MAP

[Part of East Bengal where Gandhiji and his party have stationed themselves to fulfil the "do or die" mission.]



1. Chaumuhani
2. Sonaimuri
3. Amishapara
4. Joyag
5. Gobindapur
6. Amki
7. Naori
8. Chatkhil
9. Tabga

10. Noakhola
11. Sonachaka
12. Khilpara
13. Gomatali
14. Dasgharia
15. Gopairbag
16. Sahapur
17. Karpara

- \*18. Kazirkhil
19. Nandanpur
20. Paniala
21. Chandipur
22. Dattapara
23. Baralia
24. Nandigram
25. Bejoynagar

26. Dalalbazar
27. Charmandal
28. Shibpur
29. Sandora
30. Shrirampur
31. Changirgaon
32. Angrapara
33. Bhatialpur

\* The village from which Gandhiji left for Shrirampur.

O The village Shrirampur where Gandhiji has stationed himself.

Numbers underlined are villages where members of Gandhiji's party have distributed and stationed themselves.

## "LINE CLEAR" IN PUBLIC INTEREST

Whenever the Viceroy has to send a telegraphic message from Delhi or Simla, orders are issued, "clear the line". The public can make use of the telegraphic service on condition that the Viceroy is given first preference. When the Viceroy used to travel by train all train services were held up to let the Viceregal special pass without delay.

During the war the requirements of the military were given first preference at the cost of public requirements. And how can anyone object to it when a war is on?

There is a parable in the *Upanishads* about the rival claims to superiority of the various sense organs and the vital air. The eyes struck work for a year. The blind man however carried on. The ears went on strike. The deaf man got on all right. The nose, the tongue and the others then followed suit by turn. Life went on without them. Finally the vital air threatened to leave and there was a general trepidation. "You are superior to us all. Please do not go. None of us can exist without you," they cried with one voice.

For centuries in India, Government and society have neglected the masses, i. e. the very soul of the nation. That is a suicidal policy. The *Kisan*, the labourer and the handicraft worker does not get enough to eat. In our homes all have the best of life except the women folk. In the country all have a place except the *Adivasis*, the original inhabitants of the land. They have been driven into the jungles and several tribes amongst them have become extinct. The agriculturist who bears the weight of the earth on his shoulders has been pushed to the bottom rung of the ladder. The king and his officials, citizens and public leaders, doctors, lawyers and engineers, all the so-called respectable people, live by exploiting the *Kisan* and the labourer. The burden of taxation, no matter what the nature of the tax may be, falls ultimately upon them. But this exploitation cannot go on for long. Gandhiji has told the industrialists that they can take up any industry they like but should leave out those universal occupations which serve the primary needs of life and which can be taken up by the masses with little capital and skill. In this there is no question of charity on the part of the capitalists. It is just a matter of giving the "line clear" to those from whom all power flows. Today the masses do not know their own rights and interests. They do not understand who is sucking away their life-blood like a leach. They are not conscious of their own strength. Therefore, they are today like beggars instead of being the real owners. Therefore, Gandhiji has become their unpaid solicitor and has given notice to the capitalists that wherever the masses can manage it, they should be allowed to work out the scheme of Khadi and village industries. "Do not bring your mills there to rob the poor of their employment. Do not send mill cloth where Khadi can be produ-

ced. You can prepare rails, gramophones and radios, engines, motor cars and aeroplanes but leave agriculture and dairy farming, cloth manufacture and other village industries to the people of the villages. Give them the benefit of your knowledge, technical and organizing skill, but do not uproot them from their natural surroundings. Life itself is education for them and life is based on industry. Agriculture, cloth-weaving and other village industries, dairy farming, bee-keeping are some of the useful occupations which can be utilized to develop the intellect of the villagers. Do not take your killing education to the villages. *Nayee Talim* is life-giving. It is constructive and creative. It develops the intellect and the skill of the fingers by educating the hand. It should be made to cover the whole country. After giving the "line clear" to *Nayee Talim*, other forms of education and industries can find their place.

Gandhiji tells the Government, public leaders and the capitalists and industrialists, "You have money and power but the villagers have the advantage of numbers. Their capital is labour. When they become aware of the value of their capital, they will rule life. You cannot afford to antagonize them. Their patience is well nigh exhausted. Wake up, therefore, before they are driven to desperation. Give them the "line clear".

He does not ask for the destruction of cloth mills. He says: "Do not erect new mills and do not expand the present ones. Do not send mill cloth where Khadi can be produced. If you must have mills, do not let them compete with Khadi. Wherever there are mills see that the labour gets enough to eat and has its other basic needs satisfied."

Gandhiji has told the Government and public leaders that today they rule the destiny of the millions. Unless they keep the latter's welfare in the forefront in all their activities, a day might come when the millions might take their own and the country's destiny in their hands. When excited masses get ready even to commit suicide, there is revolution. A blind revolution will destroy the land-holders and the capitalists, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, the Viceroy and the Governors alike. They will all tremble in their shoes if such an emergency arises. And those who go about with daggers today, if they survive till that time, will hide themselves in holes. Therefore, Gandhiji has given the warning to wake up in time. Give the masses life-giving constructive education before they get on to the path of destruction. Public workers and Government servants should all get ready to train the people on the lines of Khadi and village industries. They should learn the art themselves and then teach it to others. Good of the people is the hub round which everything else should revolve. Instead of the Viceroy getting the line clear, it is the masses who should get it.

(From the Original in Gujarati) KAKA KALELKAR



## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT — VIII

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

Blubber *n.* रोना; वहेल मछलीकी चरबी।

Bludgeon *n.* सोटा, डण्डा, गदा।  
 روٹا؛ ڈنڈا، گدا

Blue *adj.* नीला, आसमानी, आकाशी (रंगका), नील।  
 نیلا، آسمانی، آکاشی (رنگ کا)، نیل

Blue blood *adj.* اچھے कुल या खानदानका।  
 اونچے کل یا خاندان کا

Blue book *n.* पार्लमेण्ट या प्रीवी कौन्सिलकी रिपोर्ट।  
 پارلیमेंٹ یا پریوی کونسل کی رپورٹ۔

Blue funk, in a *adj.* भयभीत, बहुत डरा हुआ।  
 भये भित, بہت ڈرا ہوا

Blue-jacket *n.* अंग्रेजोंकी बहरी या समुद्री फौजका सिपाही।  
 انگریزوں کی بحری یا سمندری فوج کا سپاہی

Blues, to be in the *v.* खुदास या निराश होना।  
 اداس یا فرائش होना

Blue, to look *v.* बेचैन होना, परेशान होना, डरना।  
 बेचैन होना, پریشان होना, ڈرना

Blue, drink till all is *v.* पी-पीकर बेहोश हो जाना।  
 پی پی کر بے ہوش ہو جانا

Blue moon, once in a *adv.* छठे-छमासे, कभी-कभार।  
 چھٹے چھमासे, کبھی کبھार

Blue ribbon *n.* सबसे बड़ा अनाम; शराबसे परहेज करनेवालोंका निशान।  
 سب سے بڑا انعام; شراب سے پرہیز کرنے والوں کا نشان

Blue stocking *n.* विद्वान स्त्री, आलिम औरत, विदुषी।  
 ودوان استری، عالم عورت، ویدوشی

Blue, true *adj.* बकावार, सच्चा, अमानदार।  
 وفادار، سچا، ایماندار

Blue water *n.* खुला समन्दर।  
 کھلا سمندر

Blue, Cambridge *n.* कैम्ब्रिजके खिलाड़ीका हलका नीला रंग; कैम्ब्रिजका खिलाड़ी।  
 کیمریج کے کھلاڑی کا ہلکا نیلا رنگ; کیمریج کا کھلاڑی

Blue, Oxford *n.* ऑक्सफोर्डके खिलाड़ीका गहरा नीला रंग, ऑक्सफोर्डका खिलाड़ी।  
 آکسفورڈ کے کھلاڑی کا گہرا نیلا رنگ, آکسفورڈ کا کھلاڑی

Blue beard *n.* बहुतसी जोरुओंवाला।  
 بہت سی جوڑوں والا

Bluff *adj.* खुशदिल, डींग मारनेवाला, मुँहफट।  
 خوش دل، ڈینگ مارنے والا، منہ پھٹ

Bluff *n.* खाली धमकी, गीदड़ भमकी, धौंस।  
 خالی دھمکی، گیدڑ بھمکی، دھونس

Bluff, to call one's *v.* धौंसमें न आना, रोबमें न आना।  
 دھونس میں نہ آنا، رعب میں نہ آنا

Blunder *n.* मोटी भूल, सारी गलती; ठोकर।  
 موٹی بھول، ساری غلطی، ٹھوکر

Blunt *adj.* कुन्द; साफ-साफ छनानेवाला, रुखा, अकखड़, मुँहफट।  
 کند; صاف صاف سنانے والا، روکھا، اکھڑ، منہ پھٹ

Blur *n.* धुँधलापन; धब्बा।  
 دھندھلاپن; دھبہ

Blurt out *v.* बोल उठना, कह बैठना, फूट पड़ना, बक देना।  
 بول اٹھنا، کہ بیٹھنا، پھوٹ پڑنا، بک دینا

Blush *v.* लाल हो जाना; गालोंपर लाली छा जाना; शरमाना, लज्जित होना।  
 لال ہو جانا، گالوں پر لالی چھا جانا، شرمانا، لجت ہونا

Bluster *n.* तूफान मचाना; भड़कना, भभकना; हूँ-फौ करना, अकड़हूँ दिखाना।  
 طوفان مچانا، بھڑکنا، بھبھکنا؛ ہوں پھان کرنا، اکڑھوں دیکھانا

Boa Constrictor *n.* अजगर, अजदहा।  
 اجگر، اژدہا

Boanerges *n.* सूची आवाज से तक्रर या भाषण देनेवाला।  
 اونچی آواز سے تقریر یا भाषण دینے والا

Boar *n.* सूअर, सूअरका मांस या गोश्त।  
 سور، سور کا मांस یا گوشت

Board *n.* तख्ता, पट्टा; मेज; गत्ता; खाना; मजलिस, सभा, पंचायत; जहाजका रख या पहलू।  
 تختہ، پٹا؛ میز؛ گتھا؛ خانہ؛ مجلس، سبھا، پنچایت؛ جہاز کا رخ یا پہلو

Board wages *n.* भत्ता।  
 ہتا

Board, above *adj.* खुले खजाने; खुल्लमखुल्ला, साफ-साफ; खरा, सच्चा।  
 کھلے خزانے؛ کھلم کھلا، صاف صاف؛ کھرا، سچا

Board, to go by the *v.* गिर पड़ना, ढेर हो जाना।  
 گر پڑنا، ڈھیر ہو جانا

Board, groaning *n.* खानोंसे लड़ी हुई मेज।  
 کھانوں سے لڑی ہوئی میز

Boards, on the *adv.* जहाजमें, किरतीमें।  
 جہاز میں، کشتی میں

Board, sweep the *v.* सब जीत लेना।  
 سب جیت لینا

Boardship, on *adv.* जहाज पर।  
 جہاز پر

Boarding-house *n.* खर्च देकर रहने और खाने-पीनेका घर; छात्रावास, बोर्डिंग हाउस۔  
 خرچ دے کر رہنے اور کھانے پینے کا گھر؛ چھاتراवास، بورڈنگ ہاؤس

Boarding-school *n.* भोजन पाठशाला, मदरसा, जहाँ बच्चे दिन-रात रहते हैं।  
 بھوجن پاتھ شالہ، مدرسہ، جہاں بچے دن رات رہتے ہیں

Boast *v.* शेखी मारना, लम्बी-चौड़ी हाँकना।  
 شیخی مارنا، لمبی چوڑی ہانکنا

Boat *n.* किरती, नाव, नौका।  
 کشتی، نار، نوکا

Boat, have an oar in another's *v.* हर जगह ढँग अड़ाना।  
 ہر جگہ ڈانگ اڑانا

Boat, to be in the same *v.* एकसी हालतमें, एक ही नावमें सवार।  
 ایک سی حالت میں، ایک ہی نار میں سوار

Bob *v.* झूपर-नीचे होना; नाचना; झुलना; लटकना; झटका देना।  
 اوپر نیچے ہونا، ناچنا، اچھلنا، لٹکنا، جھٹکا دینا

Bobbin *n.* फिरकी, चरखी, अटेरन।  
 پھرکی، چرکھی، اٹرن

Bode *v.* शगुन होना; पहलेसे चेताना, आनेवाली बातें बताना।  
 شگون ہونا؛ پہلے سے چیتانا، آنے والی باتیں بتانا

Bodice *n.* अँगिया, चोली।  
 انگیکہ، چولی

Bodkin *n.* सूआ।  
 سوا

Body *n.* बदन, जिस्म, शरीर; लाश; वस्तु, चीज; मुख्य अंग, खास हिस्सा; ढाँचा; सभा, मजलिस, जत्था, संस्था; मनुष्य, आदमी।  
 بدن، جسم، شریر، لاش؛ چیز؛ مکبہ انگ، خاص حصہ؛ ڈھانچا؛ سبھا، مجلس، جتھا، سنسٹھا؛ منش، آدمی

Bodyguard *n.* बॉडीगार्ड, शरीर-रक्षक।  
 باڈی گارڈ، شریر رکشک

Body politic *n.* राष्ट्रराज्य, सरकार; प्रजा, सारा समाज, राश्ट्र राज, सरकार; सारा देश।  
 راشٹر راج، سرکار؛ پرچا، سارا سماج، سارا دیش

Bodies, heavenly *n.* आकाशपिण्ड; आसमानी सितारे, तारा-मण्डल।  
 آکاشی پنڈ؛ آسمانی ستارے، تارا منڈل

Body and soul together, to keep *v.* जैसे-तैसे गुजर करना।  
 جیسے تیسے گزر کرنا

In a body *adv.* सब मिलकर, एक साथ, सबके सब ।  
 सब ملکر، ایک ساتھ، سب کے سب  
 Boer *n.* بوअर (हॉलैण्डके लोग जो जनुबी या दक्खिनी अफ्रीकामें जा बसे हैं) ।  
 बोअर (हालैंड के लोग जो جنوبی یا دکھنی افریقہ میں جا بسے ہیں)  
 Bog *n.* दलदल ।  
 दلدل  
 Bogged, to be *v.* दलदलमें फँसना; व्याकुल होना, परेशान होना, मुश्किलमें पड़ना ।  
 दلدल में پھنسنا; व्याकुल होना, پریشان होना, مشکل میں پڑना  
 Boggle *v.* चौंक खूटना, झिझकना, हिचकिचाना; घबराहटसे काम करना ।  
 چونک اٹھنا, جھجھकنا, हिचकिचाना; گھبراہٹ سے کام کرنا  
 Bogie *n.* रेलकी गाड़ी ।  
 रیل کی گاڑی  
 Bogus *adj.* बनावटी, झूठा, नकली ।  
 بناوटी, جھوٹا, نقلی  
 Bogy *n.* भूत, हौआ ।  
 भूत  
 Bohemian *adj.* रीति-विरुद्ध, गैररस्मी, बे-बान्ता ।  
 ریت وودم غیر رسمی، بے ضابطہ  
 Boil *n.* फोड़ा; जोश ।  
 फोड़ा; जोश  
 Boil *v.* खौलना, खुबलना, खुबालना; गरम होना; जोशमें आना; पानीमें पकाना या पकना ।  
 कھولना, ابلنا, امانا; گرم होना; जोश में آना; پانی میں پکانا یا پکना  
 Boil down *v.* पानीको भाप बनाकर खुड़ा देना; नतीजा होना या निकालना, निचोड़ होना ।  
 पानी को भाप बनाकर उड़ा देना; नतीजा होना या निकालना, निचोड़ होना  
 Boil over *v.* खौल जाना, खुबल पड़ना ।  
 कھोल जाना, ابل پڑना  
 Boils, blood *v.* गुस्सेमें आना ।  
 غصے میں آना  
 Boiling, keep the pot *v.* खाने भरको कमा लेना; जीवन-निर्वाह करना ।  
 کھانے भर کو کما لینا; جیون زواہ کرنا  
 Boiler *n.* पानी गरम करनेका पीपा ।  
 پانی گرم کرنے کا پیپا  
 Boiling hot *adj.* बहुत गरम ।  
 بہت گرم  
 Boiling point *n.* नुकता जोश ।  
 نقطہ جوش  
 Boiling the whole सब, कुछ, सर्व ।  
 سب, کل, سرو  
 Boisterous *adj.* अंधम या शोर मचानेवाला जंगली ।  
 اودم یا شور مچانے والا جنگلی  
 Bold *adj.* निडर, निर्भय, दिलेर; हिम्मतवाला, अत्साही; खड़ा, सीधा; गुस्ताख; बड़ा-बड़ा, मोटा; साफ़ ।  
 نڈر, نہیے, دلیر; ہمت والا, اتساہی; کھڑا, سیدھا; بڑا بڑا, موٹا; صاف  
 Bold as, make so *v.* हिम्मत करना, अत्साह रखना ।  
 ہمت کرنا, اتساہ رکھنا  
 Bolshevik *n.* बोलशेविक (रुसके कम्युनिस्ट) ।  
 بالشیوک (روس کے کمیونسٹ)  
 Bolster *n.* सहारा, गौ-तकिया ।  
 سہارا, گاؤتکیہ  
 Bolster up *v.* सहारा देना, खड़ा करना ।  
 سہارا دینا, کھڑا کرنا  
 Bolt *n.* तीर, बाण; चटकनी; बिल्ली; पेच; कील; बिजली ।  
 تیر, بان; چٹخنی, بل; بیچ; کیل; بجلی  
 Bolt *v.* दौड़ना; बे-चबाय निगलना; चटकनी या कुण्डा लगाना; बन्द करना ।  
 دوڑنا; بے چبائے نگلنا; چٹخنی, کٹنا لگانا; بند کرنا  
 Bolt from the blue जो अचानक आ पड़े ।  
 جو اچانک آ پڑے  
 Bolt, to have shot one's *v.* जितना किया जा सका, कर लिया ।  
 جتنا کیا جاسکا, کر لیا  
 Bolt upright, to sit *v.* बिलकुल सीधा बैठना ।  
 بالکل سیدھا بیٹھنا  
 Bolus *n.* बड़ी गोली ।  
 بڑی گولی  
 Bomb *n.* बम, बमका गोला ।  
 بم, بم کا گولا

Bomb proof *adj.* जिसे बम न तोड़ सके, बमरोक ।  
 جسے بم نہ توڑ سکے, بم روک  
 Bombshell, to drop like a v. अचानक, आकस्मिक रूपसे आ पड़ना या गिरना ।  
 اچانک آکسمک روپ سے آ پڑنا یا گرنا  
 Bombard *v.* गोले बरसाना, गोलेमारी करना; दलीलों या सवालोंने बौछार कर देना ।  
 گولے برسانا, گولے ماری کرنا; دلیلوں یا سوالوں کی بوچھاڑ کر دینا  
 Bombast *n.* लम्बी-चौड़ी बात ।  
 لمبی چوڑی بات  
 Bona fide *adj.* सच्चा, असली; भरोसे या विश्वासका, सच्चा, اصلی; भरोसे या وشواشका, निक नीतका ।  
 نیک نیتی, سچائی  
 Bona fides *n.* नेकनीयती, सच्चाई ।  
 نیک نیتی, سچائی  
 Bond *n.* बन्धन; जंजीर; मेल, जोड़; समझौता, अतिरारनामा, प्रतिज्ञापत्र; कर्ज, कर्तव्य ।  
 بندھن; زنجیر; میل, جوڑ; سمجھوتا, اقرارنامہ, پرنگیاہتر; فرض, کرتبہ  
 Bonds, to be in *v.* कैदमें होना ।  
 قید میں ہونا  
 Bondage *n.* गुलामी; कैद ।  
 غلامی; قید  
 Bondsman; bondswoman *n.* गुलाम; गोला, गोली ।  
 غلام; گولا, گولی  
 Bone *n.* हड्डी; मछली का कौटा; जिस्मका सख्त हिस्सा; हड्डी जैसी चीजें, जैसे, हाथी-दाँत वगैरा ।  
 ہڈی; مچھلی کا کٹا; جسم کا سخت حصہ; ہڈی جیسی چیزیں, جیسے, ہاتھی دانت وغیرہ  
 Bone v. गोشتमेंसे हड्डी निकालना ।  
 گوشت میں سے ہڈی نکالنا  
 Bones *n.* शरीर; लाश ।  
 شریر; لاش  
 Bone dry *adj.* बिलकुल सूखा ।  
 بالکل سوکھا  
 Bone of contention *n.* झगड़ेकी बात, जिसपर झगड़ा हो ।  
 جھگڑے کی بات, جس پر جھگڑا ہو  
 Bone setter *n.* हड्डी बिठानेवाला ।  
 ہڈی بیٹھانے والا  
 Bones with some one, to pick *v.* किसीसे झगड़ना ।  
 کسی سے جھگڑنا  
 Bone, bred in the जो रंगमें हो; जो मिटाया न जा सके ।  
 جو رنگوں میں ہو; جو ہٹایا نہ جا سکے  
 Bones, feel in one's *v.* पूरी तरह यकौन या विश्वास रखना; दिलसे महसूस करना ।  
 پوری طرح یقین یا وشواش رکھنا; دل سے محسوس کرنا  
 Bone, flesh and जिस्म या शरीरका ठोस होना ।  
 جسم یا شریر کا ٹھوس ہونا  
 Bones about, make no न शिक्षकना, न हिचकिचाना ।  
 نہ جھجھकना, نہ हिचकिचानا  
 Bone, skin and बहुत दुबला-पतला ।  
 بہت دبلا پتلا  
 Bone, to the हड्डी तक; नीचे तक; अन्दर तक ।  
 ہڈی تک, نیچے تک, اندر تک  
 Bones, never make old देर तक चिन्दा या जीवित रहना ।  
 دیر تک زندہ یا جیوت رہنا  
 Bonfire *n.* खुशी मनाने या कूड़ा जलाने के लिये की गयी खुशी मनाये या कूड़ा जलाने के लिये की गयी बड़ी आग ।  
 خوشی منانے یا کھڑا جलानے کے لیے کی گئی بڑی آگ  
 Bonhomie *n.* खुश-मिजाजी; मीठा स्वभाव ।  
 خوش مزاجی; میٹھا سوہاو  
 Bonnet *n.* बिरोंकी टोपी; ढकना; टोपी ।  
 استریوں کی ٹوپی; ڈھکنا; ٹوپی  
 Bonny *adj.* सुन्दर; मोटा-ताजा; स्वस्थ, तन्दुरुस्त ।  
 سندر; موٹا تازہ; سوسہ, تندرست  
 Bonus *n.* अनाम, मुनाफा, फائدہ, लाभ ।  
 انعام, منافع, فائدہ, لاہ

Boo *v.* छुछ या हुहु करना, डुतकारना। دت کارنا، لولو یا هو هو کرنا، دت کارنا  
 Booby *n.* बेवकूफ, मूर्ख, अलुद्ध। یوقوف، مورکھ، الو  
 Booby prize *n.* किसी होड़ में सबसे पीछे रहनेवालेका अनाम। کسی هوڑ میں سب سے پیچھے رہنے والے کا انعام  
 Booby trap *n.* दरवाजे पर कोअी चीज रखना, जो दरवाजा खुलते ही अ़पर गिर पड़े।  
 दर्राڑے پر کوئی چیز رکھنا, جو دروازہ کھلے ہی اوپر گر پڑے  
 Boohoo *v.* भैं भैं रोना। بھیں بھیں رونا  
 Book *n.* पुस्तक, किताब; बही; पोथी; ग्रंथ।  
 بستک، کتاب؛ بھئی؛ पोथی؛ گرنٲ  
 Book binding *n.* जिल्द-बन्दी, जिल्द-साजी।  
 جلد بندی، جلد سازی  
 Book case *n.* किताबोंकी अलमारी, किताबदान।  
 کتابوں کی الماری، کتاب دان  
 Book-keeping *n.* हिसाब-किताब, बही-खाता।  
 حساب کتاب، بھئی کھانا  
 Book learning *n.* पुस्तक-विद्या, किताबी जिल्म।  
 بستک وديا، کتابی علم  
 Booklet *n.* पुस्तिका, छोटी किताब।  
 بستکا، چھوٹی کتاب  
 Book-making *n.* किताबसाजी, ग्रंथ-रचना; शर्तबाजी।  
 کتاب سازی، گرنٲ رچنا؛ شرط بازی  
 Bookman *n.* विद्वान्; विद्यार्थी; अदीब।  
 ودوان؛ وديارٲی، ادیب  
 Book muslin *n.* खास मलमल जो किताबकी जिल्द बनानेमें काम आती है।  
 خاص ململ जो کتاب کی جلد بنانے میں کام آتی ہے  
 Book post *n.* (डाकखानेका वह भाग या महकमा, जिसमें किताबें डाकमें भेजी जाती हैं।) बुकपोस्ट।  
 (ڈاکخانے کا وہ بھاگ یا محکمہ، جس میں کتابیں ڈاک میں بھیجی جاتی ہیں) بکپوسٹ  
 Bookseller *n.* किताब बेचनेवाला।  
 کتاب بیچنے والا  
 Book-shelf *n.* देखो, Book case।  
 دیکھو، Book case  
 Book stall *n.* किताबोंकी खुली दुकान।  
 کتابوں کی کھلی دکان  
 Book work *n.* पुस्तकी अभ्यास, किताबी काम।  
 بستکی ابھاس، کتابی کام  
 Book worm *n.* किताबका कीड़ा; जिसे किताब पढ़नेका बहुत शौक हो।  
 کتاب کا کیڑا؛ جسے کتاب پڑھنے کا بہت شوق ہو  
 Book, bring to *v.* जवाब मांगना, जिम्मेदार ठहराना।  
 جواب مانگنا، ذمہ دار ٹھہرانا  
 Books, to be on the *v.* सरकारी सूची या फ़ेहरिस्तमें नाम लिखा होना।  
 سرکاری سوچی یا فہرست میں نام لکھا ہونا  
 Book, speak like a *v.* किताबी ज़बान बोलना; जिल्म या کتابी زبان बोलना; علم یا وديا کا دکھانا کرنا।  
 کتابی زبان بولنا؛ علم یا وديا کا دکھانا کرنا  
 Book, swear on the *v.* हलफ़ ख़ुठाना (बाइबिल पर)।  
 حلف اٹھانا (بائبل پر)  
 Book, take a leaf out of one's *v.* किसीकी नक़ल करना; किसीसे सीखना।  
 کسی کی نقل کرنا؛ کسی سے سیکھنا  
 Book, without *adj.* ज़बानी; याद से।  
 زبانی؛ یاد سے  
 Books, in good or black or bad *v.* किसीकी नज़रोंमें समाना; किसीकी नज़रोंसे गिरना।  
 کسی کی نظروں میں سمانا؛ کسی کی نظروں سے گرنا  
 Book *v.* दर्ज करना; टिकट मोल लेना या खरीदना; बुक करना  
 درج کرنا؛ ٹکٹ مول لینا یا خریدنا؛ بک کرنا اور کرنا  
 Booking clerk *n.* टिकट देनेवाला।  
 ٹکٹ دینے والا  
 Booking office *n.* टिकट-घर।  
 ٹکٹ گھر

Booked, to be *v.* फँसा हुआ; बँधा हुआ।  
 ہنسا ہوا؛ بندھا ہوا  
 Boom *v.* गरजना, दनदनाना; तेज या गरम होना (बाज़ारका);  
 گرجنا، دندنانا؛ تیز یا گرم ہونا (بازار کا) چڑھنا  
 Boom *n.* बल्ली, लम्बा बाँस; गरज, धाँय-धाँय; तेज़ी (बाज़ारकी)।  
 بل، لمبا بانس؛ گرج، دھایں دھایں؛ تیزی (بازار کی)  
 Boomerang *n.* एक हथियार जो फेंकनेवालेके पास वापस आ जाता है।  
 (असलमें) वह काम या दलील जो खुलटकर करनेवाले पर पड़े।  
 ایک ہتھیار جو پھینکنے والے کے پاس واپس آ جاتا ہے (اس لئے)  
 وہ کام یا دلیل جو الٹ کر کرنے والے پر پڑے  
 Boon *n.* वरदान, देन; माँग, दरखास्त।  
 وردان، دین؛ مانگ، درخواست  
 Boon *adj.* खुशदिल, मेहरबान, कृपालु  
 خوشدل، مہربان، کرمالو  
 Boor *n.* गँवार; देहाती, किसान।  
 گنوار؛ دیہاتی، کسان  
 Boost *v.* बढ़ाना; खूँचा करना।  
 بڑھانا؛ اونچا کرنا  
 Boot *n.* जूता।  
 جوتا  
 Boot is on the other leg हकीकत या सचासी तो  
 अिसके खिलाफ़ या विरुद्ध है।  
 حقیقت یا سچائی تو اس کے خلاف یا ورددہ ہے  
 Boot-black *n.* जूते पर स्याही लगानेवाला।  
 جوتے پر سیاہی لگانے والا  
 Bootjack *n.* जूता ख़ुतारनेका आला।  
 جوتا اتارنے کا آلہ  
 Bootlace *n.* जूतेका फ़ीता।  
 جوتے کا پھتا  
 Boot-legger *n.* चोरीसे शराब बेचनेवाला।  
 چوری سے شراب بیچنے والا  
 Boot-maker *n.* मोची।  
 موجی  
 Boot-tree } n. कालबूट }  
 Boot-last } n. फरमा }  
 Boot, to get the *v.* नौकरी खो बैठना; निकाला जाना।  
 نوکری کھو بیٹھنا؛ نکالا جانا  
 Boot, to give the *v.* नौकरीसे अलग करना, निकाल देना।  
 نوکری سے الگ کرنا، نکال دینا  
 Boots, heart in one's भयभीत, डरा हुआ।  
 بھیت، ڈرا ہوا  
 Boot, to सिवाय, अलावा; घातेमें, मुफ़्तमें।  
 سوائے، علاوہ؛ گھاتے میں؛ مفت میں  
 Booth *n.* मेलेमें तम्बू या दुकान; छप्पर; झोंपड़ा।  
 میلے میں تمبو یا دکان؛ چھپر، جھونپڑا  
 Booth, polling *n.* चुनाव या अिन्तखाबमें राय देनेकी जगह।  
 چناو یا انتخاب میں رائے دینے کی جگہ  
 Boot, lick *v.* खुशामद करना; ज़ूती झाड़ना।  
 خوشامد کرنا؛ جوتی جھاڑنا  
 Booty *n.* छुटका माल।  
 لوٹ کا مال  
 Booze *v.* शराब पीते जाना, बहुत शराब पीना।  
 شراب پیتے جانا، بہت شراب پینا  
 Borax *n.* सुहागा।  
 سہاگا  
 Border *n.* किनारा, पल्ला, हाशिया, बेल; मगज़ी; हद।  
 کنارہ، پلا، حاشیہ، بیل؛ مگجی؛ حد  
 Border *v.* पास होना, लगा या मिला हुआ होना, छूना;  
 پللا या मगज़ी या हाशिया लगाना  
 पास ہونا، لگا یا ملا ہوا ہونا، چھونا؛ پلا یا مگزی یا حاشیہ لگانا  
 Border on or upon *v.* लगभग होना; हद तक पहुँच जाना।  
 لگ لگ بھگ ہونا؛ حد تک پہنچ جانا  
 Bore *n.* मगज़चाट; बन्दूककी नालीका छेद; बरसा; सर्राख।  
 مغجچاٹ؛ بندوک کی نالی کا چھید؛ برما؛ سوراخ

- Bore** *v.* छेद करना, स्राख करना; रास्ता निकालना; थकाना; कान खा जाना ।  
 جهید کرنا، سوراخ کرنا؛ راستہ نکالنا؛ تھکانا؛ کان کھا جانا
- Born** *adj.* पैदा, उत्पन्न । پیدائش، جنم
- Born with a silver spoon in mouth or under a lucky star** *adj.* किस्मतका धनी । قسمت کا دھنی
- Borough** *n.* नगर, कस्बा या शहर (विलायतमें, जहाँ म्युनिसिपैलिटी हो, और जिसे पार्लमेण्टमें प्रतिनिधि या नुमायिन्दा मेजनेका अधिकार या हक हो) ।  
 نگر، قصبہ یا شہر (ولایت میں، جہاں میونسپلٹی ہو، اور جسے پارلیمنٹ میں پرتندھی یا نمائندہ بھیجنے کا اہمکار یا حق ہو)
- Borrow** *v.* उधार लेना; किसी दूसरेकी चीज अस्तेमाल करना; नकल करना ।  
 ادھار لینا؛ کسی دوسرے کی چیز استعمال کرنا؛ نقل کرنا
- Borrowed plumes** झठा तुरा; शेरकी खालमें गीदड़ ।  
 جھوٹا طرہ؛ شیر کی کھال میں گیدڑ
- Borstal** *n.* छोटी सुन्नके अपराधियों या मुजरिमोंका कैदखाना ।  
 چھوٹی عمر کے अपराधीوں یا مجرموں کا قیدخانہ
- Bosom** *n.* छाती, सीना; दिल, हृदय; गोद ।  
 چھاتی، سینہ؛ دل، ہر دے؛ گود
- Boss** *n.* मालिक, अफसर, चौधरी, कर्त्ता-धर्त्ता, नेता, अगुआ ।  
 مالک، افسر، چودھری، کرتا دھرتا، नेता، اگوا
- Boss** *v.* रोव गौठना, हुकम चलाना । حکم چلانا
- Botany** *n.* जड़ी-बूटीकी विद्या, वनस्पति-विद्या, नवातयात ।  
 جڑی بوٹی کی ویدیا، ونسپتی ویدیا، نباتیات
- Botch** *n.* फुंसी; कच्चा काम, भद्दा काम ।  
 پھوسی؛ کچھا کام، بھدا کام
- Botch** *v.* भद्दी मरम्मत करना, कच्चा काम करना ।  
 بھدی مرمت کرنا، کچھا کام کرنا
- Both** *pro. adj. adv.* दोनों । دونوں
- Both ways, have it** चित भी मेरी पट भी मेरी ।  
 جت بھی میری پٹ بھی میری
- Bother** *v.* नाकमें दम करना, जान खाना, तंग करना ।  
 ناک میں دم کرنا، جان کھانا، تنگ کرنا
- Bother** *n.* तकलीफ, परेशानी, बखेड़ा ।  
 تکلیف، پریشانی، بکھیرا
- Bottle** *n.* शीशी, बोतल; घासका गड्ढा ।  
 شیشی، بوتل؛ گھاس کا گڈھا
- Bottle** *v.* बोतलमें भरना, शीशीमें डालना ।  
 بوتل میں بھرنا، شیشی میں ڈالنا
- Bottlewasher** *n.* मशालची, बरतन धोनेवाला ।  
 مشالچی، برتن دھونے والا
- Bottle up** *v.* दबाकर रखना; छिपाना ।  
 دبا کر رکھنا؛ چھپانا
- Bottle, bring up on the** *v.* बोतलके दूधपर पालना ।  
 بوتل کے دودھ پر پالنا
- Bottle, given to the** *n.* शराबी ।  
 شرابی
- Bottom** *n.* पैदा, तला, थाह; तह, जड़; नींव, बुनियाद ।  
 پیدائش، تلا، تھاہ؛ تھ، جڑ؛ نیو، بنیاد
- Bottom, at** *adv.* असलमें, हकीकतमें ।  
 اصل میں، حقیقت میں
- Bottom of the heart, from the** सच्चे दिलसे, हृदयसे, जी-जानसे ।  
 سچے دل سے، ہر دے سے، جی جان سے
- Bottom of, to be at the** *v.* सबब होना; जड़ होना ।  
 سبب ہونا؛ جڑ ہونا
- Bottom, to touch the** *v.* नीचे तक पहुँचना, तह तक पहुँचना ।  
 نیچے تک پہنچنا، تھ تک پہنچنا
- Bottom, to get to the** *v.* बातकी तह तक पहुँच जाना ।  
 بات کی تھ تک پہنچنا، تھ تک پہنچنا
- Boudoir** *n.* रनिवास; बैठनेका कमरा (स्त्रियोंका) ।  
 رانی واس؛ بیٹھنے کا کمرہ (استریوں کا)
- Bough** *n.* शाखा, शाख, टहनी, डाली ।  
 شاخہ، شاخ، ٹہنی، ڈالی
- Boulder** *n.* गोल बड़ा, पत्थर; चट्टान ।  
 گول بڑا، پتھر؛ چٹان
- Boulevard** *n.* सायादार सड़क ।  
 سایا دار سڑک
- Bounce** *v.* खुल्लना; कूद पड़ना; आ धमकना; डींग मारना ।  
 اچھلنا؛ کود پڑنا؛ آدھمکنا؛ ڈینگ مارنا
- Bound** *n.* हद, सीमा; छल्लाग; चौकड़ी ।  
 حد، سیمہ؛ چھلانگ؛ چوکڑی
- Bound** *v.* हद बाँधना; कूदना, खुल्लना, छल्लाग मारना ।  
 حد باندھنا؛ کودنا، اچھلنا، چھلانگ مارنا
- Bound for** जानेवाला, रवाना होनेवाला ।  
 جانے والا، روانہ ہونے والا
- Bound to** जरूरी होना; विवश या लाचार होना; यकीनन होना, ضروری होना; वश या लाچار होना; یقیناً ہونا, اوشیہ ہونا
- Bound up with** गुँथा हुआ; बँधा हुआ; चोली दामनका साथ, گنتھا ہوا؛ بندھا ہوا؛ چولی دامن کا ساتھ، ملا ہوا
- Bounds, advance by leaps and** *v.* बहुत जल्दी आगे बढ़ना ।  
 بہت جلدی آگے بڑھنا
- Boundary** *n.* हद, सीमा, मैद, बाड़, चौहद्दी, डाँडा ।  
 حد، سیمہ، میڑ، باز، چوحدی، ڈانڈا
- Bounden** *adj.* आवश्यक, लाजिमी ।  
 آویشک، لازمی
- Bounder** *n.* गँवार आदमी, असभ्य ।  
 گنوار آدمی، اسبھیہ
- Bounteous** *adj.* दानी, सुदार, दाता, फ़ैयाज ।  
 دانی، ادار، دانا، فیاض
- Bounty** *n.* दान; सुदारता, फ़ैयाजी, बख्शिश, सहायता, मदद ।  
 دان؛ ادارتا، فیاضی، بخشش، سہاقت، مدد
- Bouquet** *n.* फूलोंका गुच्छा; गुलदस्ता ।  
 پھولوں کا گچھا، گلدستہ
- Bourgeoisie** *n.* मध्यश्रेणी, बीचके दरजेके लोग ।  
 مدھیہ شری، بیچ کے درجے کے لوگ
- Bourn** } हद, सीमा; मंजिल, ध्येय; छोटी नदी, धारा; सरिता ।  
 حد، سیمہ؛ منزل، دھیئے؛ چھوٹی ندی، دھارا؛ سریتا
- Bourne** *n.* }  
 دور، دورہ؛ باری؛ جھڑپ
- Bout** *n.* दौर, दौरा; बारी; झड़प ।  
 بیل، ڈنکر جیسا
- Bovine** *adj.* बैल, डंगर जैसा ।  
 بیل، ڈنگر جیسا
- Bow** *n.* धनुष, कमान, धुनकी; गज (बाजेका); अगवाड़ (जहाजका); फूल (फ़ीतेका); सलाम, नमस्कार, बन्दगी ।  
 دھنش، کمان، دھنکی؛ گز (باجے کا)؛ اگواڑ (جہاز کا)؛ پھول (فیتے کا)؛ سلام، نمسکار، بندگی
- Bow** *v.* झुकना, झुकाना; मानना; दब जाना; सलाम या नमस्कार करना ।  
 جھکا، جھکانا؛ ماننا؛ دب جانا؛ سلام یا نمسکار کرنا
- Bow, to draw the long** *v.* बात ढाकर कहना ।  
 بات بڑھا کر کہنا
- Bow, two strings to one's** अकसे ज्यादा साधन या ज़ारये ।  
 ایک سے زیادہ سادھن یا زارے
- Bowed down, to be** *v.* दब जाना, कमर टूट जाना ।  
 دب جانا، کمر ٹوٹ جانا
- Bowing acquaintance** *n.* दूरकी साहब-सलामत ।  
 دور کی صاحب سلامت
- Bowel** *n.* आँत, आँतें, अंतही; पेट; अन्दरका हिस्सा ।  
 آنت، آنتیں، انتڑی؛ پیٹ؛ اندر کا حصہ
- Bowels of mercy** *n.* दया, रहम, तरस ।  
 دیا، رحم، ترس
- Bower** *n.* कुंज, लता-मण्डप, कुटी ।  
 کنج، لٹا منڈپ، کوٹی
- Bowl** *n.* प्याला, कटोरा; चिलमची, तसला; लकड़ीका गेंद ।  
 پیالہ، کٹورہ؛ چلمچی، تسلا؛ لکڑی کا گیند
- Bowl** *v.* क्रिकेटमें गोला या गेंद फेंकना ।  
 کرکٹ میں گولا یا گیند پھینکا
- Bow-wow** *n.* कुत्तेका भौकना ।  
 کتے کا بھونکنا

## ACHARYA KRIPALANT'S ADDRESS

(Continued from p. 431)

Of all the political virtues, unity is the greatest and the most important, provided this unity is not superimposed by force but is natural and spontaneous. In this the British excel not only the Indians but also other European nations. At every critical moment of their history, the British have ignored religious, party and class differences. Even as early as the 16th century when sectarian differences led to religious wars and the Catholic hated the Protestant more heartily than either of them hated the non-Christian, as soon as England was threatened by the Spanish Armada sent by a Catholic Emperor, English Catholics, even though persecuted, stood shoulder to shoulder with their Protestant countrymen to repel the foreign invasion. This has continued up to the present time. In the last war, the Socialists had no hesitation to work under reactionary, snobbish, caste-ridden Churchill when the national emergency made it necessary for them to do so. But in India small differences produce unbridgeable gulfs. Common points are forgotten, petty disagreements over-emphasized. We must, if we have to live and progress as a nation, check this inherent centrifugal tendency.

## COMMUNAL DIFFERENCES

Today the greatest danger to our freedom are the communal differences, specially between the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. The foreigner has taken the fullest advantage of these in the past. Today he finds it his last trump card. He is playing it cleverly and subtly. It is unhistorical, unscientific, unethnic and unnatural to think that the Hindus and the Muslims are two nations. Their interests, social, political and economic, are identical. Their common points are innumerable. Their differences can be easily counted and are only skin-deep. The foreigner cannot distinguish the Hindu from the Muslim except by the accident of dress, and that too only if he is familiar with sartorial differences which change from province to province. India, outside India is considered one whole. No conqueror ever thought himself safe until he had brought the whole of it under his sway. No native ruler ever thought his kingdom complete and rounded off until he had established his hegemony over the whole of this ancient land. Only those periods of Indian history have been most productive when the whole of India was united under one Government, whether it was under the ancient Maurya and the Gupta dynasties or again under the Moghuls.

Even though the present alien rule has dwarfed Indian genius by an unnatural system of foreign education and the denial of all opportunities of initiative, yet by the mere fact of uniting India under one common misrule, it has released the creative energy of the nation in various fields of thought and action. There has been an Indian renaissance. To think of India then as divided into two nations, Hindu and Muslim, is retrograde and reactionary. It is dividing what nature and history have united.

I have my own grand-nephews and nieces in Sind who are Muslims. They love me as well as do my Hindu grandchildren. I cannot imagine that I as a Hindu am an Indian and they as Muslims belong to a different nationality. One of them, a pretty little bride, wrote to me recently thus: "We offer you our sincerest congratulations on your attaining *'the highest honour which any Indian can aspire to.'* May you long adorn the Congress gadi with distinction and service. We are, of course, staunch Muslim Leaguers, but we pray that here should be a rapprochement between the Congress and the League." (*Italics are mine*).

## THE THIRD PARTY

In this connection I would like to repeat to Indian Muslims the words of my predecessor in office. In his presidential address the Maulana Saheb said: "Do we, Indian Muslims, view the free India of the future with suspicion and mistrust or with courage and confidence? . . . No present declaration for the future, no constitutional safeguards can be a remedy for our doubts and fears. We are then forced to tolerate the presence of a third power. This third power is already entrenched here and has no intention of withdrawing, and if we follow the path of fear and suspicion, we must needs look forward to its continuance. But if we are convinced that for us fear and doubt have no place, and that we must view the future with courage and confidence, then our course of action becomes quite clear. We find ourselves in a new world which is free from the dark shadows of doubt and vacillation, inaction and apathy, and where the light of faith and determination, action and enthusiasm never fails." To this as a student of history I would only add that it was not want of faith and determination that made Islam great. Today in India the Muslim League works in fear and suspicion and infects the whole Muslim community with it. When the Muslims came into India from beyond the mountains, they came only in their thousands. They were not afraid of the teeming millions of Hindus. They came in the might of their faith and enthusiasm. Today they form a fourth of the population. It is wrong to say that they are a minority. As the Maulana Saheb rightly put it, "In the texture of Indian politics nothing is further removed from the truth than that the Indian Muslims occupy the position of a political minority. Politically speaking the word minority does not mean a group that is numerically smaller and therefore entitled to special protection. It means a group that is so small in numbers and so lacking in other qualities that give strength that it has no confidence in its own capacity to protect itself from the much larger group that surrounds it. . . . Thus this is not a question merely of numbers, other factors also count. . . . In four out of eleven provinces, there is a Muslim majority. If British Baluchistan is added, there are five provinces with Muslim majorities. Even if we are compelled at present to consider the question on the basis of religious grouping, the position of the Muslims is



not that of a minority only. If they are a minority in seven provinces, they are in a majority in five. This being so, there is absolutely no reason why they should be oppressed by the feeling of being a minority."

I, therefore, hold that a Hindu who believes a Muslim to be an alien not only does wrong to his religion but is an enemy of the freedom and progress of India. On the other hand, if a Muslim who is flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, believes and acts as if he were an alien on Indian soil, he does equal harm to his community and to the nation. We have almost everything in common except religion which should be a personal matter. To fight on questions of faith is the way of a barbarian. I know the present fight between the Hindus and the Muslims is not a religious fight. It is purely a communal conflict. It has nothing to do with political or economic issues that concern the masses of both the communities. The masses act as tools in the hands of the clever and often unscrupulous politicians. But whatever the causes, we must recognize the fact of the existing tension and bitterness, and steer our course so as to avoid any major conflict.

#### RETALIATION AND REPRISAL

If I must warn communities against the use of initial violence to settle their differences, I must warn them no less against the use of violence by way of retaliation and reprisal as was the case in Bihar. Two evils do not cancel each other. And these reprisals and retaliations fall on innocent victims, even if the original attack was against those who really had done wrong and deserved punishment. But as a matter of fact in communal violence, whether provocative or retaliatory, only the poor and the helpless suffer. The authors of the trouble always manage to go scot free. In civil strife, as in war between nations, the unrestrained and diabolical use of violence will succeed only in producing the equivalent of the atom bomb which will annihilate both the Hindus and the Muslims.

Violence is ugly and futile in any case, but the unorganized hysteric violence of the mob is worse than futile. It is fatal to the very cause on whose behalf it is invoked. I am afraid that if the present orgies of provocation and retaliation continue, the Muslim League leadership will soon be unable to control its followers, even if it should decide to. And so might the Congress, though the Congress leadership has done its best to save the people from this hysteria of violence. If that happens then Indians will be divided into two armed camps of communal fanatics and the Britisher will stand guard over them both with his bayonet. The day of India's freedom will be indefinitely postponed.

#### MUTUAL TOLERATION

If we are to be worthy of freedom we must learn to live together and respect each other's sentiments. The Hindu and Muslim minorities are scattered all over this country. No amount of police or military protection can permanently and effectively protect them from the wrath of the majority communities if the latter lose all sense of moral obliga-

tion towards them. If no Hindu's life, property and honour are safe in a Muslim-majority area and no Muslim's in a Hindu-majority area, then civilized life becomes an impossibility. Even Mr. Jinnah's dream of Pakistan, though it has made the problem what it is, holds out no prospect of its solution, for it leaves the minorities where they are.

I hope however that the leaders of the fanatics among both the communities will have more sense and humanity than to take recourse to desperate and mediaeval remedies. The problem is easy of solution if only we accept the obvious fact that if there are two nations in India, they are the exploited and the exploiting of both or all the communities. The Hindus and the Muslims have a common enemy, and that is poverty, disease, and ignorance. If only we realize what we really are, there need be no quarrel between us.

I have laboured this point at length, because this is the greatest stumbling block in our path to freedom and progress. Even at this late hour I hope, now that the Muslim League is in the Central Government and shares responsibility with the Congress, the orgies that were enacted in Calcutta, East Bengal, Bihar and to a lesser degree elsewhere, will be nightmares of the past. We shall write anew on a clean slate of brotherly love and cooperation as children of a common motherland.

\* \* \*

#### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

We shall soon be meeting in the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution of free India. It will be a democratic constitution and will be federal in character. We may not however forget that in the administrative as in the economic field, centralization, more than is absolutely necessary, is inimical to liberty. It is good, therefore, that the provinces in free India shall have the maximum autonomy consistent with external and internal security. But some of our provinces are each as big as a country in Europe. There may be over-centralization in the administration of the provinces, which too we must avoid. Long ago, how long history does not record, the Indian genius worked out the village and local *panchayat*. It remained our fort through many a turbulent period. Kings and dynasties fought and failed, empires rose, ruled, misruled and disappeared, but the villager's life maintained its even tenor, away from the din of battle and the rush of rising and falling empires. He had a village State which protected his life and property and made civilized life possible. Progressively, we must delegate to the village *panchayat* judicial powers in petty criminal and civil cases; the local police too might be put under the charge of the *panchayat*. If we build upon this village unit of self-government, rehabilitate it to the altered conditions of today, we shall be working in consonance with the genius of our people. This is the natural and the easy way. Merely to copy the West should not be our object. We may also not forget that the West has made, more specially in the big countries, democracy complex and expensive. West has evolved the official red-

tape which makes the democratic machinery cumbersome and slow-moving. All these drawbacks we must try to avoid in the new constitution that we may devise.

Our judicial system must be simple and effective. The law's delay and expense and complicity must be avoided. Also there must be ample provision made for the enjoyment of civil liberties. They must be protected even from the arbitrary action of a democratic and representative government. We may not forget that power corrupts even the patriot in office. Ample provision, consistent with the larger interests of the country and the masses, must be made for the protection of minorities. Their language and culture must have free scope for development. There must be absolute tolerance in matters of faith and religion. Every individual and every group must be free to propagate his and its ideas, consistently with the maintenance of peace and public morality.

\* \* \*

#### CONCLUSION

It is our great good fortune that we of this generation have been afforded an opportunity to be the instruments of a noble cause. It is not merely the freedom of our people from foreign yoke that we are called upon to strive and work for. Such an opportunity has come to many people in history. Ours is a unique opportunity. It is to win our freedom by non-violent and truthful means and to work for high ends by moral means. Ours is the opportunity to bring about a fusion of different castes and creeds and racial and religious types. Ours is the opportunity to unify what appear to be differing and conflicting cultures. We have to work to build up unity in diversity and produce a mosaic of many colours. We have to combine various and dissonant sounds and notes to produce a symphony that was never before heard on land or sea. We may not forget that today humanity must find a peaceful solution to its conflicts, social, economic, political, racial and cultural, or perish. There can be no violent solution. Violence has over-reached itself. It threatens to destroy the patient with the disease. Some other method must be found. India has found the method and tried it to some purpose, under a leadership that comes once in many centuries. It is a new method. There have been lapses. But remember no revolution in history was less costly in the loss of life, property and the dislocation of normal life, and created less hatred and strife than the Indian revolution, which, if we are not negligent, is on the verge of success. But whether immediate success crowns our efforts or not let us not forget that we are engaged in a good and great cause. In such a cause there can be no ultimate failure. But if the cause is to succeed, the agents working for it must themselves be good and great. Slavery works neither for goodness nor for greatness. But the darkness of centuries can be removed the moment the light is brought in. In India the light has been lit. Let us keep it steadily burning and let us follow its lead and all shall yet be well with us. — *Vande Mataram*,

### THE MOTHER'S DISTRESS

Once upon a time there was a mother, who was deeply religious. She visited daily all the temples in the village, and respectfully bowed before them, not omitting even the church and the mosque.

At home she had a collection of what apparently were curiously shaped stones, beads, coins, dolls, etc., but were worshipped by her as gods. And though she worshipped all the gods she had heard of, she had also an undefinable realization that there was only one God behind all these gods, and that He was good and loving. And, she also raised before her mind a vague picture of life after death.

And though her ideas and fancies were indistinct, and her vocabulary for giving expression to them poorer still, they were sufficient to give her faith, hope, love, strength to endure hardships, perform her duties, and keep her virtuous and honest.

Now, the Mother had several children, grandchildren and great-grand-children. And they had been all brought up with love, in the religious atmosphere of the Mother. And though some of them were as simple of faith as the Mother, several had received "education", and come into contact with the heads of different temples, and scholars of various religions and philosophies. And so, some of them called themselves, Shaivas, some Vaishnavas, some Jains, and some were worshippers of one God, and some of three, and some of a legion. A few had adopted Christianity and Islam. There were some who believed in image-worship, and some who did not. And there were also some who denied God, and called their ultimate principle Matter. But they were all religion-minded, though curiously enough, with some of them the effect was that the more religion-minded they grew, the less religious they became in their social behaviour. And the very zealous amongst them often debated about their various tenets and modes of worship and the right way of life. And at times their zeal brought so much heat in their debates, that they would come to blows and worse. And the more they became convinced of the truth, the infallibility and the perfection of their own particular systems, the more intolerant they became of those of their brothers and cousins of different persuasions. And each tried to convert the Mother to his particular doctrines and to ask her other children to do the same. But the simple Mother said, "Son, I am old and ignorant. Let me go my own way, and let each of you go his own way. Only be virtuous and honest and love your brothers and their children, and respect their tenets, even as you do your own, and it will be all right with all of you."

But in course of time, in their zeal for religion they forgot their relationship, and began to look upon one another as if they were strangers and enemies. And so blows developed into bitter fratricide, each trying to exterminate his brother and his progeny of a different faith, or forcing them to accept his own.

And when one of them had committed an atrocity, he came to the Mother boasting how successfully he had destroyed or injured some of

her children or grand-children for the vindication of Truth, before which blood-relationship was of no consequence. And he expected that the Mother would congratulate him for his religiousness. But the Mother would weep for the loss of her dear ones, and rebuke him for his heartlessness and inhumanity.

And this wailing and rebuke was regarded by the injured children as a permit to inflict similar injuries upon their assailant's family. And they in turn would go to the Mother and describe gleefully how they had avenged the wrong done to them expecting that the Mother would be gladdened by the tidings.

But the Mother wept again and rebuked these children also. For, she was the Mother of both, the assailants as well as the victims, and could not feel happy over the loss of any. And she was in deep agony, and with fast and prayer piteously clung to God for the peace, which her children had deprived her of.

Should there be any wonder that the Mother felt as she did? As a mere Hindu or a mere Muslim, or even as a congressman, thinking nationally but still feeling communally, you might regard with excitement or satisfaction in turn the barbarities perpetrated by one community upon another, and plan in terms of communal organizations. But just think for a moment of what the common Mother of all feels about your alternate anger and complacency and your communal boasts and slogans. Look into her eyes, and you will find her weeping and in intense agony.

And if you are unable to think of the common Mother look into the eyes and the heart of Gandhiji, and you will realize the Mother's distress.

Vapi, 24-11-'46

K. G. M.

## WEEKLY LETTER

### THE LESSON CONTINUED

The lesson in fearlessness which Gandhiji began at Chandpur, when a deputation of Hindu workers waited upon him, was continued even in more forceful language at Chaumuhani and elsewhere. In fact it has become the central theme of all his talks. "The tragedy is not that so many Muslims have gone mad," he remarked to a friend who saw him at Chaumuhani, "but that so many Hindus in East Bengal have been witnesses to these things. If every Hindu in East Bengal had been done to death, I would not have minded it. Do you know what the Rajputs did? They killed their womenfolk when they issued forth to sacrifice themselves on the battlefield. The surviving ones immolated themselves by mounting the funeral pyre before the fortress fell rather than allow themselves to be captured and dishonoured. There is nothing courageous in thousands of Mussalmans killing out a handful of Hindus in their midst, but that the Hindus should have degraded themselves by such cowardice, i. e. being witnesses to abduction and rape, forcible conversion and forcible marriage of their womenfolk, is heart-rending."

"How can we create a sense of security and self-confidence," asked the friend,

"By learning to die bravely. Let us turn our wrath against ourselves. I am not interested in getting the police substituted by the military or the Muslim police by the Hindu police. They are broken reeds."

"To whom should we appeal—the Congress, the League or the British Government?"

"To none of these. Appeal to yourselves, therefore, to God."

"We are men—made of flesh and blood. We need some material support," finally he asked.

"Then appeal to your own flesh and blood. Purify it of all dross," replied Gandhiji.

### ANATOMY OF FEAR

He described the anatomy of fear in minute detail in the course of a written message which was read out to the prayer gathering at Kazirkhil on the evening of the 18th (Monday). In fact it has become the central theme of all his addresses these days. "The more I go about in these parts," he observed, "the more I find that your worst enemy is fear. It eats into the vitals of the terror-stricken as well as the terrorist. The latter fears something in his victim. It may be his different religion or his riches he fears. The second kind of fear is otherwise known as greed. If you search enough, you will find that greed is a variety of fear. But there has never been and will never be a man who is able to intimidate one who has cast out fear from his heart. Why can no one intimidate the fearless? You will find that God is always by the side of the fearless. Therefore, we should fear Him alone and seek His protection. All other fear will then by itself disappear. Till fearlessness is cultivated by the people there will never be any peace in these parts for the Hindus, or for the Mussalmans."

### AN OUTSPOKEN UTTERANCE

Goffran Saheb, the Minister for Civil Supplies, and the Minister for Agriculture, Ahmed Hussain Saheb with a number of Parliamentary Secretaries and Muslim League friends met Gandhiji on the evening of the 16th to discuss with him the rehabilitation proposals of the Government. After the prayers Goffran Saheb, who belongs to the Noakhali District where he served as Public Prosecutor before he became Minister, addressed the gathering. He was deeply pained, he said, by what had happened in the District and so were the Mussalmans of East Bengal. He had toured in the affected area from the 16th and could say that the happenings occurred between the 10th and the 16th. There was no doubt that excesses had been committed in East Bengal. He was most anxious that the miscreants should be brought to book, only he did not want the innocent to suffer. He assured the Hindus of East Bengal that neither the Government nor the Muslim League wanted the Hindus to go away from East Bengal just as the Congress did not wish the Muslims in Bihar, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay to leave their homes and go somewhere else. The League wanted to prove that it knew

how to run the Government justly by according equal treatment to the Hindus and the Muslims. How could they think of leaving East Bengal where they were born and brought up? The Hindus and the Mussalmans had always lived together as friends. The Hindus called him 'bhai', 'uncle' and so on. Why should there be enmity between the two now? He requested them on behalf of the Mussalmans to return to their homes without any fear. When their confidence came back the military and the police would be sent away as neither the Hindus nor the Mussalmans had much faith in them. He desired that the Muslims should entreat the Hindus to go back to their homes.

At this point the speech was interrupted for a few minutes as it was time for *Namaz*. As at Chaumuhani, the *Namaz* was performed at the outskirts of the prayer gathering where the Muslim members of the audience repaired. After the *Namaz* Goffran Saheb spoke for a few minutes again. He told the audience that orders had been passed not to arrest anyone while coming to Gandhiji's meeting, at the meeting, or while returning home from the meeting.

Gandhiji, addressing the meeting after Goffran Saheb, began by referring to Shamsuddin Saheb's speech at Chaumuhani a few days ago. They had now heard Goffran Saheb. The Ministers wanted them to live together as friends. The police and the military could not protect them. God alone could protect them. They had, therefore, to look to each other for their safety. Goffran Saheb had told them that the Government did not wish the Hindus to leave East Bengal. Awful things had no doubt happened but they should let bygones be bygones. They must turn a new leaf. When one had suffered as they had, one was liable to become filled with suspicion. But that had to be overcome. A member from the audience had requested him, said Gandhiji, to allow him five minutes to reply to Goffran Saheb's speech which, he said, required correction in several places. But Gandhiji replied that he was afraid he could not allow the meeting to be turned into a public debate. Whatever was said at the meeting was said in good faith and to do his work. But if the friend in question sent him a letter, not couched offensively, he would gladly forward it to Goffran Saheb. He rebuked the audience too for not observing a pin-drop silence while the Muslim members of the audience were performing *Namaz*. Culture and good breeding required that they should observe silence when others said their prayers. There should be mutual respect. All worshipped the same God, whatever their religion. He was glad to see the Congress and the League flags flying together in the prayer ground. Both had great significance. They should realize as Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah Saheb had said that if they kept on quarrelling among themselves the country would remain a slave country and Pakistan would vanish into thin air. He was receiving threatening letters, said Gandhiji. Some Muslims feared that he had come to suppress them. He could assure them that he had never suppressed

any one in all this life. They asked him why he had not gone to Bihar. He had declared his resolve to fast if Bihar did not stop the madness. He was in constant touch with Bihar. Pandit Jawaharlalji, Doctor Rajendra Prasad and others had assured him that his presence there was not required. Bihar, he understood, was practically peaceful now. Tension was still there, but it was going. The Muslims were returning to their villages. The Government had taken the responsibility to build the houses of those who had been rendered homeless. He was also receiving angry telegrams from Hindus asking why he did not fast against the Muslims for the happenings in Bengal. He could not do so today. If the Mussalmans realized that he was their friend, he would be entitled to fast against them also. If he was to leave East Bengal he would go only after peace ruled the breasts of the Hindus and the Muslims. He had no desire to live any longer otherwise.

#### DASGHARIA

On the morning of the 17th Gandhiji visited the village of Dasgharia, two miles from Kazirkhil, where he was met by a large number of women. They had all been forcibly converted and now reverted to their own religion. The District Magistrate had issued orders and advertized the fact, remarked Gandhiji, that forcible conversions, i. e. conversions out of fear, would not be recognized by law. He, the speaker, did not know if every one of those who had been converted forcibly had been restored to Hinduism. If not, it should be done, if they wanted to replace the present bitterness between the two communities by cordiality.

Some abducted girls were still missing. They should be returned without further delay. A *dhoby* had brought to him his boy of one year this afternoon. He had recovered the child after a month from a Muslim with police help. It was the duty of the Muslim brethren to put an end to such acts. They should make a frank confession of error in the past and promise to avoid it in future. He, who tried to hide his mistakes, could never rectify them. He himself was a votary of truth. Even when he practised law, he told his clients to tell him the truth if they wanted him to take up their case. He would not plead for a false case. The result was that only true and *bona fide* cases were brought to him. He had long ceased to practise law and had even been struck off the rolls of the Bar register for the offence of sedition. But he continued to follow the same principle. His advice to the Hindus and the Muslims was to get rid of all evil in themselves. Without that they would not be able to live in peace or have respect for one another.

Gandhiji's remarks at the prayer meeting which Goffran Saheb had addressed had some curious repercussions. At the prayer gathering on the 17th evening no woman came and very few Hindus, the majority of those present being Muslims. Speaking after the prayer, Gandhiji observed that he had heard that because he did not allow a gentleman to reply to Goffran Saheb's remarks there



and then in the meeting, the Hindus were annoyed and had boycotted the meeting. He was unrepentant. He never said or did anything merely to please others. He had always taught that one should do one's duty irrespective of the reaction it may have on others. A man who always did what he believed to be right never feared anyone.

Later the secretary of the Local Relief Organization came to him and told him that they had not boycotted the meeting but as it was Sunday and the Bazaar-day the women were afraid to come out as there would be many Muslims including *goondas* about.

Speaking at the prayer meeting on the 19th evening which was held at Madhupur, Gandhiji observed that a friend had told him thatt he explanation was a make-believe. If they had boycotted the meeting he did not mind it. They owed him no apology on that account. And if they had stayed away out of fear, certainly no apology was due to him. But it was a shame for them to be so afraid. Were the men also such cowards that they had stayed away out of fear? Were the Muslims going to eat them up? If they were such cowards, they were not worthy of living in this country. The sister who had gone to him in the morning to request him to hold a women's meeting at Madhupur had put before him three questions. The first question was that in spite of all their efforts they were unable to rescue some of the abducted women. He had told her that she should write to him about it and he would forward the letter to Saheed Suhrawardy. He could even write to the Prime Minister directly. It was a matter which brooked no delay. Secondly she said there were some women in the villages who wanted to come away but they wanted a military escort. He never could be a party to that. He had told the Prime Minister that he for one was not enamoured of the police and the military and that he could withdraw it at any time. The Hindus and the Muslims should be free to break each other's heads if they wanted to. He would put up with that. But if they continued to look to the police and the military for help, they would remain slaves for ever. Those who preferred security to freedom had no right to live. He wanted the women to become brave. To change one's religion under threat of force was no conversion but rather cowardice. A cowardly man or woman was a deadweight on any religion. Out of fear they might become Muslims today, Christians tomorrow and pass into a third religion the day after. That was not worthy of human beings. It was up to the men workers to tell the women that they would be their escort and would protect them with their lives. If still the women were afraid to come away, there was no help for them. He had come to proclaim from the housetops that the women had to become brave or else die. They should make use of the calamity that had befallen them to cast out the demon of fear. Lastly the sister had asked

as to how they could advise the refugees to go back to their homes. He would not ask them, replied Gandhiji, to go back under police or military protection. They had run away out of the fear of the Muslims. Therefore, it was the Muslims who had to come forward and reassure them that they would regard them as their own mothers, daughters and sisters and protect them with their lives. Everybody, continued the speaker, must be entitled to retain his or her own religion without interference. All worshipped the same God although under different names. "If I see my God in this tree and worship it, why should the Muslims object?" It was wrong for anyone to say that his God was superior to that of another's. God was one and the same for all. Hence his formula that from every village one good Hindu and one good Muslim should stand surety for the peace of the village. Then and then alone would he ask the refugees to return and the Ministers had liked his suggestion.

Kazirkhil, 24-11-'46

PYARELAL

### To The Reader

The reader knows by now the circumstances under which Shri Vinoba, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Kishorlal Mashruwala and Narhari Parikh have been asked by Gandhiji to look to the editing of the *Harijan* weeklies during the time he, Pyarelalji and other members of his party are engaged in the very important task of restoring friendliness among the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal. The four have been asked to carry out this duty jointly and severally. But it so happens that all the four are at present in widely different places and unable to meet together. Shri Narhari Parikh alone is at Sabarmati and most easily available to me. The articles written by any of them will, therefore, come to me without having been previously seen by another of them before they go to the press.

Generally, Gandhiji and Pyarelalji do not allow anything to be published in the *Harijan* without having personally examined the matter. This will not be possible at present. The reader will, therefore, please not assume that any opinion on any matter expressed for the time being in the columns of these weeklies has had the approval of Gandhiji or Pyarelalji before its publication.

MANAGING EDITOR

### Errata

In the *Harijan* of 24-11-'46 on p. 412 in the last paragraph of 'A wife spinning for her husband' for સુરતિયા read સુરતિયા.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 45

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1946

TWO ANNAS

## A SIGN OF PROGRESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though I have noticed it in the Gujarati columns of the *Harijanbandhu* from a different source, at the risk of repetition in another form I must quote from a touching letter from Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar addressed to Shyamlalji, a copy of which has been sent by the latter.

"I am very glad to inform you that after all, by the grace of God, the ice is at last broken. I am writing this from Bardoli of which you have heard. I can assure you that this year during the Gandhi Jayanti week nearly 40 public wells have been freely opened for the Harijans. Mind you, no pressure has been applied. People have taken to this programme of their own will. It has not been possible for our workers to attend all the places, but local people have invited Harijans and taken them to the public wells. I am still receiving further reports. I myself have attended some functions and personally have become a witness to the marvellous change. I thank God for it. No doubt, it is Gandhiji's efforts and the recent writings that have brought this change. Young men in villages have come forward and helped, the elders have remained behind, but they have either blessed the occasion or kept mum but nobody has opposed. I may further inform you that numerous of inter-communal dinners have been held. There was one such big dinner at Nadiad, the real capital of the Kaira District. Nearly 450 people, out of whom nearly 250 were caste Hindus brought cooked food from home and sat in front of the Ramji temple which has been built for the sweepers by Thakkar Bapa in 1928. 200 sweepers also joined and there was a merry party. Rationing regulations were not broken as people brought food from home. But it was a big gathering, unknown of its kind in the Kaira District.

"One prominent well has been opened in Kadi, a citadel of orthodoxy and 150 people dined with Harijans at Padra in Baroda. There are numerous such incidents but I cannot enumerate them at present.

"I should love to write a long letter in Gujarati to Bapa in this connection but it is difficult for him to read it. Please read this to him if possible."

Of course, compared to what we want to achieve, this progress is a miserable show. But seeing that Gujarat has been so far behindhand in this matter

of removal of untouchability, the little progress of which Shri Parikshitlal takes note with pardonable satisfaction is pleasant, if it is permanent and is a precursor of better things to come. Every nail driven into the coffin of untouchability is a step in the right direction towards the purification of Hinduism.

Srirampur, 30-11-'46

## QUESTION BOX

### COMMUNALISM IN MODES OF ADDRESS

Q. I appreciate the efforts made by the Congress administrations to end communal cries of "Hindu water (or tea)" and "Islami water (or tea)" on railway stations. But, at the same time, does not the practice of using different modes of address for Hindus and Mussalmans, such as Shri, Shriyut or Shriman for Hindus and others, and Janab and Saheb for Mussalmans, started by Gandhiji himself and followed by Congressmen generally, indicate and encourage similar communal separatism,—even though used respectfully? It seems to me that the truth of the matter is that we, that is the members of the various communities, are unable to completely shed the communal consciousness from within us, with the result that we cannot help betraying ourselves somewhere or other in our acts. Will you please give your opinion?

A. It is a good question. Personally I am unable to reconcile myself with communal modes of address.

But having regard to the mistrust prevailing at present among the communities, there is no proper atmosphere for suggesting a change. The mere fact that the suggestion comes from a member of one community might be regarded sufficient for its rejection by another. Yet, if any reader suggests a common mode of address of Indian origin which promises to be acceptable to all, it could be considered.

Personally I would be satisfied by referring to all men as "Bhai or Bhaiji A, or Bhai A-ji, or Bhai A Saheb" and all women as "Bai or Baiji A, or Bai A-ji, or Bai A Saheb", whatever their community — Ji and Saheb being used or dropped as the writer or speaker wished. But the practice started by Gandhiji will be followed in the *Harijan* weeklies, until he directs otherwise.

Vapi, 7-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

## ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

[In the previous number of the *Harijan* we reproduced some very pertinent extracts from Acharya Kripalani's presidential address delivered at the 54th plenary Session of the Indian National Congress held at Meerut on the 23rd November last. We reproduce below equally pertinent extracts from his concluding speech before the delegates assembled at the Session. — Ed.]

### APPEAL FOR UNITY

I told you and repeat that we in India — whether we are Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis, Christians or followers of any other faith — cannot leave this country. There is no other country that can be ours. We have to live together. Let us live in peace and brotherhood. If we do not so live, nature will make us suffer and after great sufferings we will have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that those whom God united, nobody can separate.

Any Hindu, who offends a Mussalman is doing injustice to his community and his country and any Muslim who offends a Hindu is destroying his religion and the freedom of his country.

### NON-VIOLENCE THE ONLY WAY

At the end I would permit myself to address a few words to my younger friends. I have learnt non-violence from Gandhiji. I do not hesitate to tell you that I used to believe in violence and belonged to a group of revolutionaries in 1906 and 1907. Even in the days of my revolutionary life, I hope, I was a brave man and I would not have hesitated to mount the gallows, but I never felt so fearless, so bold, so strong, as when I accepted the creed of non-violence from Gandhiji.

If this country is to rise, it will rise by non-violence and by no other method. We are divided into so many groups — political, economic and religious — that if we use violence against the foreign enemy, we are sure to use that violence against each other also. They who live by the sword shall perish by the sword.

The world has introduced the atom bomb, but something worse will come, unless it takes stock of what it has been doing hitherto.

### SUPERIOR METHOD

I do not condemn people because they use violence. Non-violence is a new creed, but I want to place it before you because I have tried both the methods and found that non-violence is the superior method. The light has been lighted and it will guide us whether you wish it or not. If you are going to solve your problems by untruth, by crooked diplomacy, the world's problems will not be solved. In one word the difference between Socialism and Gandhism is that Gandhiji says that the means shall be as pure as your ends are high. High aims cannot be served by crooked means.

This in a nutshell is the difference between Western Socialism and this Eastern Socialism of this old *Bania*. The world will not be safe from war or strife or bloodshed until this doctrine is accepted, whether you accept it today or tomorrow or after a century. But remember, that the century will be a troublesome century for humanity.

## CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

[Below are reproduced four of the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress at its 54th Session held at Meerut, on the 23rd and 24th November, 1946. — Ed.]

1

### RETROSPECT

This Congress, meeting after six and a half years of war and upheaval and frightfulness, pays its homage to the memory of all those who have given their lives in the cause of India's freedom and all those who have suffered in the struggle for freedom and the emancipation of India's millions.

During these years the world war raged in all its fury, and in India the armed might of an alien imperialist power tried to crush the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain independence. The Indian people resisted this ruthless onslaught and through travail and agony demonstrated their will to freedom. The complete failure and incompetence of an out-of-date political and administrative system resulted in famine which took its toll of millions of lives.

The end of the World War has not brought peace to the world and the appearance of the atom bomb as a weapon of war, with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction, has brought to a crisis the immoral and self-destructive elements of the present day political, economic and spiritual structure of the world. Civilization is likely to destroy itself, unless it gives up its imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man.

In India, as elsewhere, the period of transition from the old world, has demonstrated its failure to the new, to which millions look with hope and for which they strive is full of peril, and reactionary forces are everywhere trying to prevent the establishment of a new order of peace and freedom. This Congress has always stood for the full co-operation of free nations and for the removal of political and economic inequality between nations and peoples. India has been and is today the crux of the problem of freedom of subject peoples. On the complete emancipation of the Indian people depends the freedom of vast numbers of others in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. World peace and progress depend upon the solution of the Indian problem. This Congress, therefore, reiterates its firm determination to continue the struggle for India's complete freedom till she becomes an independent nation cooperating with others on an equal basis for the establishment of peace, freedom and progress everywhere. India, by virtue of her past her present position and her potential power, cannot accept a secondary position in the comity of nations.

For more than sixty years the National Congress has led the people of India towards this ideal and through struggle and constructive effort it has built up the strength of the Indian people. It has based itself on high ideals and endeavoured to put before

the nation moral standards of conduct both on the individual and on the political plane because it was convinced that greatness of achievement comes to a nation only by keeping high objectives before it and by pursuing methods which are worthy of a great people. In these days of bitter and tragic internal conflict and a lowering of these ideals, this Congress reiterates its faith in the high destiny of India and the ideals which have moved the Indian people. Any weakness, complacency or straying from the straight path to freedom may well imperil the independence for which the people of India have struggled and which is now within their grasp.

The Congress, therefore, calls upon the people to put an end to internecine conflict and to face internal and external dangers as a united people in the spirit in which they have fought in the past for India's independence. That struggle has not ended and may yet require many sacrifices.

2

#### SOUTH AFRICA

The Congress endorses the resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee on July 6, 1946, congratulating the South African Indians on their resistance to the segregation policy of the White people of that country, and records its satisfaction at the excellent work done by the Indian Delegation to the U. N. O. General Assembly exposing the narrow racialism of the South African Government to the full glare of world opinion. This Congress emphatically refutes the suggestion of Field Marshal Smuts in this connection that the Indian people are also guilty of racialism such as is shamelessly indulged in by the South African Government. The Indian people and all their leaders are energetically engaged in working out the fullest equality to all the nationals inhabiting this large and great country in all walks of life, political, social and economic, and laws of this country discountenance any discrimination whatsoever, whereas the policy of the South African Government and the White minority of that country is flagrantly racial and discriminatory and is a menace to world-peace and civilization.

3

#### EAST AFRICA

The Indian National Congress endorses the resolution of the Working Committee passed on August 6, 1945, regarding the situation in East Africa. The Congress views with great concern the attempts made in that country to make permanent the restrictions of the war-time period and converting them into a permanent anti-Indian law. The recorded admissions of even the confirmed enemies of Indian progress prove that Indians were in East Africa before any European set his foot on that soil and fully support the claim of the Indians in East Africa that the laws reserving the highlands for the White people and restricting the rights of Indians are most immoral and unjustifiable.

4

#### COMMUNAL STRIFE

The Congress views with pain, horror and anxiety the tragedies of Calcutta, in East Bengal, in

Bihar and in some parts of the Meerut District. The acts of brutality committed on men, women and children fill every decent person with shame and humiliation. These new developments in communal strife are different from any previous disturbances and have involved murders on a mass scale as also mass conversions enforced at the point of the dagger, abduction and violation of women and forcible marriage. These crimes, apparently for political purposes, put an end to all sense of security and are ominous to the peace, tranquility and progress of India.

The responsibility for this widespread brutality must rest with the preaching of hatred and violence for political purposes and the degradation and exploitation of religion for political ends. Responsibility must also rest with those who claim to possess special responsibilities and who, in spite of warning, failed to discharge them and allowed matters to proceed to the extreme limit of endurance.

The Congress would warn the country against all propaganda of violence and hatred. It is not by these methods that the differences between the various communities in India can be settled. They can only be settled by peaceful means. The attempts of the Congress to work out a peaceful and just solution of the communal problem have been repeatedly thwarted by the Muslim League. The advocacy and use of violence will injure the interest of the country as a whole as well as sectional interests. The Congress also warns all communities against revenge and reprisals. The continuance of a vicious circle of reprisal would mean playing into the hands of the internal and external enemies of the nation.

The immediate problem is to produce a sense of security and rehabilitate homes and villages which have been broken up and destroyed. Women who have been abducted and forcibly married must be restored to their homes. Mass conversions which have taken place forcibly have no significance or validity and the people affected by them should be given every opportunity to return to their homes and to the life of their choice.

The Congress reiterates its conviction that the only solution of the communal problem is complete independence from foreign control and appeals to the people not to allow communal passion to sidetrack the national struggle at this last stage of our march to freedom.

#### Hindustani Prachar Examinations

Hindustani Prachar examinations held on behalf of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, will be held on Sunday, the 16th of February, 1947. Applications from candidates desiring to appear at these examinations should reach the Wardha office through the respective centres with the necessary fees on or before the 15th January 1947. Information about rules for opening new centres and for examinations, names of text books prescribed for the various examinations and other relevant information can be had from the Wardha office.

AMRITLAL NANAVATI

Examination Secretary,

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

# HARIJAN

December 15

1946

## POWER POLITICS IN RELIGION

Whenever enthusiastic apostles of a religion have been seized by the ambition to propagate it by taking the State under their control, blood-shed and inhuman barbarities have followed. In ancient times when the king was supreme in the State, the most convenient method was to induce him to accept that faith, and then to get him to proclaim it as the faith of the realm. This was accompanied with special benefits for its acceptors and penalties for the rejectors. The degree of penalty varied from a simple extra tax to excommunication, imprisonment, mutilation of limbs, torturous death, confiscation of property, exile, forcible conversion of women and the weak, and various other forms of devilry which sadistic ingenuity could invent. It was also sought to be propagated in other countries with the help of fire and sword.

When Devadatta, one of the disciples of the Buddha became estranged from him and decided to form a rival sect, he conceived the idea of taking Ajatashatru, one of the sons of the king of Magadha, under his influence. After doing so, he instigated him to put old king into prison, and install himself on the throne. Then, with his assistance he plotted several times to kill the Buddha himself and persecute his followers.

The story of Prahlad — poetically rendered so as to appear the life-story of a single individual — is a detailed account of barbarous persecution of one religious sect by a ruler owning bigoted allegiance to another.

The history of every important religious sect all the world over relates similar stories of persecution suffered at the hands of the sect wielding political power and in turn inflicted by it upon others, when it itself (if at all) acquired similar power. Thus in India, the *Vediks*, the *Bauddhas*, the *Jains*, the *Lingayats*, the *Shainvas*, the *Vaishnavas*, the *Sikhs*, and several of their sub-sects have each suffered persecution at the hands of the sect in power, and (if they have at all ever acquired political power) inflicted in turn similar sufferings upon the followers of rival sects. Similarly, in Europe and Western Asia, the Crusades, the *Jehads* the persecution of the Christians by the Jews and the Romans at one stage, and of the Jews by the Christians at another, the blood-curdling accounts of the persecution of sects, which dared to differ from the Church (of whatever denomination) in power from the very beginning of the Christian States to almost modern times, and the attempt to suppress Christianity itself in Bolsevic Russia are too well-known features of the history of Europe to be mentioned in detail.

China and Japan have also similar stories to relate.

It is only when the State has put itself above all religious sects and declined to take any notice of the religious faith of its subjects in its public affairs and enjoined similar impartiality upon its servants, that people have enjoyed the liberty of believing as they pleased and learnt to live peacefully with the adherents of other faiths.

After long suffering and hard experience, Indian religious sects developed, as a general habit, the virtue of religious tolerance, and if the term Hinduism has at all to be applied to such widely different systems as Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism, Buddhism, monotheism, polytheism, animism and even atheism etc., perhaps their only common point is toleration towards all faiths.

This truth was first realized by India even before the birth of Christ, though it took some centuries more before it was well imbibed. Probably, by the time Islam first entered the Indian soil, it had taken a firm root. The great Emperor Ashoka, had a full realization of this. Personally he was a devout Buddhist and full of zeal to spread its message throughout the world known to him. Says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his *The Discovery of India* :

"His messengers and ambassadors went to Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene, and Epirus, conveying his greeting and Buddha's message. They went to Central Asia also and to Burma and Siam, and he sent his own son and daughter, Mahendra and Sanghamitra, to Ceylon in the South. Everywhere an appeal was made to the mind and the heart; there was no force or compulsion. Ardent Buddhist as he was, he showed respect and consideration for all other faiths. He proclaimed in an edict:

" 'All sects deserve reverence for one reason or another. By thus acting a man exalts his own sect and at the same time does service to the sects of other people.' " ( P. 145 )

The early Muslim invaders of India, more zealous than experienced, still generally clung to the method of propagating Islam by the power of the State. As however they began to settle down, they were gradually getting sober. But before they fully assimilated the wisdom of keeping the State and its officers above all religious sects, they lost their political power. Consequently, the ambition to enlist the power of the State to serve the cause of a religion still persists, and the idea of creating an Indian Muslim State, populated and governed by Muslims, for furthering what are regarded the special culture and interests of Islam, has taken possession of the minds of the Muslim League leaders. So also some Hindu politicians have been possessed by a similar ambition. And thus power politics has re-entered the domain of religion. In Bengal, the Muslim League has already attained some political power, and even before it has been fully consolidated and secured, we have already had the taste of the havoc which a religion-based State can make in the life of the people.

The Hindus, too, cannot take shelter under the plea that theirs was just a reaction to the evil

initiated by the other community in acting as they did in Bihar and other Provinces. They have had ample past experience to realize the evil of power politics in religion. That evil cannot be cured by seeking to create a counter-State to serve the cause of another religion. Hindustan, *akhand* or *khandit*, but meaning a State dedicated to the cause of the Hindu religion and culture is no answer to Pakistan, i. e. a State dedicated to the cause of the Muslim religion and culture. Both these, along with the Sikh, Christian, Zoroastrian and other systems, have got to find ways of coalescing mutually to raise a common national—or rather, human—culture, instead of trying to separate from or exterminate others.

Vapi, 26-11-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### TRIUMPH OF VALMIKI

About half a century ago Mahamahopadhyaya Harihar Shastri of Bengal published a beautiful novel named *Valmiki's Jaya*. It has been translated into Marathi, Gujarati and perhaps other Indian languages also, and can be read even now with delight. The story is based on the legend of Vasishtha and Vishvamitra, rival leaders respectively of the Brahman and the Kshatriya clans of India. It was a struggle for political and social supremacy over the part of India then inhabited by the Aryas. The land is represented in the form of *kamadhenu* or the desire-fulfilling cow. A bloody feud raged between the two for, perhaps, several generations with varying success. At first Vasishtha was routed and his hundred sons killed, and his 'cow' taken forcible possession of by Vishvamitra. But it was a short-lived victory. Vasishtha again gathered forces and so completely defeated Vishvamitra, that he was forced to retire into the Himalayas for a long number of years, — perhaps generations. Other Kshatriyas did, of course, carry on some kind of guerrilla warfare by invading isolated Brahman colonies, killing the inmates and destroying their *ashrams*. The family of the young and fiery Parashurama — literally the axe-wielding Rama was one of such sufferers. The murder of his father and brothers so enraged Parashurama that he vowed total extermination of the Kshatriyas, and made it good by inflicting, it is said, twenty-one severe defeats upon them, followed each time with indiscriminate and heartless massacre of the Kshatriyas. They were altogether humbled and it appeared as if the world would become completely emptied of them. It appears that even Vasishtha and his followers had not contemplated this result, but the situation had gone beyond their control and there appeared to be no way of checking Parashurama from his revengeful and blood-thirsty projects. It was a dark and hope-shattering situation.

But very unexpectedly, there appeared on the scene a gentle soul in the shape of Valmiki. He was, if at all, a Brahman of an humble clan, but gifted with great poetical and musical powers, and the still greater faith in his mission. He could not bear this internecine war and was determined not

to rest until peace was restored between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. He had no weapon but his musical instrument and no carefully worded formula except the one represented by the refrain, '*We all are one, we all are one.*' With his band of singers, he visited every Brahman colony and every Kshatriya kingdom, delivering his message of peace, love and unity. His music and songs touched the hearts of his listeners, resulting in a strong movement for unity and peace. Vasishtha and Vishvamitra were reconciled and, though for a long time Parashurama was intractable, he soon discovered that the cry of '*Down with the Kshatriyas*' had lost its power of appeal and that he could not get any following. He was compelled to retire before the combination of Vasishtha and Vishvamitra, both of whom supported such friendly Kshatriya houses as those of Ayodhya and Mithila. Valmiki's mission having come to a successful termination, he was requested, as the story goes, to compose the story of Ramayana, for strengthening the Brahman-Kshatriya alliance and depicting the advance which the Aryas would make as a result of such alliance.

There can be no doubt that as between the Hindus and the Mussalmans also the formula discovered by Valmiki, namely, '*We are all one, we are all one,*' and the *sangathan* (organization) arising out of that formula, are the only substantial things which will ultimately triumph.

Vapi, 7-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### STORY HOUR

(Continued from p. 411)

VI

[This one is from R. C. Trevelyan's *Windfalls* (Allen and Unwin).—V. G. D.]

Once the *Bodhisattva* was born as an elephant, who, when he had grown to his full size and beauty and had long been the lord of a great herd of elephants, left his companions and wandered away to a remote forest, surrounded on all sides by a waterless desert. Here he dwelt like a hermit, delighting in the leaves and fruits of the trees, the lotus stalks and the pools of water.

Now one day as he was wandering near the border of the forest, he heard a noise as of a multitude of people moaning and lamenting; so, running swiftly towards the sounds and issuing out of the jungle, he saw at a distance several hundred men, sitting and lying on the ground, overcome by hunger, thirst and fatigue. Though terrified at the sight of so huge an elephant, they were too exhausted for flight, as the Great Being moved slowly towards them, gently waving his trunk in sign of friendliness and saying in a human voice: "Be not afraid. Who are you, sirs? And how came you into this miserable plight?"

At this, recovering confidence, the whole assembly rose and bowed to him; and one of their elders said, "A cruel blast of the king's anger blew us away into banishment in this waste region, O lord of elephants. Yet now by the auspicious sight of thee, we know that we have crossed the desert of calamity."



Then said the elephant, "How many are you, sirs?"

"We were five hundred," said the elder, "when we were driven from our homes; but many of us have perished, overcome by hunger, thirst and despair."

Then moved to compassion, the Great Being said, "Alas, alas, how blind to their own good are those poor helpless rulers! They understand not that the conflagration arising from the oppression of subjects is bound to consume them with all their wickedness and cruelty. Fie upon such ignorance!" And while he stood silent, pondering how he might offer hospitality to his guests, the men with folded hands and tearful eyes implored him to show them how to escape from that dreadful desert, or at least where to find some stream or pool of life-giving water.

Then lifting up his trunk and waving it towards the north, he said to them: "Under yonder steep mountain there is a lake of pure water where you may quench your thirst and rest for a time. Then continuing your way; not far off you will come upon the body of an elephant, who this very day has fallen down a precipice, and lies at the foot of the mountain. Take his flesh to serve you for food, make water-bags of his bowels and fill them with water from the lake. Thus provided, you will soon find your way out of this wilderness without much more hardship."

With that he left them, and hastening out of their sight climbed up the farther side of the mountain to the brink of a great precipice, and there flung his body down to death on the rocks below.

Meanwhile those men, following his directions, soon reached the lake and after drinking and resting awhile, went forward until they found the body of an elephant. Then said some of them, "How like is this elephant to our friend, that lord of elephants!" Others reflected: "This must indeed be our friend who has thrown himself down the cliff, that he might save us from our distress."

Poona, 2-12-'46

### URULI-KANCHAN REPORT

Dr. Bhagwat, who is in charge of the Nature Cure Centre started by Gandhiji towards the end of March last at Uruli-Kanchan, near Poona, has sent a six monthly report (April to September, '46) of the work done by him and his colleagues. The following abridgment will give the reader an idea of the activity going on there.

"The Centre was opened by Gandhiji on the 23rd March 1946. He himself could give his direct supervision for a week only. Later on this work was entrusted to me and other co-workers here. The number of patients which was daily increasing during Gandhiji's presence was much reduced after his departure. The real work of treating patients, started from the second week of April and was going on throughout May and June. The number of patients became smaller and smaller after the rainy season had started, as the villagers were busy in their fields and there was some difficulty of communication too.

"The total number of patients treated at the centre was 567. Of these 23 were treated as in-door

patients, on account of their serious condition. One delivery case of a woman was also successfully treated. Ten minor operations were performed. Other patients were treated as out-door patients by giving them enema, bath, hip-bath etc., and were asked to observe certain dietetic restrictions at home. Out of the above total number of patients about 300 might have taken full treatment till they were completely cured; others left the treatment, when they found that we gave no medicines, or put restriction on their diet.

"The treatment includes plain water enema, hip bath, simple bath, cold or warm pack, mud pack along with regulation of diet. The latter includes lemon juice, honey, oranges and other acid fruits, soaked and germinated beans and nuts, salads, sweet fruits etc. Cooked food includes *bhakari* or *chapati* and vegetables without salt, chillies and spices. *Poornanna roti* and *khichadi* are also used at times. Curds and butter milk are freely used as one time meal when necessary.

"The daily expenditure per patient on an average ranges from 8 annas minimum to 2 rupees maximum according to the circumstances and the financial condition of the patient.

#### Classification of the diseases treated

Disease	Number	Disease	Number
Scabies	84	Head-ache	5
Malaria—enlarged spleen	58	Asthma	5
Constipation	56	Anaemia	5
Fever (ordinary)	39	Round worms	5
Otitis Media	34	T. B. Lungs	4
Wounds	30	Acid Dyspepsia	4
Stomach-ache	24	Piles	4
Conjunctivities	19	Hemiplagia	3
Inflammation	17	Obesity	3
Tooth extraction	17	Pleurisy	2
Diarrhoea	15	Sprain	2
Flatulence	13	Hemicrania	2
Dyspepsia	13	Mumps	2
Tooth-ache	12	Callstone	1
Cough (Bronchitis)	11	Delivery	1
Uterine Discharge	10	Rheumatism	1
Ring-worm	8	Pneumonia	1
Abscess	8	Biliousness	1
Dysentery	8	Dog-bite not rabid	1
Eczema	7	Fistula in anus	1
		Miscellaneous	31

Total 567

"In our future plan of Hospital work we shall have to make some separate arrangements for a maternity home, and a small surgical theatre. Besides this, we shall also have to organize *go-seva* for supplying pure milk to the patients. For this we shall have to erect a cowshed in the near future for which we will have to undergo an expenditure of about Rs. 5,000. I hope we shall get cooperation from the right sources at the right time."

Vapi, 7-12-'46

K. G. M.

#### Errata

In the *Harijan* of the 24th November, 1946, on p. 411, Column 2, Line 2, for 'Concluded' read 'Continued'.

## A NEGRO SAGE

[The growth of Science during the past hundred years has claimed phenomenal progress in the affairs of our world but as all acknowledge today, it has proved to be a doubtful blessing. In a way it stands condemned today in as much as it has lent itself more to devising means for aggression, exploitation and destruction than for the liquidation of human misery. It has brought in its wake various forms of horizontal as well as vertical violence resulting in terrible wars under which mankind lies exhausted and prostrate today.]

Among the long galaxy of eminent scientists of the Western world a few notable exceptions stand out as beacon lights who have loved mankind and laboured all their lives for its true happiness. One such sage rose to eminence from among the humble and despised Negroes of Southern America. He laboured all his long life for improving American agriculture so as to enrich the sources of meeting the basic needs of the humblest farm labourer, in the shape of more food and comfort. The following has been taken from *The American Pictorial* (1944, special Indian Edition of *Victory Magazine*) for the benefit of our constructive workers. —S. A.]

George Washington Carver was an American, who, in a long lifetime of unselfish achievement, demonstrated, besides the creative greatness of his own mind, the surpassing quality of a man's growth in a free country. He rose from destitute beginnings to be acclaimed as one of the greatest agricultural scientists of modern times. He transformed the farm economy of half a nation, and gave to a grateful world the benefits of his hundreds of practical discoveries and accomplishments in agricultural chemistry.

Carver was born in 1864, near Diamond Grove, Missouri, in the central part of the southern United States. His parents were Negro slaves; but Carver never knew them. When the child was scarcely six months old, he and his mother (his father was already dead) were carried off by bandits. The baby was ransomed for a broken-down race horse, but his mother was never heard of again. In 1865, slavery was abolished by constitutional amendment, and a White planter, Moses Carver, took the infant into his household, gave him his name, and raised him to do domestic chores.

Hungry for education, the boy soon struck out for himself. At first he slept in barns and haylofts, seeking work from farm to farm, but was soon taken in her home by the kindly Muriah Watkins, worked for his food at whatever job she set for him and attended a rural school. He went on to high school, supporting himself mainly by taking in washing. Carver, then in his twenties, journeyed to Iowa, where he opened a small laundry to earn enough money to enter college. Menial jobs supported him through three years at Simpson College. Then Carver went on to finish four years of agricultural studies at the Iowa State College at Ames. There his distinctive knowledge of soils and plants earned him a place on the faculty.

In 1896, George Washington Carver went to Tuskegee, Alabama, to open an agricultural laboratory at the newly-founded Tuskegee Institute. The construction of this laboratory and its 16-acre

experimental farm is an everlasting tribute to Carver's resourcefulness and creative will. At Tuskegee, he was confronted with an empty building, with no funds for equipment; his experimental farm was a bare tract of sandy, impoverished soil. Carver sent his students into the swamps and woods armed with buckets and pails. Day after day they brought back muck and leaf mold to form a topsoil. Carver constructed a stove for heat, made laboratory equipment from materials on hand—kitchen cups, old bottles, inkstands, pieces of iron and wood salvaged from the rubbish heap.

Carver began his experiments with the clay-filled Alabama soil. He showed farmers how to build it up to produce more cotton per acre. On the school farm Carver harvested one of Alabama's first bale-to-the-acre cotton crops. He further contributed to the economic rehabilitation of the South by introducing new, favourable crops. He taught Southern farmers how two sweet potato crops could be harvested each year instead of one. "Everyone told me," he said in later years, "that the soil was unproductive. But it was the only soil I had. It was not unproductive. It was only unused." Today, in addition to cotton and tobacco, the sweet potato and peanut are major crops in the American South.

Carver then demonstrated that these plants had not exhausted their bounty. He took the sweet potato into his laboratory and proceeded to make from it a hundred useful products, such as starch, vinegar, glue, molasses, dyes, and fertilizers. Turning to the peanut, long called worthless, he transmuted it into more than 300 commodities, including coffee, milk, printer's ink, linoleum, flour, medicinal oil, paper and axle grease.

Working always with the natural resources around him, Carver began experimenting with slash pine—an abundant wood in the South—and turned it into paper. This achievement opened what is today a flourishing industry in a number of Southern States. To the shy, kindly, patient scientist, gifted with what his neighbors called "green fingers," there was no such thing as waste. He found a use for wood shavings—synthetic marble. Cornstalks, sawdust and cotton stalks were transformed into insulating boards and paving blocks. Turning to the flowers of the field, he made paper from the vines and stems of wistaria, sunflowers and wild hibiscus.

Carver believed that people could live all their lives on the things that grew within a hundred yards around them. To prove this thesis, he gathered local weeds, flowers, wild fruit and dooryard shrubs, and turned much of this unusual harvest into edible, nourishing dishes, including soups, cheeses, marmalades and roasts. Carver wrote his recipes into pamphlets, which were freely distributed throughout the country.

To convey his methods and accomplishments to the farmer, whom he wanted to be the free beneficiary of his labors, Carver converted a second-hand buggy into a mobile agricultural school. Loading the carriage with exhibits, he borrowed a horse and made regular tours of the Alabama

countryside, lecturing Macon County farmers in fields and barn yards, giving away free his agrarian discoveries. Carver's was the first of the "movable schools", which today, housed in motor truck and trailer and sponsored by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, cover large areas of the South.

Carver had one hobby—if indeed it was. That was art. He won some distinction as a painter of landscapes and natural subjects, and one of his finest canvases—the Yucca Plant—hangs in the Tuskegee Institute gallery. Even this aesthetic interest could not be divorced from his scientific impulse and his philosophy of use. Carver made his paints from the clays of Macon County. He showed farmers they could get good, inexpensive paint for their houses and barns from their own soil. From this Alabama clay he also made face powder, pottery and dyes. Lint scraped up in the cotton gins was shown by Carver to be highly useful; he turned it into paving blocks, cordage and rugs.

Thomas A. Edison, American inventor of the electric light and early motion picture and sound recording instruments, once offered Carver a position in his laboratory. Carver declined, for he believed his life's work to be in Alabama. He cared nothing for money. He gave his professional advice and services without thought of remuneration. His salary cheques at Tuskegee piled up for years in the treasurer's office, and he did not use them until shortly before his death.

When Carver developed a peanut oil of therapeutic value in paralysis cases, he turned it over, without patent, to the medical profession. When a group of peanut growers rewarded him for helping them eradicate a disease which had preyed on their nut trees, Carver returned the money. Once he donated his formula for making synthetic marble out of peanut hulls to a factory in the neighboring state of Mississippi. The factory had difficulty with the process and tried to persuade Carver to join the firm. When he refused, the company moved to Tuskegee, where it could have the benefit of his guidance—which he gave gratis.

In 1939, Carver was awarded the Roosevelt Medal for distinguished work in the field of science. The following year, stooped and white-haired, the reticent, benevolent seventy-six-year old scientist established the George Washington Carver Foundation, built with his life's savings, for the purpose of furthering research in agricultural chemistry. Three years later he died.

The name of George Washington Carver is symbolic of more than scientific achievement and human genius; it has a great deal of significance for those who scrutinize the meaning of freedom, for all those who yearn, for all who aspire to walk in their own ways, independently, and with dignity and glad hope. The United States had been at war a little over a year when George Washington Carver died in January 1943. Shortly afterward, a Liberty ship slid down the ways bearing Carver's name across its bows—a fitting salute to a man who gave much in return for freedom. It was not a

deliberate, premeditated exchange, for that is not the essence of freedom. Carver lived in a society which let him govern his own growth and destiny. His benefactions were this society's incidental, unsolicited reward. In July, 1943, the Congress of the United States voted funds for a monument to Carver, to be erected near Diamond Grove, Missouri, where he greeted the world as a slave.

### The Official Attitude

A correspondent sends the following:

"It would be worthwhile for the Director of the influential British daily paper who saw you last week at New Delhi to peruse the following, to understand the causes of the present unending trouble.

"His Excellency the Viceroy is closely and conscientiously following the footsteps of his *guru* Allenby. I quote below for ready reference:

"If our avowed policy of training the Egyptians to govern themselves was sincere and meant anything, it was useless to interfere and take the directions into one's own hands as soon as any difficulty arose. If the Ministers and the officials were to learn to govern, if the police were to be efficient in keeping order, if the Egyptian army was to be able to support their authority at need, then, they must face to learn their difficulties and dangers by themselves and must not rely on the British when anything disconcerting or alarming took place." (From *Allenby—a study in Greatness* by Wavell, pp. 49-50.)

"We have only to read "Indians" instead of "Egyptians" and then we ought to give credit for the above policy. Yet we have seen how pitiable were the appeals made to the authorities to intervene during the last two weeks. This proves your theory; but to complete the whole picture and silence the arguments once and for all the following could be read with profit:

"In a letter to his mother on May 20th 1921, (after some disturbances had taken place) Allenby wrote:

"I bide my time as I want the Egyptians to settle their politics for themselves and don't want to interfere with my troops unless the life, limb or interests of Europeans are in danger."

"This is plain, simple and convincing reading. I hope the journalist friend could be advised to guide his kith and kin and the powers that be to leave 'India to God or anarchy' as you had, once declared. That is the only one solution but unfortunately its application will always be delayed. The British Forces have not yet left Egypt."

Wardha, 5-12-'46

K. K.

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## SCRIPTURE FOR DEVILRY!

When man seeks to invoke sanction of religious scriptures in order to support his own inner lust, ambition or other forms of self-indulgence, or for inciting others to such acts or conduct; or when he seeks to clothe such acts with religious or moral aims and ideals, it is such abuse of religion and ethics that one would fain desire that no religious or ethical codes had ever existed.

When man feels that a course of action or conduct cannot stand the test of the straight reasoning of a discriminating human being and is seized, nonetheless, with the desire to indulge in it, and to incite others to do so, he is tempted to invoke the authority of religion in its support, and thus, whether or not does he mislead and deceive himself, he certainly misleads hundreds of simple people.

These thoughts have been provoked by two questions asked by a correspondent of obviously thoughtful and studious habits. The questions are:

"(1) The war of the *Mahabharata* is represented as a *dharmayuddha*, or right war. Yet, it was admittedly an internecine one. It was no better than what we call (in modern parlance) a civil or a fratricidal war. Can such fighting be called a right war? If so, why not call the present communal riots too a right war? Is it not being invoked for resisting unjust demands of one community against the other? How can we go on submitting to them *ad infinitum*? Is not a stubborn fight against such bullying a just and proper war?"

"(2) The great Krishna during the *Mahabharata* war had vowed not to use arms, but relented at a critical moment and took up the *Sudarshana Chakra* against Bhishma. Why should not Mahatma Gandhi similarly relent and allow as much violence for a while?"

The answer is, that until a man has tried to thresh out for himself the ethical aspect of a problem facing him by a process of independent and straight reasoning, there is no occasion to search for religious or historical sanctions; nay, it is improper to do so.

Let us leave alone the issues of *Akhand Hindustan* or *Pakistan* for a moment and examine the riots in terms of humanity and its interests dispassionately. Let us ask ourselves whether the barbarous acts of massacre, arson and worse, that took place in Calcutta, East Bengal, Bihar and other places, and the stabbings etc., that continue in so many cities and towns are consistent with right human conduct. Do our higher and humane emotions

justify the exhibition of this bestiality? What madness has possessed us, that if we are Hindus and see a crowd of helpless Muslims or if we are Muslims and see a crowd of helpless Hindus, we should thirst for their blood and visit them with fire and sword, ravish their women, indiscriminately kill old and infirm men and women and tender children and then try to justify these acts of devilry by quoting scriptures in their support? What do the poor starving peasants and the *Namashudras* of Noakhali, or Muslim village peasants of Bihar or the fishermen of Kolaba and their womenfolk understand about *Akhand Hindustan* or *Pakistan*, and why either of the two should endanger their lives, property and honour? Why should these political ambitions demand a toll of their blood and bring ruin upon them? What has a Hindu or a Muslim pedestrian going about his business done to deserve a sudden stab in the back at the hand of the other, to make you feel sympathetic, not with the victim, but with the assailant?

The fact is that the lust of war with its associate vices has not yet been extinguished from the human breast. That is why it flares up time and again under one pretext or another. It is fanned by the ambitions of a few influential individuals and thereafter involves millions of innocent human beings, destroys property worth billions and trillions, and brings untold hardships, penury and ruin on whole populations. Various ingenious reasons are adduced to tempt simple people into the net. The slogan of 'Religion in danger' is one such device. Under its spell they turn erstwhile simple people into ferocious fanatics, worse than the beasts of prey and mad elephants.

If you were to tell the people, "You are beasts, so behave like beasts", it is obvious, few would follow you. But it serves your purpose excellently if you tell them, "This killing is ordained by God and by the Holy Scriptures. It is a sacrifice of the highest merit; it is an act of service to God and is good religious conduct; it is the royal road to attain Divine Grace; it blesses both the killers and the killed; for, if you are killed, you will enter the gates of Heaven; and if you kill or convert, you prevent your opponent from going further astray. If you do not participate in this holy war, your religion and culture would perish." Under the influence of such strong 'spirits' of religious fanaticism men become far more intoxicated and insane than under that of alcohol.

To revert to the correspondent's questions : there is little to compare in the present riots in the country with the war of the *Mahabharata*. That was a family feud over rights of kingship between two rival royal families and followed the then prevailing cannons of war. Both sides, after a formal declaration of war, mustered their warriors 'on an open battlefield and fought to a finish. The commonly accepted rules of war were generally observed by both the sides. None but the participating warriors was so much as touched. Even fighting warriors observed commonly accepted rules of attack as well as defence. And whenever any one deviated, he was reprimanded and repudiated even by his own side. Thus certain ethical cannons were accepted and duly observed by the belligerents even while at war. Hence it was customary in those days to call such a war a right war, i. e. in consonance with the law (*dharma*).

Nothing of this can be said of the present murders, loots, fires, rapes or conversions. A big mob belonging to one community makes a sudden attack upon a smaller group of the other community or even a solitary wayfarer, and massacres wholly innocent people. None among the attackers is a brave warrior, none among the victims is a guilty culprit. There is no general openly commanding the campaign. The wire-pullers behind these dastardly attacks and acts are men who elect to work in the dark, are anxious to save their own skin, and carry on their nefarious designs by inciting simple and credulous people, or by engaging hooligans with the help of money and other base temptations. They are heartless men of inhuman and anti-social propensities. May be, some of them are leading men in society. Nonetheless, they are not its well-wishers but ambitious monsters stalking the land in human form. They have little concern with any religion whatever.

If the present riots have to be compared with any ancient episode, they may be compared with the cold-blooded massacre of the sleeping sons of the Pandavas and other fighters in the Pandava camp, perpetrated in the dead of night by Ashvathama and Kripacharya, the solitary survivors of the Kaurava camp. The mutual fratricidal fighting of the Yadavas of Dwaraka also may be cited in comparison.

The other instance cited by the correspondent is the wielding of the *Sudarshana Chakra* by Shri Krishna in violation of his self-imposed vow, in order to save a critical situation. The suggestion is, if Shri Krishna could do it, why not Gandhiji? Why should he not modify his non-violence a little to meet an exasperating situation? And if Gandhiji is not an adept at wielding violence, he should ask some one else to do so!

The question may be answered with a counter-question. Gandhiji in his boyhood, as narrated in his autobiography, resorted to stealing and smoking behind the back of his father. If the correspondent's son were to put him a poser by asking him, "What objection can you have, then, if I stole or smoked? And since I am not going to be

a Mahatma, there can be nothing wrong about it. How will the father appreciate this? If this story of breaking the vow is true, it only means that even Krishna, great as he was, was still human and liable to err. That is why the great epic proceeds also to record that he was put to shame by *shma* for the attempted lapse and also promptly stopped by his disciple-friend Arjuna.

We may not forget the good injunction given to graduates in the old universities that even mistakes are to be followed by the disciples in their acts only and not in their faults and frailties.

The sooner we get rid of this communal poison the better for our country. Indeed, this evil is worse epidemic than plague, typhoid, cholera, small-pox. If one of these latter is on, say in Bengal, surely, we will not think of introducing contagion in Bihar or other provinces as an effective preventive; rather, if we are wise and sane, we shall take prophylactic measures to prevent it from spreading elsewhere. For instance, we may devise serums and inoculations to protect the persons, drink boiled water, spray disinfectants, segregate the victims, erect quarantines, etc. Can such an act be ever conducive to the national health? It is only when a people bids good-bye to straight thinking that perverse ideas receive hearing and pass for bold measures and right ones.

Vapi, 3-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(From the original in Gujarati)

#### Commendable

Shri Vidyananda Jayaswal, a local magistrate of Sahibganj (S. P.), Bihar has sent the following report in Hindustani of how his own presence of mind and courage, prevented a deadly clash between the local Hindus and Mussalmans. He says :

"In the evening of 5-11-'46 i. e. *Bakra Id* in spite of the curfew order in Sahibganj, the Muslims were shouting cries of *Allah ho Akbar* etc. in the butchers' locality. On the other side in the street people were shouting *Jai Kali Naga Mahavir Swamiki Jai*, etc. with blowing of shells. I ran to the butchers' locality where hundreds of Mussalmans armed with naked swords, pick-axes, spears etc., intent upon invading the locality. The Hindus too had assembled, ready to advance with *lathis*, etc.. Had I hesitated even for two minutes, the ground would have been strewn with a number of corpses. Seeing that there was no remedy to bring the situation under control, I, accompanied by none and absolutely unarmed, rushed into the Mussalmans' crowd and snatched away swords and spears from a number of them; I told them that their shameful and foolish conduct was and exhorted them to retire quietly to their own homes. The violent remedy shown by Mahatmajji was successful by the grace of God and all the Mussalmans returned to their houses. I then went to the butchers' locality and tried the same remedy. The effect was so salutary that nothing untoward has happened in our town since then."

Sabarmati, 17-12-'46



## MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

[The following passages on the subject of the Medium of Instruction and the place of English in the curricula of our schools and colleges are taken from the convocation address of the Nagpur University delivered by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Nagpur on the 30th of November, 1946 — *Ed.*]

### MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

The University's decision to make the mother tongue the medium of instruction is of great significance. During the last quarter of a century we have realized that the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction is an obstacle to the mental growth of students. They have to spend a lot of time in acquiring a vocabulary, and even then it cannot be said that they appreciate the correct meaning of the words they use. Words denote objects. A child first sees objects and then learns the words by which he can describe them to others. This process begins early in childhood and continues throughout life. After learning to use one word for a particular object, if a child has to learn another, it naturally feels the strain, specially when it has to memorize the second word with an effort as it does not hear it used by other children. The strain in fact is so great that the child remembers only the word without being familiar with the object which it describes. When a foreign language is the medium of instruction, children have not only to strain themselves to memorize words, but have to struggle to understand what is taught. Thus the habit of cramming is encouraged, while the capacity to comprehend is impaired.

All this is self-evident. But our educational system is such and we have been so enslaved by it that many of us do not fully understand even this simple problem. Thirty years ago the Sadler Commission recommended the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. Later when Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the Indian scene and started his country-wide campaigns, he emphatically declared that instruction through the medium of English, instead of helping us to improve, was leading to our decay. During those days some Vidyapiths or national universities were started. As they were independent of Government control, they were free to follow their own system and use their own medium of instruction. They tried to impart education through the medium of the Indian languages and showed that even higher education could be given in the Indian languages. They demonstrated that it took much less time in teaching a person in an Indian language and the student learnt more about the subjects he studied. Despite this, not one University in British India has started imparting education through the medium of the Indian languages from the lowest to the highest class and done away with English. By deciding to teach in the Indian languages your university has set a very good example. By following in your footsteps other universities can render real help in imparting true education.

I know there are difficulties which have prevented other universities from taking a similar decision. Without effort, no difficulty can be overcome and it is cowardice not to try. True courage consists in overcoming difficulties. Most men are lazy by nature. Laziness is not merely physical, it is mental also. Most of us suffer from mental sloth. We do not try to get out of the rut. We seem to consider it a waste of energy to try to break old traditions. It is because of our inertia that our universities have followed their old traditional ways. Otherwise, there is no reason why we should not have got a sufficient number of text-books in the Indian languages on subjects which it has been difficult to teach in our own languages, particularly in higher classes. Your university has acted with courage and foresight in changing the medium of instruction despite the paucity of text-books. It would be wise to go ahead with the job and grapple with the difficulties as and when they arise. This was the only way of solving the difficulty and your university has shown that where there is a real desire to get things done, means can always be found to do it. I hope you will go ahead with determination. And when instruction is imparted from the highest class to the lowest in the Indian languages, you will see that there is a great saving of the students' time, their knowledge will be more comprehensive and they will enter life with their mental faculties fully developed.

### THE PLACE OF ENGLISH

Introduction of the Indian languages in our schools and colleges does not mean that we do not want to learn or provide facilities for the teaching of foreign languages. No country in the world can live in isolation. Every country has to maintain contact with the outside world. For this, knowledge of foreign languages is necessary. But every national of a country does not come in contact with outsiders. Only a few come in touch with foreigners, and they should learn foreign languages. Knowledge of foreign languages is also necessary for those who want to keep themselves abreast of world thought. Those who want to travel abroad or carry on trade with other countries must have some knowledge of foreign languages. Such people are, however, a fraction of the population of a country and have to attain only that much proficiency which is absolutely necessary.

Every country, however, must have men who can translate in their own language the best of the books in foreign languages and make them available to their countrymen. For this it is necessary for people to learn foreign languages and visit foreign countries. The necessary facilities must be provided for them. We must not at the same time forget that 99 out of every 100 people have to stay in their own country and do not need the knowledge of foreign languages. Thus universities, while providing facilities for teaching foreign languages to one out of every 100 students, must not neglect the education of the remaining 99.

(From the original in Hindustani)

# HARIJAN

December 22

1946

## VILLAGE INDUSTRIES AND THE STATE

[Almost all the Congress Governments have been paying their attention to the subject of village industries, some of the provinces having a special minister for the purpose. The Bombay Government has appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Shri Manu Subedar "to consider and report on the measures necessary for the promotion of rural handicrafts and industries, including different forms of State aid, and also to consider what restrictions, if any, should be placed on the movement of raw materials for industries in rural areas from the point of view of utilizing local resources for local consumption, processing or manufacture." In the following article I have discussed a few aspects of the subject. It is not meant to be exhaustive, but just introduces a number of points which I feel have been rather overlooked.]

In the first place, I would wish to urge that it will not be sufficient, in view of the enormous changes that have taken place in our modern life and of the progress of applied science, to consider only the dead and dying industries of the village. It is necessary also to enquire into the modern life of our people, to take note of the new articles or of old articles in new forms, which they have begun to consume and to consider how many of these or suitable substitutes thereof are capable of being produced in village areas. Some of these would be for local consumption, but others might well be produced for towns also.

Self-sufficiency of the village in respect of essential requirements is a good goal so far as it goes. But it should not exhaust the scope of village industries. If villages are not to be allowed to be emptied of their talented and plucky men and if it is agreed that it is not very desirable to allow towns and cities to expand without limit regarding their population and area, the villages and *kasbas* near about villages should be encouraged to become centres of suitable small-scale industries for supplying some of the necessities of the cities. The guiding principle in this respect should be that wherever the basic material of a finished article is essentially a village produce, the villagers should be encouraged to turn it themselves into a finished product and send it to the town in a finished form.

Thus, for instance, biscuits of various kinds, bread-loaf, preserves, pickles, ready-made *masalas*, *papads*, sweets, tooth-powders, canned fruits, starch, leather articles, herbs, drugs and a host of other things made out of village materials or waste, have now become articles of daily use for both the towns-people and the villagers. Some of them are needed also for large scale industries. The raw material for these is produced in villages or gathered

from adjoining forests, and yet they have to be imported from cities even by the villages producing them. If the State provided facilities for the starting of such industries in the villages and village-towns, they will become thriving places and young men will not be tempted to overcrowd the cities to find remunerative employment.

To achieve this the guidance and assistance by the State should in my opinion take the following forms :

(a) It should be clearly realized that a large-scale industry cannot but ultimately kill a small-scale industry of the same type. It is not merely a question of "Power" *versus* human or animal energy. Even if you provide "Power"—energy to every village, the village-industry will not thrive if there is no limit set upon the size to which a factory might be allowed to expand. Therefore, one of the essential things to be settled is to set down the limit to which a factory, which is capable of being started in village areas, should be allowed to expand in the province. If industrialization of the village is the aim, it goes without saying that you picture hundreds of work-shops scattered all over the province. Necessarily, therefore, its productive capacity must be limited to moderate quantities and, if necessary, the movement of the finished product must also be confined to limited areas in normal times. Of course, each industry would have to be considered by itself, and it may not be possible to lay down any general rule.

(b) Subject to correction, I feel that it is not merely the use of mechanical power, which comes in the way of village or manual industries. The village artisan has always been handicapped for want of capital on easy terms. Take, for instance, the tanning industry. The smallest village tanner, in order to have work throughout the year, must have a sufficient stock of hides, lime, *harda*, bark, colours, some chemicals and various other things purchased at the right season and preserved in well built godowns. If he has to tan leather which will fetch him the full price, he must have a full sized pucca soak-pit to spread his hides in, without folds, instead of an earthen tub, often smaller than a bath tub, which is all that he can at present afford to have. Even for these small requirements, the village tanner is dependent either upon a village money-lender charging a high rate of interest, or a middleman who advances him the necessary materials as and when required but purchases the finished product at his own price. Though nominally an independent artisan, in effect his earnings are less than that of a labourer doing similar work in a capitalist's factory. To call him an independent artisan is a misnomer. Actually he is a sweated labourer engaged on piece-work.

The large-scale industrialist, on the other hand, is not only able to produce goods more rapidly and in larger quantities, but by reason of advances made available to him on easy terms, has an advantage over the villager in every detail of the industry, including sales, though the amount of capital needed by him,

hide for hide, may be greater than that by the villager, and a considerable part of it may have to be spent in purchasing foreign machinery and materials.

If the above description is correct then, if village industries are to be encouraged, the provision of capital on easy terms must be regarded a primary condition for the fulfilment of the aim. By easy terms, I mean, on rates of interest actually less than those on which large-scale industrialists are able to get it. Personally, I am opposed to the institution of interest altogether. But I shall not labour that point here. But I strongly feel that the present practice, which enables large industrialists to get cheaper money than the small one cannot but ultimately kill the small industry. Even co-operative societies, I believe, do not get capital on as easy terms as the capitalist companies. Morally, a man who labours with his own hands ought to be given more credit than one who only drives labourers to work under a shed.

Not being the master of his own industry, the village artisan does not feel much interested in improving the quality of his work, or in learning new and improved methods of work, inspite of the efforts of *gram-sevaks*.

(c) After making the artisan feel assured that, provided he is honest and diligent, he will not have to vegetate for want of funds to start and carry on his business, the next item of assistance needed is instruction in improved methods of manufacture. Village industry ought not to mean crudely manufactured articles. There is no reason why villagers or patrons of village industries should be asked to be satisfied with indifferently or badly made things. There was once a time when village-made things used to be actually superior in make to the same things turned out from factories. "Cheap and nasty" was the attribute of factory-made and not hand-made or village-made articles. It is no longer so. On the contrary, the village article has deteriorated into "costly and crude". Clean, sorted and properly classified raw materials, tools kept in order, scientific method of handling them, precision in size, quality and calculations, proper testing of the turned-out work at every important stage, and a degree of elegance and beauty are some of the essentials, which have been till now largely neglected in our industrial activities. Even the so-called experts often betray not only a lack of knowledge about these matters, but even the sense for them. This is a matter, which requires considerable amount of supervision by instructors and inspectors knowing their job and capable of giving demonstrations to the village artisans. The State should help the industries by organizing this kind of work. The duty of inspectors should not be merely to pass or reject articles submitted for inspection but to give all possible guidance to the under-instructed worker to manufacture better things.

I wonder if we have an adequate number of people fit for this kind of work; a large staff of this kind of officers will have to be created. No

"planning" or "budgeting" may be expected to succeed without such knowing organizers.

(d) Then, village industries must be protected (i) against the inroads of synthetic substitutes (like artificial cloth) which are trying to displace manufactures made from original materials and (ii) against the tendency of capitalist concerns to deprive the villagers and actual workers of the use of their produce in order to obtain better prices abroad either of the natural produce itself or of artificial products made from it. Thus, often, not an ounce of milk finds its way into the stomach of the calf, or the children of the owner of the cow or the buffalo, or the servants of a dairy, but is either sent away to the town for being sold at a higher price, or turned into preserved milk, *pedas*, powder, and even manufactured into various luxury products meant for any use except food. This view of industrialization is harmful, but even industrial concerns organized for philanthropic and charitable objectes are not free from it. Private ownership is only a secondary attribute of capitalism. The eye to make a concern as *profitable* as possible is the chief aim, and it is this, which deprives the masses of even bare necessities.

How this can be done is a pertinent question :

(i) To a certain extent the question leads us into the sphere of the very structure of the Indian Swaraj Government. Decentralization of industry will have to go hand in hand with decentralization of the Government of the country. In a way there is decentralization of Government even today. But it is decentralization of administrative work i. e. carrying out orders and policies dictated from a powerful centre. There is no power of initiation in the village or other suitable but small units, and if villages are to thrive, this must be brought about.

(ii) The masses must feel as realistically as they feel the help of the rain and the sun, that they can themselves plan their life, and there is a Government to help them with capital and transport and other facilities and who are better equipped with instructors of technical knowledge than they themselves are, and that this assistance will be available to them almost as of right and assuredly without favouritism or demand for *bakshis*. Incorruptible, fully trained, courteous and confidence-inspiring public servants are the *sine qua non* of the economic regeneration of the people. Every effort should be made to raise the character of public servants and they should be transformed into real *servants* of the people out of their present mentality of having the *amaldars* over them. While on the one hand their services must not be at the mercy of local or provincial party-groups, on the other hand they must also be made responsible to the local administration instead of being its dictators.

(iii) This itself is impossible without simultaneous rise in the moral character of the people generally and of the politicians in particular. The evil of power-politics in the interest of groups and

cliques is a great demoralizer of public life, and not much good will ensue as long as it continues.

(iv) Owing to the absence of the above conditions, the co-operative movement, which has done so much good in the Western countries has not been so successful in ours. Even village or decentralized Swaraj will not be a substitute for co-operative societies, which must become the principal pivot of industrial efforts in the village.

(v) Much has to be done in the direction of improvement of village machinery and tools. Two opposite movements have been going on simultaneously in this direction. One lays emphasis on making machines and tools as simple as possible, even in the direction of discarding the simple tools used from immemorial times. This is good in so far as it points to the fact that want of tools and implements need not make people feel helpless in producing their essential necessities and a start can be made in village industries without awaiting the arrival of readymade implements. The will is more needed than the tools.

The other movement lays emphasis upon increasing the productive capacity of the worker by placing at his disposal better implements and tools, even if they are to a certain extent more complicated and depend upon tool-manufacturing factories for their supply and repairs.

I think both the movements have a place, but in the long run the second is more important and permanent. Our wants have increased not only in the number of different articles consumed, but also in the quantity of each article consumed. And so quantitative increase in production cannot be ignored. Whether and how far this must necessarily lead to the use of power-driven machinery is a thing which cannot be foretold now. If our ambition is not to capture foreign markets — often done even by keeping one's own countrymen unprovided — but to make the country self-sufficient and to liquidate unemployment in the first instance, power-driven machinery may well have to be tabooed in the manufacture of a good many articles. The use of power-energy must come after human energy, if in spite of full employment, it is found insufficient to cope with the demand. And so, inventive ingenuity must, at any rate for the present, be largely concentrated on increasing the productive capacity of the machine driven by human or animal power only. But within this limit, there is no harm in perfecting it as fully as possible.

Particularly, improvements in machinery, which, even if they do not help a strong man, place a weak man on a par with the strong one, should be most welcome. For instance, it is possible that a strong man may be able to spin as much yarn as he needs on the *takli*, and almost in the same time, as a weak man would do on a *dhanush takli* or the *charkha*. If, therefore, self-sufficiency is the only aim, a strong man would not care to go in for the other implement. But it would make the weak man desiring to be self-sufficient quite helpless. While with the *dhanush takli* or the *charkha*, he would be able to

meet his own demand. This is but a simple example. But if we consider production of wealth for the nation, and the employment of the weak and the old people, inventive genius would find a large field opened before it. Every encouragement should be given to persons making such improvements in tools as places the weak-bodied, the under-nourished or the cripple as much as possible by aid of mechanical means on a par with the able-bodied adult.

Important as it is, I refrain from referring to the Wardha Scheme of Education. It is sufficient to say that I regard its diligent and intelligent application to be important not only for the economic regeneration of the country, but also for the whole education of man.

I also omit to dwell at length on the necessity of unifying or, at least, coordinating the activities of the various departments of Government, and simplifying the administrative machinery.

Both the points, I take, have been adequately stressed already by others.

Vapi, 29-11-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

## Notes

### Personal

None of us four, who have been asked by Gandhiji to look to the editing of the *Harijan* weeklies while he and his companions are engaged in restoring friendship between the Hindus and Muslims of East Bengal, feels at ease in writing for the English edition. Though I happen to be a more frequent contributor to the English columns than either Shri Vinoba, Kaka Kalelkar or Narhari Parikh, my command over English is even poorer than theirs. My vocabulary is too small for a modern writer, and I am never sure about the correctness of my grammar and idioms. But for the helping-hand of Gandhiji himself or Shri Mahadev Desai, or Rajkumari Amrit Kaur or Pyarelalji, I could have rarely found place in the *Harijan*, which has always set a standard in good English. I have no such helpers here, and I am afraid that amongst us four, I may have to do a greater part of the job. There is, therefore, every likelihood of the standard of English deteriorating. I request the reader to overlook whatever linguistic defects he might notice in the English edition. He will remember that English is not our mother-tongue. I would also advise editors of provincial editions of the *Harijan* to prefer the Hindustani edition (*Harijansevak*) to the English to translate from for their weeklies.

Vapi, 9-12-'46

### India Vindicated

India has reason to rejoice and feel justly proud over the signal successes scored by Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and her able colleagues at the Assembly of the United Nations Organization against South Africa. Her task was by no means easy. She had to win her case against the veteran Premier of South Africa Field Marshal Smuts — one of the ablest and most reputed statesmen of the day, who put up tough fight at every stage. He had the backing of the British Government itself



and of other major partners of the British Commonwealth. Shrimati Pandit's spirited but dignified advocacy of a just cause won universal applause and helped India to gain the sympathy of many member countries. It was significant that while China, Russia, France and most Asiatic countries supported India at various votings, U. S., Great Britain, Canada, Netherlands, Belgium etc., were found ranged against her.

The veteran General Smuts encountered an equally spirited opposition from the Indian Delegation on the South-west Africa annexation issue. And here too, the South African Premier was deservedly defeated.

It is remarkable that almost from early commencement of India's struggle in South Africa, a major part of our success has been due to the part played by Indian women. The names of the late Kasturba Gandhi and Shrimati Sarojini Devi will always be cherished with reverence and pride. And now again it was a daughter of India—perhaps the only lady delegate in the UNO—who dominated the scene. She has indeed raised India's prestige in the eyes of the world.

The 31 Nations who supported India also deserve our warmest thanks. By championing the cause of fundamental human rights and relationship they have enhanced the prestige of the UNO and inspired hope among the oppressed nations.

Vapi, 12-12-'46

### **Destruction of Monkeys**

A correspondent has sent a newspaper cutting which runs as follows:

"There was some prejudice in the beginning against the killing of monkeys, but now the Government of Orissa find that the scheme for the removal of the monkey pest has achieved a very great success," says a Press Note.

"Monkeys have probably been the greatest menace to agriculture in Orissa," the Note continues. "The Government offered under the scheme a reward of Rs. 3 per monkey killed.

"The Government now consider that the time has come to take steps and concentrate on the killing of male monkeys with a view to reducing the monkey population of the province. The Government, therefore, have decided to award in future Rs. 4 per male monkey killed, including very young ones, and Rs. 2 per female monkey."

The correspondent feels shocked and requests Gandhiji that he should, as a humanitarian, take up this question in the *Harijan* and use his influence with the Congress Governments to immediately put an end to this campaign against the "poor voiceless life in the form of the monkeys in Orissa."

With all my love and compassion for the dumb creation and my personal inability to take even insect life, I hold that it is not possible to ask the Orissa Government to refrain from their project. There appears no practical way of effectively protecting agriculture without killing the animals that are a menace to it. Monkeys are not the only offenders. Rats, rabbits, deer, and wild boar belong to the same

class, and man is obliged to take organized measures to destroy each one of them. Man has to choose between living the same kind of natural life as other animals and destroying rival animals so that he may live according to his ideas of "civilized life."

Vapi, 9-12-'46

### **Labels of Caste and Religion**

A correspondent writes to the following effect:

"People insist upon regarding me as a *Sarasvati Brahman* and a Shaivite Hindu. Whenever I have an occasion to appear before an officer or described in public documents, I am asked to state my caste and religion. Now, I have not the least desire to be regarded as a *Brahman*, far less as a *Sarasvati Brahman*, and though I am a believer in God, from my childhood used to call upon Him by such names as *Shiva*, *Shankara*, *Mahadeva* etc., I do not regard myself as a Shaivite or even a Hindu, consider myself to be just a believer unattached to any religious sect. What shall I do to remove and disown the labels put upon me by the society?"

So far as public officers and documents are concerned, it is open to the correspondent to describe his caste as nil, and his religion as, say, theist. Perhaps it is possible for government to dispense with the rules requiring persons to state their caste and religion in public documents before officers.

But this will not be the end of the matter. A mere declaration by a person that he has renounced his caste or creed or both, unaccompanied with a practical act, will not make the society in which he moves to disregard them. Has he formed new family and social relations with a considerable number of people outside his caste and religion? If all his relations are practically confined to those of the reputed caste and sect, let alone the general public, the members of his own family will not be able to forget that he still belongs to a particular caste and sect—though in an unorthodox manner—notwithstanding his protests to the contrary. His good intention will bear fruit in time; it will develop into appropriate conduct.

It should also be remembered that the recording of a person's caste, creed etc., need not become an important item in public offices and documents but for the fact that the various communities are governed by their own laws in inheritance, succession, marriage, divorce etc., persons can plead even special customs, and courts are bound to recognize. Consequently, if a person is himself unwilling to be labelled as belonging to any particular caste or creed, his relatives and the society round about him are interested in having these details on record. Reformer legislators should consider whether a law could be enacted, which would enable a person to renounce his privilege of being governed by a personal law in these matters and place himself and his relatives under the operation of non-communal laws like the Succession Act etc.

Vapi, 5-12-'46

K. (



## HINDUSTANI AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Hindustani-policy of the government needs re-orientation; what is going on today is half-hearted and marked by lack of vigour. This is perhaps the legacy of disturbed years that have completely disorganized the work. Now that the popular government is once more in the saddle, there is an opportunity of re-shaping the entire policy. The cause of Hindustani being just, our own government need only imagination and vision without adopting the British methods of forcing a foreign tongue on an unwilling people. With this in view, the Gujarat Hindustani Prachar Samiti recently made certain recommendations to the government in the form of a resolution. The following is a summary of them :

Happily, the Government of Bombay had made at least this much abundantly clear in 1939 that, Hindustani, as a language, is distinct both from Hindi and Urdu and that, it being written in the *Devanagari* or the *Urdu* script, arrangements should be made to teach both the scripts in schools. Considering this principle to be a correct one the Samiti makes the following recommendation to the Government :

1. The teaching of Hindustani should now be extended

- (a) up to the Matriculation standard at the secondary stage,
- (b) at all the years of the *lokashala*, and
- (c) in training colleges meant for primary and secondary teachers.

2. The present policy of giving the student option of learning either of the two scripts, and exempting Hindi and Urdu schools from the obligation of teaching Hindustani, takes the very bottom out of the original idea and runs counter to the spirit in which the basic principle was accepted in 1939.

That there is in this policy a veiled recognition of the existing hair-splitting and disrupting controversies in this field is quite obvious. The view that a government cannot run in advance of public opinion is also understandable. The Samiti cannot therefore recommend compulsory learning of Hindustani (with both the scripts) in schools. Still, the moral obligation underlying the 1939 pronouncements cannot be evaded lightly, and the government policy must needs undergo a radical transformation.

3. Learning the Hindi or the Urdu style must not be permitted to become an excuse for seeking exemption from learning Hindustani. The option may not be in choosing the script as at present, but between learning Hindustani, the national language of the people, with both the scripts and not learning it at all. This rule must equally embrace the Hindi and the Urdu schools.

4. Adoption of this policy necessarily means that the Hindustani teacher must be capable of giving lessons in both scripts. The Samiti is happy that this is what the government desires.

5. It is, however, not enough that a teacher knowing Hindi or Urdu up to a certain standard may learn the other script and impart a requisite number of lessons in it. Exclusive recognition should be given to teachers trained on lines devised by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, the interim arrangement of recognizing examinations only in Hindi or Urdu not being necessary with the implementing by the Government of a principle already accepted by them.

6. Such arrangements for the teaching of the national language (with the option regarding the script) as exist today in our schools, are on a compulsory basis; a change over to the optional system may therefore appear to be threatening what little that is being done today. But a firm and unequivocal declaration of policy by the popular government accompanied by its adoption in practice would be a powerful factor in creating public opinion in this regard.

The Samiti recommends the following measures :

(a) Government servants should be encouraged to learn both the scripts and those passing Hindustani examinations given credit. Departmental regulations may require them to acquire certain minimum qualification in Hindustani.

(b) 'Optional Hindustani' (with both scripts) may be introduced at the Matriculation, the Vernacular Final etc., and those offering this subject given preference in service.

(c) Institutions creating public opinion for the spread of Hindustani should be encouraged and assisted, and given exclusive recognition.

(7) The teaching of English which, it is now recognized by the progressive opinion in the country, starts too early at present, may be a great hindrance to the adoption of this policy. But since the national language must have a place next only to the mother tongue, in a programme of educational reconstruction, English must be unseated from the position it has usurped and assigned its proper place.

The Samiti realizes that this is a revolutionary step; hence the urgency.

(Abridged from the original in Gujarati)

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## HINDUSTANI

Breach of promise *n.* वचन-भंग, वादा तोड़ना (विवाह या शादीका) । بچن بھنگ، وعدہ توڑنا (بیہ یا شادی کا) ।

Breach of the peace *n.* امان توڑنا، امانمہنگ  
امن توڑنا، امن ہنگ

Breach, stand in the *v.* ختہرےکی جگہمیں آ جا نا (لڑائی میں); جو خیم اٹھانا، ہملے یا آक्रमण کا زور اپنے اوپر لےنا۔ جو کہم

Bread *n.* روٹی، چپاٹی; خانا، خوراک; روٹی، جیون-نیرواہ، جیویکا۔ روٹی چپاٹی; کھانا، خوراک; روزی، جیون نرواہ، جیویکا

Bread and butter *n.* مکتبہ-روٹی; جیویکا، روٹی; دال-روٹی۔ مکھن روٹی; جیویکا، روزی; دال روٹی

Bread and cheese *n.* ساہی خوراک، گریبکی روٹی۔ سادی خوراک، غریب کی روٹی

Bread and scrape *n.* روٹی، جو کڑی-کڑی رخصی ہو۔ روٹی، جو قریب قریب روکی ہو

Bread crumbs *n.* روٹی کا گودا; روٹی کے ٹکڑے ٹکڑے۔ روٹی کا گودا; روٹی کے ٹکڑے ٹکڑے

Bread loaf *n.* ڈبل روٹی، نان پاو۔ ڈبل روٹی، نان پاو

Bread buttered on both sides *n.* خوشحالی، سکھی; دو دو اور چھڑی اور چوبھی

Bread-winner *n.* روٹی کمانے والا۔ روٹی کمانے والا

Bread, daily *n.* جیویکا، روزی۔ جیویکا، روزی

Bread of idleness, eat the *v.* بیٹے روٹیوں توڑنا۔ بیٹے روٹیوں توڑنا

Bread of affliction, eat the *v.* مسیت، دکھ، تکلیف اٹھانا۔ مسیت، دکھ، تکلیف اٹھانا

Bread is buttered, know which side one's اپنا اٹا براہیل یا نفع نقصان سمجھنا۔ اپنا براہیل یا نفع نقصان سمجھنا

Bread, make one's *v.* جیون-نیرواہ کرنا، روٹی چلانا یا کمانا۔ جیون نرواہ کرنا، روزی چلانا یا کمانا

Bread, ship's *n.* سخت بسکٹ۔ سخت بسکٹ

Bread out of one's mouth, take the کسی کی روزی یا روٹی چھیننا۔ کسی کی روزی یا روٹی چھیننا

Breadth *n.* चौड़ाई, विस्तार; पनहा, अर्ज; पाट, आधार। چوڑائی، بستا; پناہ، عرض; پاٹ، اساس

Breadth of mind or view or vision *n.* विस्तृत दृष्टि; वसीअ निगाह। وسرت درشتی، وسیع نگاہ

Breadth, to a hair's ठीक-ठीक, दृढ़, होब। ठीक ٹھیک، ہوہو

Break *v.* तोड़ना, फोड़ना, टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना; नाश करना, बरबाद करना; पूरा न करना; मंग करना; टूटना, फटना। तोड़ना، پھوڑنا، ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کرنا; ناश کرنا، برباد کرنا; پورا نہ کرنا; پھنگ کرنا; ٹوٹنا، پھٹنا

Break away *v.* अलग होना, छोड़कर चले जाना। الگ ہونا، چھوڑ کر چلے جانا

Break a lance with *v.* बहस करना। بحث کرنا

Break bread with *v.* किसीके साथ रोटी खाना, भोजन करना। کسی کے ساتھ روٹی کھانا، بھوجن کرنا

Break bulk *v.* बोझ हलका या कम करना। بوجھ ہلکا یا کم کرنا

Break butterfly on wheel *v.* (यूँ ही बल या ताकत खर्च करना) मक्खनको तोपसे छुड़ाना, चींटीको हाथीसे मरवाना। (یوں ہی بل یا طاقت خرچ کرنا) مکھی کو توپ سے اڑانا، چیونٹی کو ہاتھی سے مروانا

Break down *v.* कमजोर कर देना; गिर जाना, बैठ जाना, टूट जाना। کمزور کر دینا; گر جانا، بیٹھ جانا، ٹوٹ جانا

Break a charm or spell *v.* जादू अतारना। جادو اتارنا

Break a fall *v.* चोट बचाना। چوٹ بچانا

Break ground *v.* हल चलाना, जमीन जोतना, शुरू करना, डौल डालना, नये रास्ते खोलना। ہل چلانا، زمین جوتنا؛ شروع کرنا، ڈول ڈالنا، نئے راستے کھولنا

Break the ice *v.* हिम्मत करना, झेंप छोड़ना। ہمت کرنا، جھینپ چھوڑنا

Break in *v.* घुस आना, आ पड़ना, दखल देना; सीधा करना। گھس آنا، آ پڑنا، دخل دینا؛ سیدھا کرنا

Break in a horse *v.* घोड़ा सधाना। گھوڑا سدھانا

Break into a house *v.* अन्दर घुसना (जबरदस्तीसे); सेंध اندर गھسنا (زبردستی سے); سیندھ لگانا یا مارنا

Break off *v.* छोड़ना, खत्म कर देना; खतम होना, बन्द करना। چھوڑنا ختم کر دینا؛ ختم ہونا، بند کرنا

Break out *v.* चिह्न अठना, भड़कना; शुरू होना, फूटना; फैलना। چلا اٹھنا، پھڑکنا؛ شروع ہونا، پھوٹنا؛ پھیلنا

Break the bank *v.* दिवाला निकालना। دیوالہ نکالنا

Break through *v.* रास्ता निकालना, तोड़कर निकल जाना। راستہ نکالنا، توڑ کر نکل جانا

Break up *v.* तोड़ना; छुट्टी देना, बरखास्त करना; बीमार पड़ जाना। توڑنا؛ چھٹی دینا، برخاست کرنا؛ بیمار پڑ جانا

Break, clouds *v.* बादलोंका फटना। بادلوں کا پھٹنا

Breaks, voice *n.* आवाजका फटना। آواز کا پھٹنا

Break of day *n.* पौ फटना, तड़का होना, सूर्योदय, दिन चढ़ना। پوپھٹنا، تڑکا ہونا، سورجودے، دن چڑھنا

Break with *v.* सहयोग या दोस्ती छोड़ना, साथ छोड़ना, नाता सीपोंग या دوستی چھوڑنا، ساتھ چھوڑنا، ناتا توڑنا

Breaker *n.* बड़ी लहर या मौज; तोड़नेवाला। بڑی لہر یا موج؛ توڑنے والا

Breakfast *n.* नाश्ता, छोटी हाजिरी, हाजिरी। ناشتہ، چھوٹی حاضری، حاضری

Break neck *adj.* खतरनाक, भयंकर, गरदनतोड़। خطر ناک، بھینکر، گردن توڑ

Break water *n.* समन्दरी बाँध, लहरतोड़। سمندری بانڈ، لہرتوڑ

Breast *n.* सीना, छाती; दिल, हृदय, अन्तःकरण। سینہ، چھاتی؛ ہر دے، اٹھ کرن

Breast bone *n.* सीनेकी हड्डी। سینے کی ہڈی

Breast plate *n.* सीनाबन्द, सीनेका कवच। سینہ بند، سینے کا کوج

Breast work *n.* सीने तक अँची दीवार। سینے تک اونچی دیوار

Breast *v.* सामना करना, चढ़ना। سامنا کرنا، چڑھنا

Breast of, to make a clean *v.* साफ-साफ कह डालना। صاف صاف کہ ڈالنا

Breath *n.* स्वास, साँस, दम, फूँक। پھونک، سانس، دم، پھونک

Breath of air, a *n.* ताजा हवा। تازہ ہوا

Breath, to speak below one's *v.* फुसफुसाना, बहुत आदिस्ता बोलना, दबी आवाजसे बोलना۔ پھسپھسانا، بہت آہستہ بولنا، دبی آواز سے بولنا

Breath, catch or hold one's *v.* साँस रोकना۔ سانس روکنا

Breath to cool porridge, keep the *v.* चुप रहना, चुपचाप बैठे रहना۔ چپ رہنا، چپ چاپ بیٹھ رہنا

Breath, be out of *v.* साँस फूल जाना, हाँफना۔ سانس پھول جانا، ہانپنا

Breath, spend or waste *v.* बेकार बोलना, बेफायदा बोलना۔ بے کار بولنا، بے فائدہ بولنا

Breath, take away one's *v.* दंग कर देना, हक्का-बक्का कर देना । دنگ کر دینا، ہکا بکا کر دینا ।  
 Breath, to take *v.* دم لےना, ठहरना, सुस्ताना । دم لینا، ٹھہرنا، سستانا  
 Breath, with bated *adv.* डरते-डरते । ڈرتے-ڈرتے  
 Breathe *v.* श्वास या सौंस लेना । श्वास یا سانس لینا  
 Breathe again } जानमें जान आना । जान में जान आना ।  
 Breathe freely } دم में دم आना । دم में आना ।  
 Breathe one's last *v.* दम दे देना, दम निकलना, मरना । دم दे देना, दम निकलना, मरना ।  
 Breathing time *n.* दमभरकी फुरसत, दम लेनेका मौका । दम भर की فرصत, दम लेने का मौका  
 Breech *n.* शरीर या बदनका पिछला हिस्सा; बन्दूककी पैड़ी । शरीर या بدن का पिछला हिस्सा; बन्दूक की पैड़ी  
 Breeches *n.* पाजामा, पतलून । पाजामा, पतलून  
 Breed *v.* जनना, पैदा करना; नसल बढ़ाना; पालना, पालन-पोषण करना; फैलना, फैलाना; पैदा होना । जन्ना, पैदा करना; नسل बढ़ाना; पालना, पालन-पोषण करना; फैलना, फैलाना; पैदा होना  
 Breed in and in *v.* खानदान या कुलसे बाहर शादी न करना, सगेज वंशवृद्धि करना । खानदान या कुल से बाहर शादी न करना, सगेज वंशवृद्धि करना  
 Bred in the bone, what is जो खून या रंगमें हो; जोखन या रंगों में हो; नसली, पैतृक । जोखन या रंगों में हो; नसली, पैतृक  
 Breed *n.* नसल, वंश, कुल, जात । नسل, वंश, कुल, जात  
 Breed, cross दोगला, दुनसला । دوغله، دونسله  
 Breeze *n.* मन्द पवन, हल्की हवा; झड़प, तकरार । مند پون، ہلکی ہوا؛ جھڑپ، تکرار  
 Breviary *n.* हंररोजकी प्रार्थना या दुआकी किताब । हररोज की प्रार्थना या दुआ की किताब  
 Brevity *n.* संक्षेप, अख्तसार; थोड़े लफ्ज या शब्द । संक्षेप، اختصار، تھوڑے لفظ یا شبد  
 Brew *v.* शराब बनाना; पकाना, पैदा करना; खुमबना; पकना; ज़ोर शराब बना; पकाना; पैदा करना; खुमबना; पकना  
 Bribe *v.* रिश्वत देना, घूस देना, झुठ भरना, सुट्टी गरम करना । رشوت دینا، گھوس دینا، منہ بھرنا، مٹھی گرم کرنا  
 Brick *n.* आँट; खरा आदमी । आँट; کھرا آدمی  
 Brick bat *n.* आँटका टुकड़ा, रोड़ा, डेला । आँट का ٹکڑا، روڑا، ڈھيلا  
 Brick dust *n.* आँट का चूरा । आँट का چورا  
 Brick kiln *n.* पजावा, आँवा, भट्ठा । پجاوا، آوا، بھٹا  
 Brick layer *n.* राज । راج  
 Brick *v.* आँटोंसे चुन देना । آنتوں سے چن دینا  
 Bride *n.* दुल्हिन, बधू, कन्या । دلہن، بدھو، کنیا  
 Bridegroom *n.* दुल्हा, वर । دولہا، بر  
 Bridesmaid *n.* दुल्हिनकी सहेली, सखी । دلہن کی سہیلی، سہمی  
 Bridesman *n.* शह-बाला । شاہ بالا  
 Bridge *n.* पुल; ताशका अक खेल । پل؛ تاش کا ایک کھیل  
 Bridge of boats *n.* नावोंका पुल, किरितयोंका पुल । नावों का पुल، کشتیوں کا پل  
 Bridge, suspension *n.* झूलता पुल, रस्सियोंका पुल । झूलता पुल، رسیوں کا پل  
 Bridge head *n.* पुलका नाका, दरियाजी मोरचा । پل کا नाका، دریائی مورچہ  
 Bridge *v.* पुल बाँधना । پل باندھنا

Bridge over *v.* सुलझाना, अन्तर मिलाना, रास्ता निकालना । راستہ نکالنا  
 Bridle *n.* लगाम, बाग, रोक । लगام، باغ، روک  
 Bridle, give a horse the *v.* लगाम हटा देना । लगाम हटाना  
 Bridle path *n.* वह रास्ता जहाँ गाड़ी न जा सके । وہ راہ جس پر گاڑی نہ جا سکے  
 Brief *n.* मुकदमेका खुलासा या संक्षेप, सारपत्र । मुकदमे का खुलासा या संक्षेप, सारपत्र  
 Brief for, hold a *v.* किसीका वकील होना, किसीको बहस करना । किसी का वकील होना, किसी को बहस करना  
 Brief, watching *n.* मुकदमेकी देखभाल (जो वकील करके दिक्कत हल (जो वकील करता है)  
 Brief *adj.* थोड़ा; थोड़ी देरका; छोटा, मुस्तसर, संक्षिप्त । थोड़ा, थोड़ी देर का; छोटा, मुस्तसर, संक्षिप्त  
 Brief, in *adv.* थोड़ेमें । थोड़े में  
 Brier *n.* जंगली गुलाबकी झाड़ी । जंगली गुलाब की झाड़ी  
 Brigade *n.* फौज, पल्टन या सेनाका अक भाग या दस्ता । فوج، پلٹن یا سينا کا ایک حصہ یا دستہ  
 Brigadier *n.* ब्रिगेड या फौजी दस्तेका अफसर । بریگیڈ یا فوجی دستے کا افسر  
 Brigand *n.* डाकू, छुटेरा । ڈاکو، لٹیرا  
 Bright *adj.* चमकीला, झुजला, रोशन; आशा या खुम्मेदभरा; होशियार, बुद्धिमान । چمکیلا، اجلا، روشن؛ آشا یا امید بھرا؛ ہوشیار، ہدھی مان  
 Brilliant *adj.* चमकीला, चमकदमकवाला; नामी, नामवर । چمکیلا، چمکدھمک والا؛ نامی، نامور  
 Brilliant *n.* अच्छे पानीका हीरा । اچھے پانی کا ہیرا  
 Brim *n.* किनारा, लब, कगार । کنارہ، لب، کگار  
 Brimful *adj.* छलाछल भरा हुआ, भरपूर, लबालब । چھلاچھل بھرا ہوا، بھرپور، لبالب  
 Brim over *v.* बह निकलना, छलक जाना । بہہ نکلنا، چھلک جانا  
 Brindled *adj.* चितकबरा । چتکبرا  
 Brine *n.* खारा पानी; समुद्र, समन्दर । کھارا پانی؛ سمندر، سمندر  
 Brine pan *n.* नमक बनानेकी क्यारी या नाँद । نمک بنانے کی کھاری یا नांद  
 Bring *v.* लाना, ले आना, लेते आना । لانا، لے آना، لےتے آना  
 Bring about *v.* करवाना, कर लेना; कारण या बाजिस होना । کروانا، کرلنا؛ کارن یا باعث ہونا  
 Bring back *v.* वापस लाना, लौटा लाना, फेर लाना । واپس لانا، لوٹانا، پھیرلانا  
 Bring down *v.* मार गिराना; नीचा दिखाना; घटाना; कम करना । مار گرانا؛ نیچا دکھانا؛ گھٹانا؛ کم کرنا  
 Bring down the house *v.* सुननेवालोंको (नाटकमें) बहुत खुश करना; खुनसे बहुत तालियाँ बजवाना । سننے والوں کو (ناٹک میں) بہت خوش کرنا؛ ان سے بہت تالیاں بجانا  
 Bring forth *v.* जनना, बच्चा देना, ब्याना; फलना । जन्ना، بچہ دینا، بیانا؛ فصلنا  
 Bring forward *v.* आगे या सामने लाना, पेश करना । آگے یا سامنے لانا، پیش کرنا  
 Bring home to *v.* दिलमें अंतार देना, दिलमें बिठा देना; साबित करना । دل میں اتار دینا، دل میں بٹھا دینا؛ ثابت کرنا

- Bring in** *v.* لانا, पेश करना, दाखिल करना; लाभ या नफा लाना; फ़ैसला सुनाना (ज्यूरीका)  
 लाना, पेश करना, داخل करना; लाभ या नفع लाना; फ़ैसला सुनाना (ज्यूरी का)
- Bring into line** *v.* सीधमें ले आना, बराबर ले आना, अंक कतार करना, सुताबिक या अेकचित्त करना ।  
 सیدہ میں لے آنا, برابر لے آنا, ایک قطار کرنا, مطابق یا ایک چت کرنا
- Bring into play** *v.* काममें लाना, अमलमें लाना ।  
 काम में लाना, عمل में लाना
- Bring into the world** *v.* पैदा करना, जनना ।  
 पैदा करना, जन्ना
- Bring off** *v.* काम बनाना; बचा लाना; पूरा करना; निकाल लाना ।  
 काम बनाना, बचालाना, पूरा करना, निकाल लाना
- Bring on** *v.* लाना, ले आना; शुरू करना, करवाना ।  
 लाना, ले आना, शुरू करना, करवाना
- Bring out** *v.* खोलना, निकालना, छापना, प्रकट करना ।  
 खोलना, निकालना, छापना, प्रकट करना
- Bring over** *v.* खींच लाना, सिला लेना, मना लेना ।  
 कोनज लाना, मला लेना, मना लेना
- Bring round** *v.* होशमें लाना; मनाना, राजी करना ।  
 होश में लाना; मनाना, राजी करना
- Bring through** *v.* बचा लेना ।  
 बचा लेना
- Bring to** *v.* होशमें लाना; थामना, रोकना, ठहर या रुक जाना ।  
 होश में लाना; थामना, रोकना, ठहर या रुक जाना
- Bring to book** *v.* पकड़ना, पृछ-ताछ करना, जिम्मेदार ठहराना ।  
 पकड़ना, पृछ-ताछ करना, जिम्मेदार ठहराना
- Bring to bear** *v.* प्रभाव, दबाव या असर डालना ।  
 प्रभाव, दबाव या असर डालना
- Bring to mind** *v.* याद दिलाना, स्मरण कराना, जताना ।  
 याद दिलाना, स्मरण कराना, जताना
- Bring to pass** *v.* देखो bring about ।  
 देखो bring about
- Bring under** *v.* दबा लेना, अधीन करना, हाथमें लाना ।  
 दबा लेना, अधीन करना, हाथमें लाना
- Bring up** *v.* पालना, पालन-पोषण करना, तालीम या शिक्षा देना; सामने लाना; ध्यान खींचना; झुठाना ।  
 पालना, पालन-पोषण करना, तालीम या शिक्षा देना; सामने लाना; ध्यान खींचना; झुठाना
- Bring up the rear** *v.* सबसे पीछे आना ।  
 सबसे पीछे आना
- Brink** *n.* किनारा, तट, घाट ।  
 किनारा, तट, घाट
- Brink of death or the grave** *adj.* मरने के करीब, मौतके किनारे ।  
 मरने के करीब, मौत के करीब
- Brink, shiver on the** *v.* हाथ डालते हुये हिचकिचावना ।  
 हाथ डालते हुये हिचकिचावना
- Brisk** *adj.* चपल, तेज, फुर्तीला, गरम (कार-बार के लिये) ।  
 चपल, तेज, फुर्तीला, गरम (कार-बार के लिये)
- Bristle** *n.* सुअरका बाल, सख्त या कड़ा बाल; खसखसी दाढ़ी ।  
 सुअरका बाल, सख्त या कड़ा बाल; खसखसी दाढ़ी
- Bristle** *v.* रोंगटे या बाल खड़े करना या होना; तावमें आना; रोंगटें या बाल कड़े करना या होना; ।  
 रोंगटे या बाल खड़े करना या होना; तावमें आना; रोंगटें या बाल कड़े करना या होना
- Britain** { *n.* विलायत, बरतानिया, ब्रिटेन ।  
 विलायत, बरतानिया, ब्रिटेन
- British** *adj.* अंग्रेजी, विलायती, ब्रिटिश ।  
 अंग्रेजी, विलायती, ब्रिटिश
- Brittle** *adj.* कड़कीला, भुरभुरा, आसानीसे टूटनेवाला, नाजुक ।  
 कड़कीला, भुरभुरा, आसानी से टूटनेवाला, नाजुक
- Broach** *v.* शराबके पीपेमें छेद करना; शुरू करना, बात या बहस छेड़ना ।  
 शराब के पीपे में छेद करना; बात या बहस छेड़ना
- Broad** *adj.* चौड़ा, खुला हुआ, फैला हुआ; स्पष्ट, साफ़; मुख्य, असल ।  
 चौड़ा, खुला हुआ, फैला हुआ; स्पष्ट, साफ़; मुख्य, असल
- Broad cloth** *n.* वनात, बानात (चौड़े अर्जका झुनी कपड़ा) ।  
 वनात, बानात (चौड़े अर्जका झुनी कपड़ा)
- Broad daylight** *n.* दिन दहाड़े, सबके सामने ।  
 दिन दहाड़े, सब के सामने
- Broad hint** *n.* खुला अिशारा ।  
 खुला अिशारा
- Broad side** *n.* जहाजका अगला हिस्सा; जहाजकी सब तोपोंकी अेक साथ बाढ़ या मार ।  
 जहाजका अगला हिस्सा; जहाजकी सब तोपोंकी अेक साथ बाढ़ या मार
- Broad sword** *n.* चौड़ी तलवार ।  
 चौड़ी तलवार
- Broadcast** *v.* ब्रॉडकास्ट करना; फैलाना, मशहूर करना, प्रचार करना, सुनाना; अधि-अधि बीज डालना ।  
 ब्रॉडकास्ट करना; फैलाना, मशहूर करना, प्रचार करना, सुनाना; अधि-अधि बीज डालना
- Broadly speaking** मोटी बात यह है, आम तौर पर ।  
 मोटी बात यह है, आम तौर पर
- Brocade** *n.* कामदानी, जामदानी, कमन्नाव ।  
 कामदानी, जामदानी, कमन्नाव
- Brochure** *n.* पुस्तिका, पैम्फलेट ।  
 पुस्तिका, पैम्फलेट
- Brogue** *n.* मोटा जूता (आयलैण्डका); देहाती लहजा ।  
 मोटा जूता (आयलैण्डका); देहाती लहजा
- Broil** *n.* झगडा, दंगा, लड़ाई ।  
 झगडा, दंगा, लड़ाई
- Broil** *v.* तपना, भूना ।  
 तपना, भूना
- Broke** *adj.* दिवालिया ।  
 दिवालिया
- Broken** *adj.* टूटा हुआ, गिरा हुआ ।  
 टूटा हुआ, गिरा हुआ
- Broken down** *adj.* टूट गया हुआ, विलकुल गिरा हुआ ।  
 टूट गया हुआ, विलकुल गिरा हुआ
- Broken English** *n.* टूटी-फूटी अंग्रेजी ।  
 टूटी-फूटी अंग्रेजी
- Broken hearted** *adj.* दिल टूटा हुआ ।  
 दिल टूटा हुआ
- Broken sleep** *n.* बेचैनीकी नींद ।  
 बेचैनीकी नींद
- Broken weather** *n.* घड़ी-घड़ी बदलनेवाला मौसम या ऋतु ।  
 घड़ी-घड़ी बदलनेवाला मौसम या ऋतु
- Broken winded** *adj.* दम खूबहा हुआ ।  
 दम खूबहा हुआ
- Brokenly** *adv.* झटकोंके साथ, रह रह कर ।  
 झटकोंके साथ, रह रह कर
- Broker** *n.* दलाल, कबाड़ी, आदतिया ।  
 दलाल, कबाड़ी, आदतिया
- Bronze** *n.* काँसी, काँसा, कसकुट; काँसेका रंग, बरंज ।  
 काँसी, काँसा, कसकुट; काँसेका रंग, बरंज
- Brooch** *n.* जवाहर पिन, ब्रोच ।  
 जवाहर पिन, ब्रोच
- Brood** *v.* अण्डों पर बैठना, अण्डे सेना; सोचमें डूबना ।  
 अण्डों पर बैठना, अण्डे सेना; सोचमें डूबना
- Brood** *n.* बच्चे-कच्चे, चिंगी पोटे, झोल-झुण्ड, ढेर ।  
 बच्चे-कच्चे, चिंगी पोटे, झोल-झुण्ड, ढेर
- Brook** *n.* नदी, नाला, सरिता ।  
 नदी, नाला, सरिता
- Brook** *v.* झेलना, सहना ।  
 झेलना, सहना
- Broom** *n.* झाड़ू ।  
 झाड़ू
- Broom, new** *n.* नया नौकर, नया अफसर ।  
 नया नौकर, नया अफसर



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TWO ANNAS

## WORKING COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT

The Working Committee have given careful consideration to the statement issued by the British Government on December 6, 1946, as well as other statements made recently on their behalf in Parliament. These statements, though made by way of interpretation and elucidation, are clearly additions to and variations of the British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, on which the whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly was based.

The statement of May 16, 1946, laid down in paragraph 15 as basic principles of the Constitution that "there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States," that "all subjects other than Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces" and that "Provinces should be free to form Groups." The Provinces were thus intended to be autonomous, subject to the Union controlling certain specified subjects. Paragraph 19 laid down, *inter alia*, the procedure for Sections to meet, for decisions to be taken as to whether groups should be formed or not, and for any Province to elect to come out of the Group in which it might have been placed.

In their resolution of May 24, 1946, the Working Committee pointed out what appeared to be a divergence between the basic principles and the procedure suggested, in that a measure of compulsion was introduced which infringed the basic principles of Provincial Autonomy. The Cabinet Mission, thereupon, issued a statement on May 25, 1946, in which it was stated that "the interpretation put by the Congress Resolution on Paragraph 15 of the statement, to the effect that the Provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the Section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for Grouping of the Provinces are well-known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the two parties."

The point at issue was not merely one of procedure, but the fundamental principle of Provincial Autonomy and whether or not a Province or part should be coerced against its will.

The Congress made it clear later that their objection was not to Provinces entering sections but to compulsory Grouping and the possibility of a dominating Province framing a constitution for

another Province entirely against the wishes of the latter. This might result in the framing of Rules, and the regulation of Franchise, Electorates, Constituencies for elections and the Composition of the Legislature which might seriously prejudice or even nullify the provision for a Province subsequently to opt out of a Group. It was pointed out that this could never be the intention of the Cabinet Mission as it would be repugnant to the basic principles and policy of the scheme they had propounded. The Congress approach to the problem of Constitution making has all along been that coercion should not be exercised against any Province or part of the country and that the Constitution of Free India should be drawn up by the cooperation and goodwill of all Parties and Provinces concerned.

In a letter dated 15 June, 1946 from Lord Wavell to Maulana Azad, the President of the Congress, it was stated that "the Delegation and I are aware of your objections to the principle of Grouping. I would, however, point out that the statement of May 16 does not make Grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of the Provinces concerned, sitting together in Sections. The only provision which is made is that the representatives of certain Provinces should meet in Sections so that they can decide whether or not they wish to form Groups."

Thus the principle which was emphasized again was that Grouping was not compulsory and in regard to Sections a certain procedure was indicated. This procedure was not clear and could be interpreted in more than one way and in any event a point of procedure could not over-ride a basic principle. We pointed out that the right interpretation should be one which did no violence to that principle. Further, in order to smooth the way to the co-operation of all concerned in the working of the proposed scheme, we not only made it clear that we were prepared to go into the Sections, but we also suggested that if our interpretation was not accepted, we would be agreeable to a reference on this point to the Federal Court.

It is well-known that the proposal in regard to grouping affected injuriously two provinces especially, namely, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, as well as the Sikhs in the Punjab. Their representatives expressed their strong disapproval of this proposal. In a letter to the Secretary of State dated 25th May, 1946, Master Tara Singh gave expression to the anxiety and apprehensions

of the Sikhs and asked for clarification in regard to certain matters. The Secretary of State sent an answer to this letter on June 1, 1946, in the course of which he said: "I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot issue any additions to, or interpretation of, the statement."

In spite of this explicit statement, the British Government have on December 6, issued a statement which is both an addition to, and an interpretation of, the statement of May 16, 1946. They have done so after more than six and a half months, during which period many developments have taken place as a consequence of the original statement. Throughout this period the position of the Congress was made repeatedly clear to the British Government or their representatives, and it was with full knowledge of this position that the British Government took subsequent steps in furtherance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. That position was in conformity with the basic principles laid down in the statement of May 16, 1946, which statement the Congress had accepted in its entirety. Further the Congress had expressed its willingness to refer, if necessity arose, the point of interpretation to the Federal Court, whose decision should be accepted by the parties concerned.

In the course of his letter dated June 28, 1946, addressed to Mr. Jinnah, the Viceroy stated that the "Congress had accepted the statement of 16th May." In the course of a broadcast on August 24, 1946, the Viceroy, in appealing to the Muslim League to co-operate, pointed out that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

The Muslim League reversed its former decision and rejected the British Cabinet Mission's scheme by formal resolution and even decided to resort to direct action. Their spokesmen have since repeatedly challenged the very basis of that scheme, that is, the Constitution of a Union of India and have reverted to their demand for a partition of India. Even after the British Government's statement of December 6, 1946, the leaders of the Muslim League have reiterated this demand for partition and the establishment of two separate Independent Governments in India.

When the invitation of the British Government was received by the Congress at the end of November last to send its representatives to London, the Congress position was clearly indicated again. It was on an assurance of the Prime Minister of Great Britain that a representative of the Congress proceeded to London.

In spite of this assurance and of previous assurances to the effect that no additions to, or interpretations of, the statement of May 16, 1946, were going to be made, the British Government have now issued a statement which clearly, in several respects, goes beyond the original statement, on the basis of which progress has been made till now.

The Working Committee deeply regret that the British Government should have acted in a manner which has not been in keeping with their own assurances, and which has created suspicion in the minds of large numbers of the people in India. For some time past the attitude of the British Government and their representatives in India has been such as to add to the difficulties and complexities of the situation in the country. Their present intervention long after the members of the Constituent Assembly had been elected has created a new situation which is full of peril for the future. Because of this, the Working Committee have given anxious and prolonged thought to it.

The Congress seeks to frame, through the Constituent Assembly, a Constitution of a Free and Independent India with the willing co-operation of all elements of the Indian people. The Working Committee regret that the Muslim League members of the Constituent Assembly have refrained from attending its opening session. The Committee, however, appreciate and express their gratification at the presence in the Constituent Assembly of representatives of all other interests and sections of the people of India and note with pleasure the spirit of co-operation in a common task and a high endeavour which has been in evidence during the sessions of the Assembly. The Committee will continue their efforts to make the Constituent Assembly fully representative of all the people of India and trust that members of the Muslim League will give their co-operation in this great task. In order to achieve this, the Committee have advised Congress representatives in the Assembly to postpone consideration of important issues to a subsequent meeting.

In their statement of December 6, 1946, the British Government in giving their interpretation of a doubtful point of procedure have referred to it as a "fundamental point" and suggested that the Constituent Assembly may refer it to the Federal Court at a very early date. Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept the decision of this Court should it go against their own interpretation. On behalf of the Muslim League also it has been stated that they will not be bound by the decision of the Federal Court, and a demand for partition of India, which is a negation of the Cabinet Mission's scheme, continues to be put forward. While the Congress has always been willing to agree to a reference to the Federal Court, any reference now, when none of the other parties are prepared to join in it or to accept it, and one of them does not even accept the basis of the scheme, becomes totally uncalled for and unbecoming, and unsuited to the dignity of either the Congress or the Federal Court. By their repeated statements, British statesmen have ruled this out.

The Working Committee are still of opinion that the interpretation put by the British Government

in regard to the method of voting in the Sections is not in conformity with Provincial Autonomy, which is one of the fundamental basis of the scheme proposed in the Statement of May 16. The Committee are anxious to avoid anything that may come in the way of the successful working of the Constituent Assembly and are prepared to do everything in their power to seek and obtain the largest measure of co-operation, provided that no fundamental principle is violated. In view of the importance and urgency of the issues facing the country and the far-reaching consequences which must follow any decisions, the Working Committee are convening an emergency meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Delhi early in January to consider the latest developments and to give such directions as it may deem fit.

### ON TRACTORS AND CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS

[The following taken from Janab Jabir A. Ali's article in the *Rural India* of November, 1946 will be read with interest. V. G. D.]

Past practice of agriculture in India has given us the use of the wooden plough and cattle manure. . . Centuries have proved the effectiveness and soundness of these. Now comes the scientist and manufacturer and these dazzle us with the prospects opened to us by the iron mouldboard plough and chemical fertilizers, and later comes the omnipotent tractor. . .

The iron mouldboard plough turns over the soil, and the soil from a depth of 7 or 8 inches is brought to the surface. The humus-filled top-soil is diluted with soil more or less devoid of humus, and thus rendered less fertile. This loss is attempted to be made good by addition of artificial fertilizers, but the humus lost can be put back into the soil only by the application of organic matter like composts. As cattle manure is now scarcer than before, the soil deteriorates and eventually becomes useless for profitable cultivation. This is what has happened in America on a large scale. The tractor which ploughs to a depth of 12 and 14 inches intensifies and expedites agriculture. Cattle having disappeared from farms, the supply of farmyard manure is falling short, and cannot be replaced by any substitute at all.

. . . In India the tractor and the chemical fertilizer are fast coming into fashion and are looked upon as signs of enlightenment and of up-to-date agriculture. This is dangerous. The quick work of the tractor and the immediate results of the use of fertilizers are so alluring that one is not inclined to probe deeper and to make sure that this is not just an illusion.

Whether we use a tractor or not, one thing is certain: to keep up the fertility of the soil, the use on a general and large scale of organic manures is the *sine qua non* of agriculture. . . . Composting has come to stay, but it is neither sufficiently understood, nor has it been adopted on a sufficiently large scale. The best help the National Government can give to our farmers is through propaganda and supply of compost. We have immense quantities of vegetation, animal waste, oil cakes, woods of all

kinds at present going to waste and sometimes becoming a nuisance. All this valuable material must be composted and well distributed. We have the sewage and nightsoil of towns, which municipalities must utilize. Then again in and around large towns we have milch cattle in large numbers whose dung and litter should be turned into compost. We shall thus not only grow more food but also grow more nutritious food.

What then of our huge Nitrogen fertilizer plants? Chemicals will always be used on a small scale and have their use, but I for one have no doubt that in the long run, if used continuously and in large measure, they are bound to have a deleterious effect on the soil and will do a lot of harm. They adversely affect the growth of useful bacteria and fungi in the soil. Shall we say they are good in emergencies but not as daily food for plants? Let me quote from Sir Albert Howard:

"The toll of disease is extraordinary and a matter of the utmost anxiety to the farmer. The public is not sufficiently aware of this unsatisfactory state of affairs. If these are the results of agricultural science, they are not encouraging and they are certainly not impressive. They are undoubtedly a phenomenon of the last forty or fifty years and appear alongside of the modern use of artificial manures.

"Artificial manures were born out of the abuse of Liebig's discoveries of the chemical properties of the soil and out of the imperative demands made on the farmer by the invention of machinery."

Experience all over the world and especially in America has shown clearly that the free use of artificial manures combined with deep ploughing has completely destroyed the fertility of millions of acres of good soil. In every case the basic cause has been the absence of humus. In our country we are on the threshold of advance along western lines. Let us hope we shall not fall into the same pits as modern farmers in the West have done. We have not even the excuse of certain countries that we have not sufficient organic matter available. All the organic matter we need is there, but it awaits proper handling and distribution. We must look to Government to create an efficient organization and composting arrangement, as well as retain for us in India all the oil-cake, bone, blood etc., which are now being exported.

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#### PLEASE NOTE

Though we have repeatedly drawn the attention of the subscribers to not sending their subscriptions by cheques, it seems it suits some of them better. We, therefore, have to draw their attention to two things: one, to avoid sending cheques as far as possible and two, if they prefer sending cheques to remit an additional amount of annas eight to cover the discount charged by banks which varies with different banks. When this additional expense is not remitted the subscription amount becomes a fraction which is not amenable to adjustments in calculations of the subscription amount.

MANAGER

# HARIJAN

December 29

1946

## WHAT WILL SOUTH AFRICA DO?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The deputation headed by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit and sent to the U. N. O. Conference by the Interim Government has undoubtedly done very effective work with marked ability and success. That is clear from the following cablegram sent by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit from New York :

"Today with your blessings justice of South African Indian cause was vindicated. Committee voting twentyfour to nineteen in our favour. Went to General Smuts after meeting and shook hands. He expressed appreciation at manner in which I had conducted case."

It remains now to be seen how the Parliament of the Union of South Africa and its European public respond. Field Marshal Smuts was able to hurl at the Indian deputation the taunt that India treated her so-called "Untouchables", legally described as the "Scheduled Classes", much worse than the Union treated her Asiatics or for that matter the Africans. There would be much to be said for the Field Marshal's taunt if it was true. It is true of South Africa that her treatment of Asiatics has legally deteriorated from time to time, so much so that it has now become well-nigh unbearable. Almost every promise made by the Union Government to the Government of India has now been broken. In India, on the other hand, there never has been any law carrying the bar sinister against the Scheduled Classes. It can be proved up to the hilt that the law has always sought to protect the Scheduled Classes. There is no legal bar, so far as I am aware, against any of the Scheduled Classes being regarded as equal in status to the tallest Indian. What is however true to the shame of orthodox Hinduism and the *Sanatani* Hindus is that religious custom has denied to these Untouchables the rights which the law has allowed, and it is unfortunately also true that sometimes custom overrides the law. But public opinion is progressively rising against this barbarous custom and it is merely a question of time when the custom will be swept out of existence. Let us, therefore, hope that instead of taking doubtful advantage of the things in India which no one defends and against which public opinion is progressively rising, the Europeans of the Union of South Africa will recognize that if the U. N. O. Conference is any index of world opinion, it is decidedly against the European prejudice which has hardened into law.

Shrirampur, 12-12-'46

## REDISCOVERING FAITH

I take it that the readers of the *Harijan* follow through the daily press the movements and activities of Gandhiji in East Bengal. I consider his mission as one for rediscovering for the nation their lost faith.

Clinging fast to observances — good, bad or indifferent, but all termed religious — there is plenty of in all societies. The loss of bangles, vermilion mark, tuft of hair or beard causes, indeed, inconsolable dejection. And yet live faith has disappeared from the people. For, what is the worth of a faith, if it does not generate strength in the person affirming it, to stand for it alone; to live for it and, if need be, to lay down his life for it? Faith inherently implies the birth of a new sense of self-esteem and an unconquerable will to resist with one's very life any force which haughtily and unjustly seeks to crush it. There is no faith, worth the name, which does not create such strength in its followers, and when it loses that capacity, it degenerates into a mere bundle of beliefs, observances and customs to be adhered to while life is easy and there are no adverse conditions to face. Those customs and observances by themselves might not be worth anything, and, but for mental inertia, some of them might have been even voluntarily discarded long ago, as indeed, several modern men and women have discarded the bangles, the vermilion mark, the sectarian marks on the forehead, the tuft of hair or the beard. It was some strong faith, which created some of these customs and observances and made them the external badges of a purposeful life. But, if a people have lost that fundamental substance within, the mere retention or restoration of external symbols will not rekindle the spiritual fire, which ultimately every faith is.

It is the rediscovery of this lost faith, which is the main problem of all down-trodden peoples in general, and of our women in particular. Arson, loot, abduction, rape, forcible conversions etc. are not altogether new events in the history of the world. Time and again these things have happened in India also. The atrocities committed by the military and the police in the Punjab during the week of the Jallianwala Massacre were except for abductions and conversions, similar to, if not worse than, those in East Bengal. The victims there were not the mild Bengali Hindus, but martial Punjabis — Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. During the repressions of 1942-44 women suffered similar indignities not at [Chimur alone—which on account of Shri Bhansali's memorable fast got publicity—but in many more places. On every occasion we find that, speaking broadly, men lacked not so much the physical as the moral courage to protect their women, and the women too lacked that strength of faith—that self-respect born of a purpose in life—which generates a will to resist even in the physically weak. If adequate physical strength and means were not available to their men, it cannot be expected that women could have protected themselves by a show of physical strength. And if men



too lacked the moral courage to stand by their women and the weak and protect them as best as possible until every one of the guardians died, but instead, ran away for the sake of their own lives, it is clear that God alone could help such women. I do not use the words "God alone" euphemistically for "none"; I use it to indicate that inner spirit which produces martyrs and to crush which all tyrants aspire.

Gandhiji's whole life has been devoted to enable India to rediscover this faith. He himself realized, first, the loss of this faith, when at the age of less than 25, he had to endure his first insult by the Political Agent of Rajkot. The insult by itself was relatively a trivial affair and might be explained away as the rudeness of a not well-bred individual officer. Indeed, even the Lion of Bombay, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, could give him no better counsel than to pocket it and forget it. Gandhiji pocketed it no doubt. He could not have done anything else at the time, and later on learnt to pocket even greater insults than this one. But he could not forget it, and sought for a sure specific against it ever since. This he discovered on a public coach in South Africa under the hard blows of its White conductor. Even as the hammering of a cocoanut with a stone brings out the sweet kernel within, so every blow that fell upon him, as it were, broke the outer shell and revealed to him the fire that lay hidden beneath. He discovered that a man might be beaten to death by another and tortured in a hundred ways, but he could not be made to yield to the latter against his own will. It was the fear of death, torture, loss of property, of social relations and comforts of life etc. which made man give up his independence, principles and sense of self-respect, and if that fear was once cast off, a single individual became as strong as an army. Conversely, without it, even trained soldiers would put up with all sorts of indignities and flee with as much panic as that of the terror-stricken and suspicious people of Bengal and Bihar.

And, when Gandhiji rediscovered this faith, he transmitted it to the men and women of South Africa. With what results, let his opponent, Field-Marshal Smuts, himself say:

"Gandhi . . . showed a new technique—one which he afterwards made world famous in his political campaigns in India . . . For him everything went according to plan. For me — the defender of law and order — there was the usual trying situation, the odium of carrying out a law which had not strong public support, and finally the discomfiture when the law had to be repealed. For him it was a successful coup. Nor was the personal touch wanting, for nothing in Gandhi's procedure is without a peculiar personal touch. In gaol, he had prepared for me a very useful pair of sandals which he presented to me when he was set free! I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, . . ." (Quoted from Shridharani's *The Mahatma and the World*).

If by 'technique' we simply understand such items as civil disobedience, non-cooperation, non-payment of taxes and the like, we shall commit the mistake of appreciating a book for its jacket, binding and the quality of the paper instead of its matter. These items are only outward symbols, even as the vermilion mark and the bangles are but outward symbols of a woman's *saubhagya* (wifeness). The technique of civil disobedience by itself could not have given to the women of Bombay the strength to hold to the flag against the horse-hoofs of the mounted police, or those of Borsad to endure ruthless lathi charges and dragging by the hair by policemen. Various similar instances might be cited. It was the rediscovery—may be, only faint and temporary, nevertheless real—by a section of the Indian public of their faith, which gave them the strength to suffer hardships, and to challenge a mighty empire, as it was the lack of it which was responsible for the almost dumb and abject submission to wickedness and indignities on other occasions.

One will hardly find a place in India, in which a handful of Hindus, or a handful of Mussalmans or Christians will not be found living in the midst of a considerable number of men of another community. Must those who are few in numbers in a village or street abandon those places, if they do not wish to abjure their own faith and accept that of the local majority? Also, must one who wants to change his religion should also change his place of abode? And, if this is considered to be the only course, does it also not mean that any one who wants to visit a place inhabited by the people of another community would have to do so only under police or military escort? If the answer is, 'yes, such a position has got to be accepted,' then, a person with a living sense of human dignity and of the importance of mutual trust and amity in life, will simply refuse to accept that position lying down. Even cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep herd together, graze together and live peacefully in a common yard. Pigeons, sparrows and various birds of heterogeneous species fearlessly mix together in the field. Can a man be reconciled to a situation which reduces him to a level lower than that of birds and cattle? There is something fundamentally wrong with that situation, and it has got to be remedied. It must be possible for a single individual to live peacefully, unmolested and without fear or without artificial protection amidst people of different religious persuasions. If he cannot do so, there is something wrong about his faith, and if the other community does not allow him to do so, then too there must be something wrong about his own faith as well as the faith of that other community. In either case, he must rediscover his faith for the sake of both.

This, to my mind, is the nature of Gandhiji's present quest. The down-trodden humanity—and woman is a large part of it—must be redeemed from the feeling that they lived and propagated the race, simply because they were not dead or



that they could live only under the protection of an external strength, which might fail. But they must be made to realize that unfailing strength lies within themselves. That realization will generate in their breast the determination to risk their lives at any moment in vindication of it and of everything which they hold, for the time being, sacred, and which they identify with God, their entire being, their self-respect and honour. "A determined man," says Romain Rolland, "who is prepared to risk his life at any moment can lift the world off its hinges."

The chorus of a psalm which I often used to hear during my college days is indelibly impressed upon my memory:

Dare to be a Daniel,  
Dare to stand alone;  
Dare to have a purpose firm,  
Dare to make it known.

Vapi, 16-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### FOR PEACE AND HARMONY

Mr. O. W. Francis of Hazaribagh, Bihar, in a letter to Gandhiji appreciating his exhortations to the people to pray and to do so from the heart, as also his efforts in the district of Noakhali "to help bring peace to the hundreds of the down-stricken families whose homes were devastated," and engender by his soothing influence, "a brotherly feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims of Shrirampur, encloses the following lines" written by a man of the Religious Order, just after the great Calcutta Killing":

O God, grant peace and harmony

To our unhappy land, its distraught, sorrow-laden lives.

Pour Thou Thy sovereign balm of healing.

Into the gaping, festering wounds of discord and strife.

How sorely we need the strength that comes of Unity;

Yet how deep-rooted are the hatred and jealousy,

Suspicion and the pride, of power,

The bitter feuds that reach hands to each other's throats.

The fury of fanatic, blood-thirsty creeds!

Are we not all Thy children, members of one household?

And art not Thou our goal of this earth's pilgrimage,

Where brother linked to brother, we should bend to  
common tasks,

And struggle against disease and squalor,

Dirè misery and abject ignorance?

To Thee the famished raise their pitiful cries;

Thou hearest the groans of millions tortured with  
disease;

The wails of victims marked for the early grave  
escape Thee not.

Alas! our hapless land has become a vast hecatomb;

Its sons and daughters a sacrificial holocaust.

What would change it into a smiling land of joy,

But the earnest striving of all hands,

With all hearts bound in the unity of love?

Why should religion separate us man from man?

It should draw us to Thee, draw us together,

It should teach us to love,

For Thou, O God, art Love.

Vapi, 17-12-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### ALL IS NOT GOLD THAT GLITTERS

At night, from Kisan Ashram we can see the lights of Mussoorie, a long sparkling line of electricity away up in the mountains. Fine houses are there, all lighted up, motor and rickshaw roads with electric standards every few yards, lines of glittering shops filled with all the fashions of East and West, cinemas, dance halls, all brightly lighted and cleanly swept. But those who keep this gay world clean are huddled up in dark, damp rooms, cheek by jowl with public urinals and latrines. No electric light is there, no bathrooms; nothing but squalor and misery.

The rich folks who do no physical or dirty work have baths and basins, taps, towels and soap. But the *bhangis* who clean their commodes and chamber-pots, sweep their drains and carry away their dirt and rubbish, have nothing but the "pail-depot" for bathing, washing and drinking. And the "pail-depot", gentle reader, is the tap and drain where all the foul pots and pails of their scavenging work have to be washed!!

Oh moneyed folks of rich Mussoorie! whose easy lives have produced this need for "sweepers", come with me and visit the quarters allotted to the human beings who keep your beautiful houses sweet and clean.

Come out of the smart bazaar down this steep narrow path — they say it is dangerous at night, there being no light on it. Here is the line of living quarters, (there are some twenty such in Mussoorie). You hold your noses—yes, there are public latrines just along here. But first look into one of these rooms. You can't see properly—of course not, there are no windows. And you hesitate to step inside. But you must come in. Mind! don't tread on the *roti* a wretched woman is trying to cook on a *chulha* just behind the door, and don't fall over the bed which is almost on top of the *chulha*! The wonder is it does not get burnt! Now your eyes are getting more accustomed to the light, look further into the room. More beds — old boxes, baskets, ragged clothes, all crammed up together, and human beings perching and squatting here and there. Let us calculate the size of the room — not more than 10 ft. by 15 ft. And how many people live in it? Fifteen men, women and children. The smoke from the *chulha* is suffocating you — you'd better get out into the fresh air. But where is the fresh air even outside? What is this on the outer side of the wall of the room? A row of public urinals, and next to them the public latrines. Don't be faint-hearted, having got so far you must face it out to the end. Here is the "pail-depot" beyond the latrines, where the muck pails are cleaned. Would you like to have a drink of water? This is the best they can offer you. Here men, women and children have to drink, wash and bathe. You are beginning to feel a bit queer? I think you would like to get away. Alright, but just peep into one more room beyond the "pail-depot". Step down carefully, the floor is rather low and the foul water

from the "pail-depot" drain makes it very damp. This time there is a window, but don't go too near it, the wall is dangerously cracked and will tumble down the mountain side one of these days.

That is enough — come away to your well swept bungalows in your pretty gardens. But may the recollection of what you have experienced today give you no peace until these pitch-black stains have been wiped away from rich Mussoorie's glittering heights!

Kisan Ashram, 28-10-'46

MIRABEHN

### GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO ASSAM

Gandhiji's views on the Constituent Assembly and the situation created by H.M.G.'s statement of December 6, are contained in an account of an interview given by him to two Assam Congressmen, Messrs. Bijayachandra Bhagwat and Mohendra Mohan Chowdhury, who saw Gandhiji on behalf of Mr. G. D. Bardoloi, the Premier of Assam on December 15.

Asked for guidance in regard to the question of Grouping, Gandhiji replied:

"I do not need a single minute to come to a decision, for, on this I have a mind. I am a Congressman to the very marrow, as I am mainly the framer of the constitution of the Congress as it stands today. I told Bardoloi that if there is no clear guidance from the Congress Committee, Assam should not go into the sections. It should lodge its protest and retire from the Constituent Assembly. It will be a kind of *Satyagraha* against the Congress for the good of the Congress.

"Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has come to the decision that it will stand by the judgment of the Federal Court. The dice are heavily loaded. The decision of the Federal Court will go against the Congress interpretation of Grouping as far as I can make out, for the simple reason that the Cabinet has got legal advice which upholds their decision.

"The Federal Court is the creation of the British. It is a packed court. To be consistent, the Congress must abide by its decision whatever it may be. If Assam keeps quiet, it is finished. No one can force Assam to do what it does not want to do. It is autonomous to a large extent today.

"It must become fully independent and autonomous. Whether you have that courage, grit and the gumption, I do not know. You alone can say that. But if you can make that declaration, it will be a fine thing. As soon as the time comes for the Constituent Assembly to go into sections you will say, "Gentlemen, Assam retires." For the independence of India it is the only condition. Each unit must be able to decide and act for itself. I am hoping that in this, Assam will lead the way.

SAME FOR THE SIKHS

"I have the same advice for the Sikhs. But your position is much happier than that of the Sikhs. You are a whole province. They are a community inside a province. But I feel every indi-

vidual has the right to act for himself, just as I have."

Q. "But we are told that the framing of the constitution for the whole of India cannot be held up for the sake of Assam. Assam cannot be allowed to block the way."

A. "There is no need to do that. That is why I say I am in utter darkness. Why are not these simple truths evident to all after so many years? If Assam retires, it does not block, but leads the way to India's independence."

Q. "The British Government has said that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly cannot be imposed on unwilling units. So, if some parts do not accept it, the British Parliament won't accept it."

A. "Who is the British Government? If we think independence is going to descend on our heads from England or somewhere, we are greatly mistaken. It won't be independence. We will be crushed to atoms. We are fluctuating between independence and helpless dependence. The Cabinet Mission's plan lies in between.

"If we act rightly there will be the full blown flower of independence. If we react wrongly, the blossom will wither away. Mind you, the League standpoint is quite correct. If they stand out, the Constituent Assembly cannot impose its constitution on an unwilling party. The British Government has no say in the matter, one way or the other.

"The British cannot interfere with the working of the Constituent Assembly. Supposing the vast majority, including the Muslims and others form a constitution, you can defy the British Parliament if it seeks to interfere. Power is in your hands. Some such thing happened in Ireland only recently. And De Valera is no non-violent fighter. The position of India is far better than that of Ireland. If we have not the penetration, we will lose the advantage we have, as it is apparently being lost today.

"If Assam takes care of itself, the rest of India will be able to look after itself. What have you got to do with the constitution of the Union Government? You should form your own constitution. That is enough. You have the basis of a constitution all right even now.

"I have never despised the 1935 constitution. It is based on provincial autonomy. It has the capacity for fullest growth, provided the people are worth it. The hill people are with you. Many Muslims are also with you. The remainder can be too, if you act on the square.

"You will have to forget petty jealousies and rivalries and overcome your weaknesses. Assam has many weaknesses as it has much strength, for I know my Assam."

"With your blessings we can even go outside the Congress and fight," the Assam Congressmen interposed.

Gandhiji replied that in 1939 when there was the question of giving up the Ministry, Subhas

Babu opposed it as he thought Assam's was a special case. I told Bardoloi that there was much in what Subhas Babu had said and although, I was the author of that scheme of boycott, I said: Assam should not come out if it did not feel like it. But Assam did come out. It was wrong.

The Assam Congressmen said that the Maulana Saheb had then said that exception could not be made in the case of Assam.

Gandhiji replied: "Here there is no question of exception. Assam rebelled and that civilly. But we have that slavish mentality. We look to the Congress and then feel that if we do not follow it slavishly, something will go wrong with it. I have said that not only a province but even an individual can rebel against the Congress and by doing so save it, assuming that he is in the right. I have done so myself. Congress has not attained the present stature without much travail.

"I remember in 1918, I think, there was the Provincial Conference of the Congress workers, of Gujarat at Ahmedabad. The late Abbas Tyabjee Saheb was in the chair. All the old guards were there. The Ali Brothers had not yet joined hands with me fully then, as they did later on. The late Shri Vitthalbhai Patel was there, and I moved the non-co-operation resolution. I was a nonentity then. A constitutional question arose. Could a provincial conference anticipate the decision of the Congress? I said "yes". A provincial conference and even a single individual could anticipate the Congress for its own benefit. In spite of opposition of the old hands, the resolution was carried. That paved the way for the Congress to pass a similar resolution at Calcutta. India was dumbfounded at the audacity of a provincial conference passing the revolutionary resolution.

"We had formed a Satyagraha Sabha outside the Congress. It was joined by Horniman, Sarojini Devi, Shankarlal, Umar Sobhani and Vallabhbai. I was ill. The Rowlatt Act was passed. I shook with rage. I said to the Sardar I could do nothing unless he helped me. Sardar was willing. And the rest you know. It was rebellion, but a healthy one. We celebrate the 6th of April to the 13th. You have all these historical instances before you.

"I have given you all this time to steel your hearts, to give you courage. If you do not act correctly and now, Assam will be finished. Tell Bardoloi, I do not feel the least uneasiness. My mind is made up. Assam must not lose its soul. It must uphold it against the whole world. Else I will say that Assam had only manikins and no men. It is an impertinent suggestion that Bengal should dominate Assam in any way."

Asked if they could tell the people that they have rebelled against the Congress with Gandhiji's blessings Gandhiji said, "Talk of God's blessings. They are much richer. Tell the people even if Gandhi tries to dissuade us, we won't listen."

## PEACE PLAN IN NOAKHALI

Gandhiji's peace plan in Noakhali was interpreted by Satish Chandra Das Gupta, chief of the Sodepur Ashram, to an Associated Press of America correspondent visiting Gandhiji's Shrirampur headquarters this week.

With Shrirampur at one end, the plan is being executed around an area of 20 square miles. Fifteen peace workers, divided into ten stationary peace units, have been working on the plan since November 24 in several rural areas of the Ramganj police station.

Shri Das Gupta said that Gandhiji's peace plan is centred around four corner-stones: (a) Spiritual effort. (b) Man is essentially good. (c) Love. (d) Non-violence of the brave.

He said, "The peace mission is intended to establish that there is really no bar for unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. It aims at instilling bravery in the hearts of the Hindu minority and repentance in the hearts of the miscreants. Unity can never come about so long as fear, on the one hand and hatred, on the other, are the guiding passions."

"The peace-worker's task is to produce such a revolutionary change in the disturbed atmosphere that there should be no more possibility for any mischief in future."

Discussing the *modus operandi* Shri Das Gupta said: "Peace workers must be pledged to truth, love and non-violence. They must reside in the disturbed village and move with everyone, including the miscreants, as blood brothers.

"The peace-worker should entertain no idea of defence, even if he is attacked. His only defence would be to die at the hands of his opponent."

"This sense of bravery revolutionizes the entire atmosphere. Cowards shed their cowardice and enemies shed their hatred. Peace prevails again, not the transient peace imposed at the point of the soldier's gun or the policeman's baton, but a real, lasting and sustaining peace."

Dealing with the extent of success achieved so far, Shri Das Gupta said: "The Hindus now have begun to move about fearlessly and the Muslims are shedding their hatred and anger."

Asked if more Congressmen in India should follow this plan, Shri Das Gupta replied: "If they do and if they put into test the weapon of the non-violence of the brave, the face of the world would be changing fast."

Calcutta, 21-12-'46

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